National Wartime Conference

May 8, 1944

Miss Hannah Dorner
Publicity Director
535 Fifth Avenue (Room 610)
New York City

Dear Miss Dorner:

Miss Clay has handed me your letter of April 24. With reference to the effect of the war upon our profession, I give you below a few brief comments on this subject:

(1) The war has had very little, if any, effect on the personnel in our particular type of work.

(2) The Southern Regional Council, which has recently superseded the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, is itself partly an outgrowth of the war. The increasing race tensions led to a series of conferences which culminated in the organization of the Council. The Council thus represents an effort to implement the program and policy set forth in the conferences, and it also represents an effort to revitalize and extend the race relations work of the Commission On Interracial Cooperation.

I hope that these brief comments will be of some use to you.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Very good of them to write us on April 24
about meetings to be held in N.Y. on 4/24, 4/25 etc.
GBJ.

NATIONAL WARTIME CONFERENCE

Professions • Arts • Sciences • White Collar Fields

135 EAST 52nd STREET, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Phone: PLaza 3-4700

KIRTLEY F. MATHER, *Chairman*
Professor of Geology, Harvard University
President, American Association of Scientific Workers

OLIVE VAN HORN, *Executive Secretary*

April 24, 1944

Miss Emily H. Clay,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
710 Standard Bldg.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Miss Clay:

In connection with the public-relation campaign for our forthcoming National Wartime Conference, we are planning a series of stories for general publication as well as for field publications, which will focus attention on each of the participating fields.

We would like to release stories in which we can give the following material:

(a) What kind of dislocation has the war caused in your profession- (if possible the percentage of workers in your field who have gone into the war.)

(b) What has been the effect on the standards in your profession.

(c) What has been the contribution of your field to the war effort.

(d) What are your special problems for the conversion.

(e) What new developments and opportunities do you expect in your field in the post-war period.

If we could get this information from you in as brief a form as possible, it would be of the greatest possible aid in making the Conference a great success.

If this material is obtained in advance and special stories and articles can be developed around it, greater attention can be given in the press to the individual problems of each field.

You can readily see how the coverage of the actual Conference itself while it is taking place cannot possibly give the proper attention to each of the participating fields, but would attempt rather to create an over-all picture. I know you will agree that to get this publicity for the problems in your field would be of importance to you as well as to the Conference.

Would you be good enough to give us your cooperation and let us have the material as quickly as possible.

Thank you very much.

Yours sincerely,

Hannah Dorner

Hannah Dorner
Publicity Director
535 Fifth Avenue (Room 610)
New York City

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National Wartime Conference

NOTICE ~~TO SECTION CHAIRMEN:~~

Because next week is a very busy one at the YWCA, all section committees cannot meet there. The schedule of meetings for next week, therefore, is as follows:

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION, YWCA, 135 East 52nd Street, Seminar Room, April 24
FULL EMPLOYMENT, Summer School for Office Workers, 437 West 59th Street, April 25
STANDARDS OF LIVING, New York Public Library, 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue, Room 101, April 26
POST-WAR READJUSTMENT AND RETRAINING, YWCA, 135 East 52nd Street, Seminar Room, April 27

All meetings will be held at 8:00 p.m.

Dear Miss Clay,

If any of your people are going to be here next week, I do hope you'll have a representative at one or more of these meetings. They are turning out to be tremendously valuable — and an exciting foretaste of the Conference to come.

Cordially,
Olive O. Van Horne
Executive Secretary

National Wartime Conference
June 2 and 3, 1944
Hotel Commodore, New York City

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

PUBLIC SESSION - Friday, June 2nd, 8:00 p.m.

"The Sciences and Professions in the Future of America"

Presiding: Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, Chairman, National Wartime Conference

Speakers: Dr. Harlow Shapley, Director, Harvard College Observatory

Mr. A. F. Whitney, President, International Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen

(Other speakers to be announced)

SECTION DISCUSSION - Saturday, June 3rd, 10:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

There will be four section discussions. In order to make possible a full discussion of the points listed in the agenda for each section, the number of actively participating delegates in each section will be limited to 75, although others may attend as listeners. In addition to the delegates, there will be in each section a number of consultants who are authorities in their respective fields. The function of these consultants is not to make speeches but to answer questions and take part informally in the discussion.

(A partial list of consultants is included in the following)

Planning for Full Employment

Chairman: Dr. Alvin H. Hansen, Economist, Federal Reserve Board

Consultants: Dr. Samuel Thompson, Assistant Director, National Planning Association

Dr. Harold B. Sterling, Director of Rehabilitation, Veterans Administration

Mr. Malcolm Ross, Chairman, Fair Employment Practices Committee

Miss Mary Anderson, Chief, Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor

Hon. George E. Outland, Congressman from California

Standards of Living

Chairman: Hon. Claude D. Pepper, Senator from Florida

Consultants: Mr. Randolph Feltis, Sub-Committee on Wartime Health and Education of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor

Standards of Living. (Con't)

Mr. Harold Ruttenberg, Research Director, United Steel Workers of America, CIO

Dr. Hildegarde Kneeland, Economist

Mrs. Eleanor Fowler, Executive Secretary, Congress of Women's Auxiliaries, CIO

International Collaboration of the Professions in the Post-War World

Chairman: Hon. Harley M. Kilgore, Senator from West Virginia

Consultants: (To be announced)

Post-War Readjustment and Retraining of the Professions

Chairman: Dr. Eveline M. Burns, Economist, National Planning Association

Consultants: Dr. Joseph W. Mountain, Medical Director, States Relations Division, U. S. Public Health Service

Dr. Leonard Carmichael, Director, National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel, War Manpower Commission

Mr. Alex Taub, Chief Engineer, Foreign Economics Administration

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President, Howard University

Mr. Michael Shortly, Director, Vocational Rehabilitation, Federal Security Agency

Dr. Karl de Schweinitz, Training Consultant, Social Security Board

FINDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE - Saturday, June 3rd, 2:30 p.m.

Chairman: Dr. Kirtley F. Mather

Discussion Leader: Mr. Lewis Merrill, President, United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO

Reports by Section Chairmen:

Senator Harley M. Kilgore
Dr. Alvin H. Hansen
Senator Claude D. Pepper
Dr. Eveline M. Burns

Next Steps for the Conference

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OLIVE VAN HORN, *Executive Secretary*

MEMORANDUM TO PROFESSIONAL AND WHITE COLLAR ORGANIZATIONS ON THE SATURDAY MORNING DISCUSSION SECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL WARTIME CONFERENCE, JUNE 3, 1944

In preparation for the Saturday morning sessions of the National Wartime Conference, we are sending you the following material which will indicate the content of the four discussion sections on International Collaboration of the Professions, Planning for Full Employment, Standards of Living, and Post-War Readjustment and Retraining of the Professions.

This material is by no means an exhaustive analysis of any of the four subjects, but it does point to major areas of discussion and lines along which the sessions might progress. It is based on the types of questions which were brought up and discussed by the members of participating organizations who are serving on the Section Planning Committees.

In order to encourage the most vigorous and representative expression of opinion by the delegates at these sessions, it was decided to have no set speeches but instead to invite experts who would be ready informally to produce facts, present opinions, and clarify ideas. The real direction and progress of each discussion depends on the delegates themselves.

It is hoped that every delegate will come prepared to take an active part and to present the point of view of his field and his organization on these important problems affecting all professional groups.

Olive O. Van Horn
Executive Secretary

October 2, 1944

Miss Olive O. Van Horn
Executive Secretary
National Council
135 East 52nd Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Van Horn:

Miss Emily Clay, Secretary of the Southern Regional Council, has brought to my attention your letter of September 26 and the memorandum which accompanied it.

I doubt very much whether we should be one of your member organizations. The Southern Regional Council is not a professional or scientific organization, and its members are drawn from all occupational levels. However, we want to keep in touch with the good work of the National Council.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

National Council of Scientific, Professional, Art and White Collar Organizations

135 EAST 52ND STREET, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Phone: PLaza 3-4700

Interim Officers

President: KIRTLEY F. MATHER
Executive Secretary: OLIVE VAN HORN
Vice-Presidents: DONALD DU SHANE, MORDECAI JOHNSON, LEWIS MERRILL, PHILIP R. WHITE
Treasurer: ALEX B. NOVIKOFF

September 26, 1944

Dr. Johnson

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
710 Standard Bldg.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Att: Miss Emily H. Clay, Sec.

Gentlemen:

This is the season of the year when many organizations are having their conventions or their board meetings. Those who participated in the second National Wartime Conference last June are now discussing their affiliation with the National Council of Scientific, Professional, Art and White Collar Organizations which will be permanently established at a meeting the middle of November. Formal announcement of the meeting will be sent to you shortly.

In answer to the questions raised at the Conference last June and to the many questions which organizations have asked since, the Interim Committee has prepared the enclosed memorandum on the proposed purpose, program, constituency, and organization of the National Council. Supplementing this are the Proceedings of the Conference, the report of the newly established Committee on Postwar Employment (both of which you have received), and the forthcoming report of the delegations to the Republican and Democratic Conventions. These will indicate to you some of the practical operations of the Council.

If you and your organization have any questions which are not answered in the memorandum, we urge you to raise them with the Interim Committee. It is only by such frank expression on the part of all organizations that the Council can be made into an instrument responsive to their needs.

We look forward to hearing from you and welcoming your delegate in October.

Sincerely yours

Olive O. Van Horn

Olive O. Van Horn
Executive Secretary

OVH/bb

Statement by

Senator Harley M. Kilgore on Full Employment

for the
National Council of Scientific, Professional, Art and White Collar Organizations

The highest possible peacetime production is essential to our maximum development as a nation. Our people must insist on it, lay aside their fears and inhibitions, work for it, and it can be done. Such maximum production would bring a new era of plenty to our scientists and technologists, who would be kept busy for years translating the technology of war to the technology of peace. It would bring an unprecedented period of plenty for our professional men, who would be fewer in number than the jobs for them to do. It would bring a renaissance of the arts and sciences, with a new peacetime leisure and freedom for cultural development in America. It would bring plenty to allof our people, including the "one-third of a nation" who even now are not sufficiently fed, clothed, and housed. This group, unfortunately, includes a great many of our unorganized white collar workers, who have long been the object of economic discrimination.

Domestic prosperity would extend to other nations, increasing their standards of living, making them better customers for us. "Abandonment of the whole cartel way of doing international business," proposed by President Roosevelt in his recent letter to Secretary Hull, would bring economic self-realization, subsisting for the good of their rulers.

Economic plenty, with more jobs than there are workers, will add dignity to human beings in America and everywhere.

Economic scarcity, with less jobs than workers, will bring down on us at home the rotten fruits of the Fascism against which we are waging a victorious military war away from home -- Jew-baiting and pogroms, race riots, strikes and strike-breaking, discrimination against "aliens," general lack of jobs falling heaviest

on intellectual and white collar workers and minority groups, the contagion of depression spreading to other parts of the world, economic disparities building up finally to World War III.

These are the basic issues to be decided by the people on November 7 -- scarcity or plenty, depression or jobs. Let no one who believes in democracy get too busy this time, even at war work -- as many did in 1942 -- to take time to vote. Let the full voice of the people be heard, it will speak up overwhelmingly for liberalism, freedom, peace, and prosperity.

Statement by

Senator Claude Pepper on Full Employment

for the
National Council of Scientific, Professional, Art and White Collar Organizations

Full employment after the war has become a very popular slogan. No one is against it. But when you find the same medicine being peddled everywhere, in bottles of all sorts, it is time to read the fine print. Full employment is fine medicine if it is the genuine article, but a quack's mixture may be full of headaches.

How can we identify the real thing?

Full employment means not only that we must produce almost twice as much goods as we did before the war, but also that productive capacity must continue to increase for some time to come.

There are two outlets: the domestic and the foreign market. Maintenance of purchasing power at home means elimination of substandard wages, steady increase in real wages, and stability of prices. It means that workers through their organizations must have just as great bargaining power as their employers. It means adequate social security for all against the economic hazards of old age, of unemployment, and of sickness and injury.

Certainly we cannot maintain full employment unless our foreign trade is far greater in volume than it has ever been before. In order to sell, we must buy. In the long run, we can afford to buy only the products of workers whose standards of living are as good as those of American workers. The implication of this is world peace, and world unity in the economic sphere. When you find a man who is an isolationist, a fiery nationalist, a jingoist, or a racist, you find one who does not believe in full employment.

Full employment means also national planning and Federal controls in the

economic sphere during the period of reconversion from war to peace production. Everyone knows that our marvelous record of production for the war has been achieved through national unity. We did not leave it to private enterprise, to the States, or to the individual citizen to act each as he pleased. The United States is in fact an economic unit and full employment depends on our acting in accordance with this fact. No one questions that we will have a "free enterprise" economy if we act in this way.

Full employment depends also upon full use of the Nation's greatest resource -- the brains of its people. If we want full employment, we must be willing to give full opportunity for technical training, professional education, and higher education generally to every individual who can demonstrate his capacity to benefit from such opportunity.

It is clear that full employment in peacetime can be achieved only in a really democratic society. There is no doubt in my mind that professional groups are committed to progress. There can be no professional growth except in a democracy.

Defeat of adequate reconversion legislation in Congress has made full employment and full production an important issue in the coming election. Like it or not, your economic future is in politics, and it is going to be fought out at the ballot boxes as well as at the pillboxes.

The Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education, of which I am chairman, found that the 20 million white collar workers were the ones hit hardest by the disparity between considerable wartime price increases and inconsiderable wartime pay increases. This group likewise will be hardest hit by postwar depression, unless full employment is assured. These white collar and professional workers operate our schools, churches and hospitals. They man our public services, our Federal, State and local government, our financial and scientific institutions. They do the vast amount of paper work necessary to keep our society running in war and

in peace. This group will gain most by full employment and full production in America. This group needs to carry its democratic message to the voting places, adding one plus one plus one plus one into the millions that will carry a liberal administration into office.

Let us not blind ourselves to the serious possibilities that lie ahead. These include hunger, cold and the dreary hunt for jobs -- a repetition of all the ills of the last depression. If jobs are scarce amd there is keen competition for them, there is also certaintly of hard prejudices and hatreds coming to the surface -- group hatreds, race hatreds, and class hatreds. The only way to prevent them from developing is to go all-out now for full human reconversion and full consideration of the economic rights of all our people.

The best way to reconvert now is to reelect!

National Council of Scientific, Professional,
Art and White-Collar Organizations
135 East 52nd Street
New York 22, N.Y.

A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLE ON POSTWAR EMPLOYMENT

INTRODUCTION

Full use of the country's productive resources, stable return on investments, employment at useful work and a fair wage for all Americans able and willing to work are essential to the well-being of our nation and the protection of our democratic institutions. This can take place only within the framework of a durable peace that will assure stable economic and political relations among nations for many years to come.

The economic welfare of our country requires a large and remunerative market for all the goods and services which industry can produce, and particularly the products of heavy industry. Our greatest market is our own country. A sustained high level of consumer purchasing power at home, buttressed by a greatly expanded foreign trade, can make possible a constantly rising standard of living for the American people, while at the same time profits of business are stabilized at satisfactory levels.

To insure this market and, consequently, the full use of the country's resources, the combined efforts of every section of our population - industry, labor, agriculture, small business, and our own professional and white-collar groups - are necessary. A program to coordinate and direct these efforts into the most effective channels for the nation as a whole is indispensable.

At our June Conference, we defined the essential role of our professional and white-collar fields in the economy of the country. We have a great contribution to make to raising the American standard of living. Scientists and

technicians are key people in enabling industry to produce more effectively and more profitably. Better living for the people generally requires not only goods but also abundant health, welfare, educational and cultural services supplied by those in our fields.

We also recognized at our conference that our ability to make this contribution is directly determined by whether or not the United States enjoys an economy of full production and employment. We recognized that planning is essential to realize this national objective and to enable us to play our part.

Every group in the nation must be secure and able to share in future economic and cultural advances. During the war and for some years before, professional and white-collar people have had more than their share of insecurity. If in the future we are to contribute fully and to share fully in the national prosperity, we must win greater recognition of the social value of the services we render.

Recognizing our particular responsibility for working to insure full postwar production and employment in our country, we put forward the following program:

THE PROFESSIONAL FIELDS

1. The full and most effective use of all professional and technical skills and services, whether in industry or elsewhere, can take place only as part of an over-all plan for reconversion and postwar employment. National plans and legislation must, therefore, give consideration to the contribution and problems of these groups.
2. The National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel should be continued after the war and should be expanded to include all professional categories of workers and all types of industries and establishments employing professional personnel. As part of the national manpower program, its functions should be extended to include continuous surveys of the needs of the nation as a whole for professional personnel and responsibility for seeing that those needs are met as disclosed.

3. The federal government should take responsibility for insuring sufficient training facilities to supply professional personnel to meet the nation's needs. Where private and state facilities are inadequate, the federal government should supplement and extend existing programs.

4. As part of the reconversion program, every effort should be made to maintain in operation research centers developed during the war and to put them to use for peaceful activities. The federal government should, where necessary, give these establishments assistance in planning and financing. The Federal Office of Scientific Research and Development should be continued after the war with sufficient funds and powers to assist research programs in industrial laboratories and universities and to help maintain research activities, particularly among smaller firms.

5. Where professional workers have to be released from wartime jobs, whether government or private, they should receive severance pay of from three to twelve months' salary, the amount to be based on immediate re-employability, degree of wartime removal from peacetime work, the extent of wartime migration, and family needs.

6. The federal government should stimulate the spread of science and culture in the nation through such developments as a government research institute; departments of fine arts, education, and health and welfare; and information and other services for the professions comparable with those that farmers, for example, receive from the Department of Agriculture.

7. The Pepper Committee hearings demonstrated that professional and white-collar people as a whole are an economically underprivileged group. A sound national economy is impossible when the vast majority of some 20,000,000 workers receive incomes which do not allow them to maintain adequate standards of health and comfort. In the postwar world, when a high level of consumer purchasing power is essential to national prosperity, the danger to our economy becomes still more acute. An adequate reconversion program must come to grips with this problem.

8. The substandard economic position of professional and white-collar people has resulted not only in personal hardship but also in a high rate of turnover and a consequent lowering of quantity and quality of available services. To insure the security of professional and white-collar people and the stability of the services they render, income standards must be established for all categories of work in these fields. Such standards should serve to minimize regional economic differentials. They should be based on (1) exact definition of the job and its requirements, (2) length of training and preparation necessary, (3) cost of living including the special extra expenses which professional and white-collar people must assume. These standards should operate as minima; the individual with special capabilities and equipment should receive extra compensation in proportion.

9. Employees of nonprofit institutions, small offices and the government, and the self-employed - all large professional and white-collar categories - should have the same benefits from social legislation as other workers. Existing social security, unemployment insurance, and labor legislation should be amended to include them, and they should be fully covered in all future measures.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION

1. Our national prosperity and world prosperity are interdependent. Long-term maintenance and improvement of our own standard of living can be fully achieved only on the basis of a rising standard of living for all peoples everywhere, including those now least advanced. International security and peace are essential to the maintenance of full production in this country, for only through a greatly expanded world trade can the productive resources of this and other countries be fully used and the standard of living raised. On the other hand, maintenance of full employment in this country is essential to world peace and security, for if the United States which is one of the largest consumers of commodities on world markets should allow depression to develop, the volume of world trade would collapse and world prosperity and peace would be seriously impaired.

2. It is the responsibility of our federal government to insure world prosperity and a market capable of absorbing the products of American industries, especially capital goods, through participation in or encouragement of international organizations and agencies necessary to world peace and an expanding economy.

   a. There must be concerted international action so that goods and services may be freely exchanged among nations and so that all nations, large and small, are assured free access to such raw materials as their economies require.

   b. The United States must be a full and active partner in a world organization of nations with power to enforce the peace.

   c. Long-term credits will be necessary for the rehabilitation of the devastated countries and the economic and cultural development of backward nations. For this purpose and also to insure a free flow of trade with an equitable balance of economic benefits to all nations, the United States should participate in international financial agreements and agencies.

   d. To help in establishing fair labor standards throughout the world as an important factor in raising the standard of living, the federal government should encourage and support an international organization of labor including representatives of all the United Nations.

   e. The federal government should support international cooperation among the professions of the United Nations by participating in such agencies as a International Office of Education.

UTILIZING PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES

Reconversion

1. The purpose of an adequate reconversion program must be to guarantee an expanding economy as the only basis on which the United States can achieve full production and full employment. The American people refuse to accept the inevitability of postwar unemployment.

2. Termination of war contracts and reconversion of government plants and facilities to civilian production must be determined by (1) the needs of war production and (2) the need to establish an expanding peacetime economy. The government must promptly pay its war contract obligations and take steps to protect the people against speculation and fraud.

3. One of the basic purposes of a sound reconversion program is to protect America's economy from a sudden decline in purchasing power. Reconversion must, therefore, be based on the principle of adequately preventing a slowing-up of economic activity with its inevitable after-effect of a fall in prices and wages.

4. An integral part of the over-all plan for reconversion should be the provision for expert research, engineering and marketing services by the federal government.

5. To protect the public interest, plants purchased or leased from the government for the manufacture of peacetime products should be maintained in substantial production for at least two years.

Surplus Property Disposal

6. The economic welfare of the nation demands that surplus property be disposed of as part of an integrated plan for reconversion.

7. Reconversion legislation should provide for an over-all coordinating agency with administrative power to classify surplus property, establish disposal priorities, and designate the agencies through which disposal transfer and lease of property can be accomplished. Advisory committees, made up of representatives of the main economic groups in the population, including consumers, should be set up to insure sound economic administration and disposal and the most effective use of surplus property for the benefit of all groups.

8. Surplus property should be promptly disposed of in such a way as to promote maximum production of peacetime goods, not to encourage monopoly, and to obtain the highest reasonable return for government. Provision should be made for

(1) classification of property into small enough units to encourage small business, (2) short and long term credit plans to finance the purchase of surplus property, and (3) adequate time limitations for all priority classifications of prospective purchasers to exercise their options.

9. Surpluses of medical or educational supplies should be made available without cost or at generous discounts to tax-supported or nonprofit educational, medical and health institutions. Eligibility to receive such property and materials would be determined by the ability of the institution or municipality to support normal operations, maintain the property, and make proper use of it.

Fiscal Policy

10. Fluctuations in private investment should be offset and a stable level of production maintained through an adequate and flexible volume of useful and productive investment. To this end, immediately after the war, federal works programs should be established, including construction and improvement of public roads and buildings, slum-clearance and farm-ownership housing programs, additional public health, welfare, educational, and recreational buildings and facilities.

11. A flexible system of taxation must be developed in accordance with the total needs of an expanding economy. It should be based on individual and corporate income taxes and not on consumption taxes which would dangerously lower purchasing power. It should take into consideration (1) ability to pay and the possibility of higher exemption levels for the lower-income brackets, (2) the needs of business and industry for investment and expansion to insure a high level of production, (3) the total tax structure of the nation, including state and local as well as federal taxes, and (4) special government rebates and gifts.

PROTECTING HUMAN RESOURCES

Social Security

1. The objective of a social security program is to assure minimum security for all people and to maintain the social and economic stability and human values threatened when people lack jobs or income. Adequate social security is not a substitute for full employment, although by maintaining purchasing power it is an important element in a program for full employment.
2. Social security measures should provide for democratic participation in an advisory capacity of a cross-section of business, labor, agriculture, and the general public through local, regional and national committees.
3. A unified system of social insurance should be provided for the entire working population against loss of income from old age, unemployment, illness, disability, maternity, or the death of the wage earner. This system should (1) provide benefits large enough, and for a long enough period, to provide basic security for the insured and his dependents, (2) cover workers now omitted, such as agricultural and domestic workers, employees of nonprofit institutions and small establishments, government employees, and the self-employed, (3) provide for a single administrative authority and a single contribution from workers and employers for all insurance purposes, supplemented by contributions from the federal government.
4. When private industry is unable to do so, government should provide useful work at prevailing wage rates and working conditions to all persons willing to work. The character of this work should be adapted to the developing needs of the nation and the community and the needs of the economy for workers with specific skills and occupational experience.
5. The federal government should pay transportation allowances to facilitate the voluntary movement of unemployed workers and their families to available jobs.

6. Public assistance should be available to all those unable in other ways to maintain an adequate standard of living for themselves and their dependents. It should (1) provide for all needy persons regardless of the cause of their need or of race, sex, creed, political affiliation, citizenship, length of residence, or any other eligibility restriction, (2) be large enough to provide the minimum essentials of living to the recipients and their dependents, (3) be paid as an unconditi onal cash payment, and (4) be designed to conserve the personal dignity and morale of the recipients and to help them to self-maintenance wherever possible.

7. A strong federal employment service, operating across state lines and taking into consideration the labor needs and resources of all parts of the country, is essential to the effective distribution and use of the national labor supply. It acts as a vital link between employment opportunities and those needing work and is essential to the success of government programs for social security, public works, vocational guidance and training, and transportation allowances.

Health, Welfare and Educational Services

8. A public program of vocational guidance, training, retraining, and especially designed work projects, including grants for trainees, should be available for all those who need such services to equip themselves for jobs.

9. There must be a great expansion of educational opportunities in all parts of the nation and especially in those sections of the country which are now substandard. This will require financial aid by the federal government to the states.

10. The federal government should guarantee adequate public health services and medical care, including preventive services, to all the people. Such a program should include not only expansion of public health services and public medical facilities and the strengthening of professional education, but also the development of either compulsory medical care insurance or a tax-financed program for making medical care available to all who need it.

11. Government should be responsible for providing or guaranteeing an adequate supply of safe decent low-rental housing for all groups who do not have adequate shelter.

12. Government should provide facilities and leadership for public recreation as a basic requirement of a well-rounded public welfare program. Activities under voluntary or commercial auspices and government facilities and services should be regarded as complementary.

Special Groups

13. Unfair discrimination in employment and educational opportunities because of race, creed, color, sex, or age results in a waste of human resources and is against the public interest. To aid in eliminating it, the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee should be continued on a permanent basis.

14. A public program for youth should include (1) federal financial aid, to be distributed by educational authorities, to assure higher education for all young people above compulsory school age who qualify for further schooling, (2) productive and educational jobs at reasonable wages for all young people who are neither in school nor at work elsewhere, (3) counseling and guidance services for all young people and their parents, and (4) special provision to insure the physical health of young people.

15. A program for veterans should include (1) adequate mustering-out pay, (2) special vocational and counseling service, (3) training programs for those who have lost their former skills or wish to improve new skills they have learned in the armed forces, (4) grants to enable those drafted while in college to complete their education, and (5) special training programs for the disabled and useful employment by government where it is not provided by private industry.

MEMORANDUM TO PROFESSIONAL AND WHITE COLLAR ORGANIZATIONS ON THE NATIONAL WARTIME CONFERENCE

Representatives of organizations taking part in the National Wartime Conference have asked for information on the origin and aims of the Conference which can serve as a basis for discussion among their members.

The National Wartime Conference began in the spring of 1943. It was initiated as a medium through which professional, technical and a wide range of white collar groups could jointly discuss the best means for increasing their contribution to the national war effort and win wider understanding, in government and the country as a whole, for the importance of their skills and the need for overcoming the obstacles in the way of their full and effective use.

The Conference was jointly initiated by a broadly representative group of professional and white collar organizations from such diverse fields as social work, the sciences, education, art, medicine, the law, all of whom felt the need of working more closely with organizations in other professions.

Over 700 delegates from 136 organizations attended the various sessions of the 1943 Conference held on May 8 - 9. Professor Kirtley F. Mather, of Harvard University, acting chairman, commented: "To the best of my knowledge this is the first time that representatives of the arts, the sciences, the learned professions, and the so-called 'white collar' fields in general, have met together to consider their place in the wide perspective of national life and the particular contribution they might make to the winning of the war and the establishment of a lasting peace."

This statement by Dr. Mather struck the keynote for the different panels and the two general sessions, which heard reports and wide discussion on wartime planning, use of technical skills, economic stabilization, the interrelations of white collar and professional people and organized labor, and the contributions toward victory and the ensuing peace of all the various fields.

The 1944 Conference, to be held on June 2 - 3 at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, is being called in answer to a widespread desire on the part of professional and white collar organizations to continue and intensify the cooperation begun last year. Forty-two national professional and white collar organizations have already signified their official participation and are taking an active part in planning the Conference sessions.

The 1944 Conference will bring together the leading organizations of the sciences, professions and white collar fields to consider their role in helping the nation achieve its full objectives in speeding victory and creating a prosperous and lasting peace. It will provide a forum in which the separate organizations of these fields can discuss and examine their common perspectives and the channels through which they can cooperate to fulfill them.

The theme of the Conference will be "The Sciences and Professions in the Future of America." Individual discussion sections will take up Planning for Full Employment, International Collaboration of the Professions in the Post-War World, Standards of Living, and Post-War Readjustment and Retraining of the Professions.

In the year between the 1943 and 1944 meetings, the National Wartime Conference has served to stimulate an increased exchange of ideas, experiences and publications among professional organizations.

The hearings on the economic problems of professional and white collar workers last January before the Senate Sub-Committee on Wartime Health and Education were the result of a sudden focus of attention on this group, for which the National Wartime Conference can justly claim some of the credit. Both the National Wartime Conference itself and several of its participating organizations presented testimony at the hearings. Speaking for the Conference, Dr. Kirtley F. Mather said: "They (the white collar and professional workers) firmly believe that their problems will be solved not by sections of the American people fighting each other, but by cooperative effort of all the people."

White collar and professional people have many organizations of their own; nearly every field of professional activity is represented by at least one. It is not the intention of the National Wartime Conference to become one more organization in this long list but rather to establish a mechanism through which already existing organizations can work together to solve common problems and achieve common objectives.

The National Wartime Conference is composed of representation from every participating organization. Together these representatives discuss the Conference's policy and set its program. At a continuation meeting of the Conference on June 16, 1943, a Steering Committee was elected which would plan and carry out the administration of the policies laid down by the Conference at its big May meeting. It was also to serve as a clearing house for suggestions from and information and help for all the participating organizations. <u>However, its effective operation depends entirely on the active cooperation of all organizations.</u>

Chairman of the Conference is Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, Professor of Geology at Harvard University and President of the American Association of Scientific Workers. Miss Olive Van Horn of the National Board of the YWCA is executive secretary.

The National Wartime Conference is financed by delegates' fees to the Conference, voluntary contributions from participating organizations, and a small foundation grant.

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION OF THE PROFESSIONS

1. The special meaning of the United Nations coalition to professionals both during and after the war

   Under what world conditions can the sciences and professions flourish and expand?

   What kind of perspectives for the post-war world in general and the professions within that world are possible in the light of international collaboration?

2. The special contribution which professionals can make to building the unity of nations and a lasting peace

   How can professionals assist in establishing international political order and peace?

   What role can the professions play in helping to restore democratic liberties?

   How can the sciences and professions assist in establishing economic order and prosperity?

   How can they contribute to rehabilitation and reconstruction of devastated areas; to establishing an expanding world trade based on equality of opportunity to all nations; to raising standards of living especially in substandard areas?

   How can international collaboration of the professions assist in restoring and extending the cultural life of all nations?

   How can professionals promote greater understanding between the peoples of their respective nations?

3. Practical steps toward deepening the international collaboration of the professions

   How can we most effectively make available the kind of retraining and rehabilitation needed by professionals in the devastated areas?

   How can the American sciences and professions best assist the professions of the devastated areas to restore destroyed libraries, schools, hospitals, laboratories, etc.?

   How can we best facilitate the mutual enrichment of science and culture of different nations through exchange of publications, works of art, personnel, etc.?

4. Methods by which international collaboration of the professions can be organized

   What are the plans for international collaboration of the professions of the other United Nations?

Are informal cooperation and exchange between professional fields of various countries sufficient?

Is an international organization of the professions desirable?

Suggested Reading

"Collaboration of the Bars of the United Nations." Vol 3, No. 5, September - October, 1943, Lawyers Guild Review, National Lawyers Guild, 16 East 41st Street, New York, N. Y.

"Learning About - Education and the Peace." Issued by the Educational Policies Commission. National Education Association of the United States and the American Association of School Administrators, 1201 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

"Post-War Plans of the United Nations," by Louis Lorwin. Twentieth Century Fund, 330 West 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.

"Rebuilding Europe - After Victory," by Hiram Motherwell. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 81. 1943. Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

"UNRRA, a Step Toward Reconstruction." Foreign Policy Report, Vol. 19, No. 20, January 1, 1944. Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York, N. Y.

PLANNING FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

The following questions are intended to indicate the areas of topics to be discussed in each division and to provoke thought on them prior to the Conference. In this discussion, the points of view and proposals of business, labor, government and other groups will be considered.

1. What we mean by "full" employment

   Does full employment mean that the entire potential labor force is employed?

   Does full employment imply employment at one's maximum skill?

   What are the special problems in achieving and/or maintaining full employment levels among racial minorities; women; disabled veterans and other handicapped?

2. The basis on which full employment can be obtained

   What interrelationships exist between domestic prosperity in the United States and international security and peace?

   How can the expanded domestic and foreign markets necessary for high levels of production and employment be achieved?

   How can government policies on taxation, expenditure and public works support and complement private activity in maintaining full employment?

   How effective can public and semi-public enterprise be in helping to attain the fullest utilization of our national resources?

3. The relation of full employment and the full utilization of professional and white collar skills

   What special effects does an expanding economy, requisite for full employment, have on such professions as engineering and architecture?

   How will the increased national income resulting from full employment be reflected in the utilization of the services of self-employed professionals like doctors, dentists and lawyers; of community services such as welfare and nursing; of the cultural fields?

   What special education and training are returning veterans and workers leaving defense industries likely to want to enable them to take jobs at higher skills?

   What opportunities will full employment and the conditions accompanying it open up within each of our professional or white collar fields?

   To what extent is government participation and planning necessary for making possible the full utilization of professional skills?

   To what extent and in what form is it desirable for the federal government to give financial assistance to education, science, public health, and other service fields?

4. <u>The part white-collar and professional people can play in insuring full employment</u>

Is there an attitude towards the problem of full employment on which professional and white collar organizations can agree?

How effective can this agreement be in creating the necessary climate of public opinion on the problem?

What suggestions for action can we make to the National Wartime Conference?

Suggested Reading

The following articles or booklets present viewpoints of various organizations on transition period and post-war employment. They are arranged alphabetically by organization.

"Post-War Program: American Federation of Labor." April 12, 1944. American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

"First Year's Report: A Quick Survey for Executives." March 25, 1944. Committee for Economic Development, 285 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y.

"As We Win - Report No. 1 of the CIO Postwar Planning Committee," January 1944; and "Full Employment - Proceedings of the Conference on Full Employment of the Political Action Committee," January 15, 1944. Congress of Industrial Organizations, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.

"Second Report of the Post War Committee." December, 1943. National Association of Manufacturers, 14 West 49th Street, New York, N. Y.

"Declaration of Interdependence." National Planning Association, 800 21st Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

"After Defense - What?" August 1941; and "After the War - Full Employment," by Alvin H. Hansen, January 1942. Issued by National Resources Planning Board. U. S. Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

"Report on War and Post-War Adjustment Policies," by Bernard M. Baruch and John M. Hancock, February 15, 1944. Issued by Office of War Mobilization. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

POST-WAR READJUSTMENT AND RETRAINING OF THE PROFESSIONS

1. What will be the needs for American scientific and professional skills, services and facilities in the period ahead?

To answer this question, we will need to know:

What were the needs before Pearl Harbor?

What are the needs during the war? Have they been met? How? What are the gaps and lags?

How can we assess the needs ahead? Immediately? From the long-range view?

How can we assess the needs for domestic and foreign use of scientific and professional skills?

The National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel of the War Manpower Commission is the first national mechanism set up for the planned use of scientific and professional skills. How effective has it been? Is it or some similar instrument desirable for planning the post-war use of these skills? If so, how can it be implemented and improved?

How do professional skills fit into the plans of industry, government, labor and other groups? How can we insure that the programs being planned and set up by the various groupings will be integrated and coordinated?

What perspectives do our present opportunities and plans for great national economic expansion open up for the expanded use of professional skills, services and facilities?

2. What kind of program of readjustment and retraining is required to equip the sciences and professions to fill these needs?

What training programs will be needed to solve the manpower shortage in various professional fields?

Can these training opportunities be provided by professional schools alone, or should they also receive assistance from business and government?

How can personnel drawn quickly into professional work during the war and with inadequate training be given the opportunity to supplement this training and increase their professional skills?

How can present training programs be re-evaluated and changed to take into account wartime experience acquired with only partial or emergency training? How can this be done without losing valuable personnel who have come into professional fields on an emergency basis and at the same time maintaining and advancing professional standards?

What readjustment and retraining opportunities should be available to those in the armed forces who have previously had professional training or experience, or who have acquired such training and experience in the armed forces?

Must we not look forward to much more flexible and interrelated types of professional training?

3. How can we make available to the professions and through them to the population at large the new knowledge arising out of the war?

How can new skills and knowledge acquired by specialized professional groups during the war be incorporated in training programs available to many more people after the war?

How can we fill the gaps and lags in the organization of professional training which have become apparent during the war?

How can we educate the consumer so that he will insist on having professional services not only in the broadest quantity but also of the highest quality?

During the war some facilities and services employing professional skills were curtailed or were substandard - such as housing. How can we recondition the community to understand that such wartime measures are below peacetime standards?

In this connection, some communities are actually experiencing cuts in health and welfare services. How can we insure development rather than curtailment?

Under what agencies is such program to come into being, and how is it to be financed?

4. How can we maintain and improve standards in the professions?

To what degree do professional standards depend on wide public demand for the best the professions have to offer?

What is the responsibility of professional groups for providing leadership in creating new facilities and services and in maintaining high standards?

How can professional groups secure the confidence of the consumer and, hence, his intelligent backing for the highest professional standards?

To what degree do professional standards depend on the financial support - private and otherwise - which the community gives to the professions?

How can we discover and reconcile the new plans of the professional schools and the expanded needs of the general public in regard to strengthening and raising professional standards?

Suggested Reading

"Demobilization and the Library." April 1944 issue, A.L.A. Bulletin. American Library Association, 520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 11, Ill.

"Jobs: A World-wide Problem," by E. J. Phelan. April 30. New York Times Magazine. New York Times, 229 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.

"Labor and Education." Publication No. 99. Congress of Industrial organizations, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

"National Resources Development Report for 1943, Part 1. Post-War Plan and Program." January 1943. Issued by National Resources Planning Board. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

"Personnel - Training - Recruiting." Reprinted from The Compass. March 1944. American Association of Social Workers, 130 East 22nd Street, New York 10, N. Y.

"Testimony to the Future." The National Association of Manufacturers, 14 West 49th Street, New York 20, N. Y.

"The White Collar Workers and the Future of the Nation." United Office and Professional Workers of America, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Those who wish to go into the subject in more detail may be interested in the following books:

"Principles and Practices of Rehabilitation," by John Eisele Davis. A. S. Barnes and Co., 67 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y.

"Report on Demobilization," by James R. Mock and Evangeline Thurber. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla.

STANDARDS OF LIVING

1. Factors to be discussed--the relationship of money income, cost of living, and social security.

   How is this relationship affected by
   collective bargaining,
   government wage policy,
   price control,
   social legislation (old-age and unemployment insurance, wage-hour legislation, etc.)?

2. The wartime standard of living of the nation and of the white collar worker

   For purposes of this discussion, who are the white collar workers?
   Privately employed professional and white collar workers, including social workers, scientists, research assistants, office workers, administrative employees, professors and instructors, actors, musicians, etc.
   Government employees, including teachers, welfare workers, nurses, technicians, administrators, stenographers, etc.
   Self-employed professionals, including dentists, doctors, lawyers, writers, etc.

   The recently issued report on the hearings on the economic conditions of white collar workers held before the Senate Sub-Committee on Wartime Health and Education, chaired by Senator Pepper, states:
   "The committee found that some 20 million Americans have not enjoyed rises in income commensurate with the most conservative estimate of cost-of-living increase. Moreover, we found that before the war a large proportion of these people had substandard or below-subsistence-level incomes. We found that the hardships imposed upon them by the war greatly exceed those borne by other groups."
   How have these salaries enabled white collar and professional workers to make their contribution to the national war effort? Are they adequate to maintain health, morale and efficiency?

   The Bureau of Labor Statistics says that living costs have risen 23.4% since January, 1941; on the basis of its own study the CIO says that the increase is 43.5%. The Department of Agriculture reports a figure close to the CIO's. How do the experiences of the members of your organization bear on these figures?

   What are the special problems of white collar workers in relation to social security? Do they enjoy the same benefits as other groups?

3. The potential contribution of white collar workers to a higher post-war standard of living for the nation

   What is the special contribution of the sciences, professions and white collar fields to full production during the war? What is the special contribution these groups can make to achieving and maintaining full production in peacetime?

   What conditions are necessary if the standard of living of the people is to be raised internationally and nationally?

In the light of their contribution to the national welfare, what should be the share of white collar and professional workers in the post-war prosperity of the whole country?

4. Raising the standard of living of white collar and professional workers now and in the transition and post-war period

What kind of national salary policy for the white collar fields is necessary now in order to guarantee full employment and prosperity in the future?

What kind of War Labor Board (or its successor) do we wish? Is the present tri-partite arrangement best?

Should the Little Steel formula be modified? Should the War Labor Board remove all controls on salaries under $200 a month for heads of families and $150 a month for single workers, as recommended by the Pepper Committee? Is such a step inflationary?

Should the War Labor Board set up a special white collar division?

How would a change in national salary policy for white collar and professional employees be reflected in the incomes of the self-employed?

The Price Control Act expires June 30. Should it be renewed in its present form? Should the Office of Price Administration be given the funds to enforce price control strictly?

What kind of social security legislation do we need? Is the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill the answer?

What recommendations, if any, would you like to suggest to the National Wartime Conference?

Suggested Reading

"Report to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor from the Sub-Committee on Health and Education." U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

"Twenty Million Forgotten Americans," by Senator Elbert D. Thomas, April, 1944, issue of The American Magazine, 250 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

"S. 1161" (Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill.) U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

"Expansion of Social Security," Supplement to the October, 1943, National Consumers League Bulletin. National Consumers League, Cleveland, Ohio

"Price Control Edition," issued by the Consumer Education Service of the American Home Economics Association, 620 Mills Building, Washington, D. C.

"Push Salaries Up." United Office and Professional Workers of America, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

"Wages and Prices." A symposium in the April 10, 1944, issue of the New Republic, 40 East 49th Street, New York, N. Y.

PURPOSE, PROGRAM AND CONSTITUENCY OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SCIENTIFIC, PROFESSIONAL, ART, AND WHITE COLLAR ORGANIZATIONS

PURPOSE

It is the aim of the National Council of Scientific, Professional, Art and White Collar Organizations to enable the workers in our fields better to serve our country and its people.

Broad national policies are today in the making, which directly determine the nature of our contribution to the general welfare - policies concerning world peace and international collaboration, full production and full employment, economic standards, raising the national level of health, education, and culture. Within this national framework, our contribution is also determined by our ability to solve the special problems of our own fields.

Professional and white collar people have many organizations - technical, professional, social, labor, general - all of which are in their separate ways devoted to this goal. The experiences of the war have taught us to work together. The developing needs and possibilities of the postwar period are impelling us to learn to work together more effectively than ever before.

Jointly we must define the wide areas of our interest and responsibility, identify common problems, and find common solutions. We must cooperate first of all with each other in order to be able to work with government, with other sections of the population, and with the members of the professions of other nations.

Our organizations must take responsibility for helping to shape national policies today. We must tell our government what professional and white collar people want for their nation, what they can contribute to the nation, and under what circumstances they can make their most effective contribution.

We must put ourselves in a position to cooperate with and secure cooperation from the organizations of industry, labor, and agriculture for the general welfare and prosperity on both a community and a national level.

We must reinforce the programs of our separate professional fields by working

Olive O. Van Horn
Exec. Sec.
135 East 52 St.
N.Y. C. 22

out over-all plans for active collaboration with the professional people of the other United Nations through the central professional organizations of these countries, their governmental agencies, and our own State Department. To establish international relationships on this level, a central coordinating council of the American professions is essential.

The purpose of the National Council have evolved through two National Wartime Conferences. The Proceedings of the 1944 Conference, in particular, show how they were hammered out in discussion of common problems and interests by a wide variety of groups and how they are being practically realized.

PROGRAM

Many kinds of activity are possible in the National Council. Which ones are undertaken will be decided by the members of the Council on the basis of the needs and programs of their own organizations.

The following are specific suggestions proposed by one or more of the organizations taking part in the second National Wartime Conference. Some are future possibilities; others - the interim activities authorized by the Conference - are being carried out now.

1. Publication and wide distribution of the Proceedings of the second National Wartime Conference.

2. Delegations to the Republican and Democratic National Committees and publication of their report.

3. Systematic promotion of local cooperation among our groups.

4. A regular bulletin with news of activities among the constituent organizations and information on legislation, rulings of Federal agencies, national and international conferences, etc., of interest to our fields.

5. Exploration of the most effective method of establishing an over-all program of collaboration of the professional workers of the United Nations.

6. An annual conference at which delegates from our organizations meet with leading figures in government and public life.

7. National and local forums to discuss specific problems and issues.

8. Regular interchange of publications and material among organizations.

9. Surveys by field and by community to discover personnel and training needs and the use made of professional skills and services.

10. Publication of a popularly written brochure for the general public describing how our fields contribute to better living for the average person.

11. Establishment of machinery through which a group of organizations can, in their own names, work together on issues of common concern.

CONSTITUENCY

National membership organizations of professional and white collar people are eligible for membership in the National Council.

A very large fraction of the people of the United States are "intellectual workers." Our occupations vary widely - from teachers to school administrators, from stenographers to physicians to actors. Our social status is equally various - from the self-employed professional to the employee who is a small cog in a large industrial or commercial machine, from the highly paid expert who has large executive powers to the routine worker on whom the smooth functioning of office procedures depends. But within this variety of activity, we have a fundamental identity.

In the productive process, we create not goods but services. We do both creative and routine administrative jobs; we educate and invent; we perform health, welfare, and cultural services. We see as a common characteristic of our work that it requires a considerable amount of intellectual judgment and provides a certain measure of individual freedom. These factors have given us a common attitude toward our own place in society. They have also given other groups a common attitude toward us.

We have a common economic problem that stems from these economic and social factors. The Pepper Committee hearings amply revealed that special economic

burdens fall heavily on all professional and white collar people regardless of their particular field of employment. During the war, the situation has grown worse, creating grave difficulties for the industries and professions in which we are engaged and for the nation as a whole.

Today there is greater national recognition than ever before of the important role of the services that white collar and professional people produce in helping our country to realize the possibilities of an expanding postwar economy. Channels must be provided by which these services can be easily and plentifully supplied; obstacles standing in the way of our full contribution must be eliminated. A problem of this magnitude cannot be solved by teachers alone for teachers, or by bookkeepers alone for bookkeepers, or engineers or artists or chemists for their own professions. Progress in any one profession helps the members of all professions, just as lack of progress in any profession holds everybody back. In the development of national policies on questions of such importance to our fields as economic standards, full employment, and training programs, the professional and white collar fields are considered as a unit. The full release of our skills requires national action, stimulated by the cooperation of all professional and white collar groups.

The common characteristics of professional and white collar people are the basis for determining eligibility in the National Council. The other major consideration is the membership qualifications of the individual organizations, which reflect the facts put forward above and must in turn be reflected in the eligibility standards of the Council.

For example, the American Sociological Society and the United Scenic Artists, AFL, limit membership to certain highly trained professional categories. The American Library Association, on the other hand, admits all categories of workers in the field. The National Council of Business and Professional Clubs of the YWCA has in its membership a cross-section of all types of white collar and professional workers, as does the United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO.

HOW THE NATIONAL COUNCIL WILL FUNCTION

It is the objective of the National Council to function in such a way as to increase the ability of each participating organization to realize its own aims.

In considering and discussing its participation in the National Council, each organization asks two important questions:

What have we as an organization to gain from such participation?

1. A more effective voice in shaping national policies to insure the full utilization of our skills for the benefit of the whole nation. The two Conferences have already helped us to secure greater national interest in the point of view of those we represent.

2. Strength in solving our common problems, which comes from working together with other organizations.

3. Added individual influence and recognition for each organization and its program because of enlarged acceptance of the importance of the whole group.

4. An effective and flexible mechanism for achieving this cooperation nationally and locally.

To what are we committing ourselves through participation?

The participating organizations will determine the policies of the National Council.

Each organization will decide how much leadership it wants to assume and how much financial responsibility it wants to undertake. Obviously the organizations will have to work out a minimum fee, the size of which will depend on decisions as to the extent of the Council's program.

Certainly no organization wants the Council to speak for it without its express permission. Point II under Program (on page 3), if adopted, will provide machinery for joint activity so that participation in the Council commits no organization to any specific course of action or position on any given issue. This allows for cooperation with a maximum of individual freedom.

It is possible, however, that in the future the organizations in the Council may wish to reinforce their individual positions on specific matters by having the Council itself take a position. This is a decision which the organizations themselves will make through their representatives in the Council. The Council is their instrument to be used in the way which is most helpful to them. Only they can decide on the degree to which they wish to commit themselves to cooperative activity.

In the National Council, therefore, associations with different programs and types of membership can appropriately and effectively work together. Each organization will profit from the rich experience of the others. As cooperation strengthens our separate organizations, it also strengthens the whole professional and white collar group. Thus, side by side with industry, labor and agriculture, we can put our special skills and talents more fully at the service of a victorious and prosperous nation.

AIRMAIL

July 5, 1956

Mr. Calvin Kytle
246 North High Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Calvin:

We have put together what little information we have on the editor of The Petal Paper, P. D. East. He is reported to be a youngish guy, thirtyish, a graduate of Mississippi Southern, and formerly a reporter on one of the papers in the Gulf area of Mississippi. He has a liberal reputation for some time, and apparently is given a completely free hand by the owner of The Petal Paper. As of latest reports, he is maintaining the normal volume of advertising.

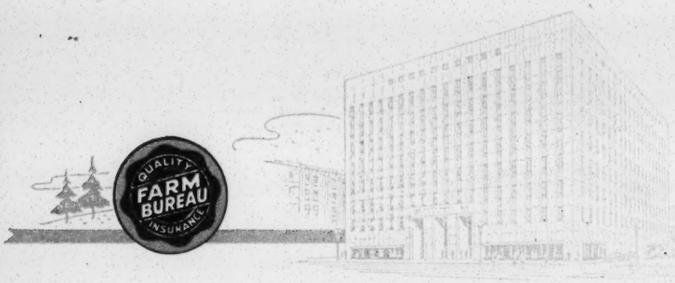
We read your interesting piece on Dr. Spock and are looking forward to the one on the NAACP.

Best to you and Liz.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo



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FARM BUREAU LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

246 NORTH HIGH STREET
Columbus 16, Ohio

April 26, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

I read the good news in the New York Times sometime last week and have had it on my mind ever since to drop you a note and thus vicariously get in on the rejoicing.

I have some idea, I think, of what this means for the council, the South, and for you and George Mitchell personally. I don't think I've been happier about anything since V-J day. Coward that I am, now that the hard part is over, I can't help wishing circumstances had kept me in Georgia so I could be down there with you, helping push the program along.

Don't think, though, that I've been altogether idle on this front. We've been up to some very interesting things, which I hope to have a chance to describe in glorious detail when Liz and I get to Atlanta this summer. Looks now as if that will be in June, although my schedule here is still so unsettled I can't say for sure.

Regards to Jane, and congratulations to everybody.

Yours,

Calvin

Calvin Kytle

nlw

FARM BUREAU
INSURANCE
OF COLUMBUS, OHIO
has become
IN SERVICE WITH PEOPLE
NATIONWIDE
INSURANCE

NATIONWIDE MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY
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246 North High Street • Columbus 16, Ohio

April 9, 1958

MacGill

CApitol 8-4711

Ap 21st or 22d

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

1st wk in May

Dear Harold:

Can you help us get a print of FACE OF THE SOUTH real quick-like? I want very much to show it to our directors, and also to some of our key operational people, before we move into Florida next month. We tried to borrow a print from the National Council of Churches but they tell us that all their prints are out and that they won't be able to send us one for some time. Now I'm so eager to get hold of a print that I'm throwing caution to the winds and offering to buy one. If you've got one to spare, I'd be most obliged if you'd let us have it.

I can't say for sure yet but I'm hoping to make that trip to Atlanta the week of April 28. Could you maybe have some sort of preliminary report for me by that time on what's available in the libraries about the Negro insurance market and all the related problems thereto? I'd be most obliged.

Knopf has deferred publication of Liz's book till June 16 but we've seen an advance copy paper-back. It's beautiful. Liz keeps telling me to stop carrying on so, but I can't help it. I must have read the thing now, in one form or another, at least two dozen times and I still find myself laughing or blubbering all the way through it. I love Liz and I feel quite personal about the real Willie Mae and I know that I'm a hopeless neurotic about the South, but I insist that, despite all, I'm enough of a professional to know a good book when I read one. This is a good book, so good that I can almost believe the people at Knopf when they talk about its becoming a "minor classic". How about that -- me the husband of the author of a minor classic?

Anyway, you'll soon have a chance to see for yourself because I've asked Knopf to send you one of the advance paper-backs. They tell me you should have your copy by the end of next week. I don't expect you to go around bullying your friends into liking it, the way I'm guilty of doing right now (but honest, Harold, I just can't see how you can do anything <u>but</u> like it), but we'd all be most appreciative of whatever you can do to

get it talked about. Would it, for instance, be appropriate to review it in The New South?

I suppose that, in this somewhat extended dissertation on a subject that I started out meaning to dismiss casually, I'm still reacting to some of the things I was told last week by Knopf's sales representative who was in town. He says that nowadays it's very difficult to sell <u>any</u> books about a Negro -- pro, neutral, or con -- in the South, everything's gotten so sensitive. He was talking particularly about the resistance he'd found among Southern booksellers even to <u>stocking</u> books about Negroes. I hate to think that it's come to this, but I guess it's not surprising. In any event, I'm hoping that "Willie Mae" will be an exception and that at least enough bookstores down home will stock it to give it a chance. I'm probably crazy as a betsy bug myself but I can't help but believe that in truth there's a <u>good</u> market for "Willie Mae" in the South.

The Knopf representative I refer to is named Leon Anderson. He will be in Atlanta next week trying to build a little advance interest in the book and hoping to get some orders from places like Rich's, Davison's, Miller's, etc. He has your name and he may call you for counsel and comfort. We will, of course, be deeply grateful for whatever help you might be able to give him.

Love to Jane. Hope to see you before the month's out.

Yours,

Calvin

Calvin Kytle

js

If anything goes wrong, call JUdson 2-3600

BEN SACKHEIM, INC. · 2 WEST 59 STREET · THE PLAZA · NEW YORK 19 · PLAZA 1-2200

Harold –
Hope you
like it as much as
I did. C –

April 22, 1958

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Nationwide Insurance
246 North High Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Cal:

You will be glad to know that we procured tickets for Mr. and Mrs. Fleming for the April 30th matinee performance of "Sunrise at Campobello".

The tickets will be in their name at the box office of the Cort Theatre, 138 West 48th Street. You, no doubt, would like to give them advance notice, but I will also call them at the New Weston on Monday to confirm.

Sincerely,

George

George Pampel

GP:IH

Thanks so much for the ride to the airport Friday – and especially the chance to chat a bit with Roy and you.

APR 24 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

April 23, 1958

Mr. Calvin Kytle
246 North High Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Mr. Kytle:

We have made reservations for you at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel for the nights of May 4th and 5th with late arrival on the 4th indicated.

If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Washington Post
May 13, 1958

File — Kytle

Copy sent to him 5/14/58

Firm Stops Insurance Of Negro

MONROE, N. C., May 12 (AP) An insurance company, noting racial unrest in Union County, has canceled automobile insurance of a Negro leader.

The Nationwide Insurance Co. dropped machinist Robert F. Williams' collision and comprehensive coverage, effective today.

Williams, as president of the County chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has been a figure in several racial controversies in this area, 20 miles southeast of Charlotte.

The firm first canceled all of Williams' automobile insurance, but decided to reinstate his liability and medical payments coverage, enough for Williams to retain his car license.

"The affiliation of Mr. Williams with the NAACP, as such, was not a factor," said Elton Parker, personnel and public relations manager of the insurance company's Raleigh regional office.

Parker said that Nationwide's agent in Monroe reported "that rocks had been thrown at his (Williams') car and home several times by people driving by his home at night. These incidents just forced us to get off the comprehensive and collision portions of his policy."

"These things have happened," Williams insisted. "Police . . . try to make it appear that I have been exaggerating and trying to stir up trouble.

"If police tell me I am in no danger and that they can't confirm these events, why then has my insurance been canceled?"

May 23, 1958

Mr. Calvin Kytle
246 North High Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Calvin:

I am awfully glad that you and Liz got together with Fred Routh and that you were able to hear his talk. Fred and I both would be happy to have you make any use you like of his transcribed remarks. If there is anything we've got lots of, it's analysis and interpretation. Call on us anytime we can supply more.

As for the proposed project, we have been at work on the search for the right person to do the job on a temporary basis. While we haven't yet nailed anybody down, we are close to doing so. At this point, I think I can give you definite assurance that we will follow through within the terms laid down in your good prospectus, at a cost not to exceed $1,000. We would aim to have the bibliography in your hands by the end of the summer, or earlier. Meanwhile, once the project person is selected and at work, we will see that you get periodic progress reports.

I am delighted that Ralph came through so handsomely on Willie Mae. I was sure that he

needed only to read it to be enchanted.

It was grand having you back in the fold again, though all too brief. I hope the Company's Southern exposure will serve to put you and Liz in this territory often.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

FARM BUREAU
INSURANCE
OF COLUMBUS, OHIO
has become
NATIONWIDE
INSURANCE
IN SERVICE WITH PEOPLE

NATIONWIDE MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY
NATIONWIDE MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY
NATIONWIDE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

246 North High Street • Columbus 16, Ohio

May 21, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Liz and I spent a very pleasant, if sort of latish, hour with Fred Routh Saturday night, and I managed to make it to his NAACP talk Sunday afternoon. He was most impressive. Some of his analysis, I think, would be most helpful to our operations staff as they plan our Southward move. Would you or he have any objection if I were to arrange for a transcription of the tape recording, edit it, and distribute the pertinent excerpts to some of our key people?

Thanks for sending me the clipping re the cancellation episode in North Carolina. Except to say that this whole thing is causing me considerable distress, I'm going to resist commenting now. I've written a long, long explanation for Lincoln to see tomorrow. If he okays it, I'll send you a copy. I think you'll find it morbidly interesting.

Anyway, the episode serves to emphasize our need for the kind of project I hope you're going to be able to do for us. When are you going to let me hear from you?

It was just wonderful being with you and Jane and the rest. I've been homesick ever since.

Yours,

C—

Calvin

js

P.S. Ralph McGill loves Willie Mae. Within a week after I got back here, Liz's editor at Knopf wrote us to say that McGill had volunteered a quote for advance publication. It reads something like (as if I haven't memorized it): "In all the flood of words about the South, this is one of the few books which floats. It has the special virtue of being a warm human story and not a social document." If you're responsible for prodding him, many, many thanks. It couldn't be better.

Encls: Map showing density of Negro pop. by County - 1950 Census
Commentary on "Face of the South"
Geo. Mitchell

June 5, 1958

Mr. W. Dwight Weed
Office of Research
Nationwide Insurance Company
246 North High Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Mr. Weed:

I am slow in replying to your letter concerning documentation of the Southern sub-regions outlined by George Mitchell in "The Face of the South." We have had some difficulty trying to figure out what we can send you that will be helpful. George Mitchell's analysis was based on the work of the late Dr. Howard W. Odom and his associates as reported in his book, Southern Regions. However, to identify these broad sub-regions precisely by county would require a great deal more research, which simply has not been done and is not in prospect. In short, George Mitchell's presentation is a broad schematic analysis which has not been reduced to county lines.

There are one or two things that you might find useful. Enclosed is a map prepared from the 1950 census by the Southern Regional Council, showing the density of Negro population by counties in the Southern states. In general and with some expections, this distribution of population conforms to the sub-regional breakdown given in "The Face of the South." That is, the counties shown as having 34 per cent or more Negro population fall mainly in the "Black Belt" or "Old Plantation Belt." (An exception would be Jefferson County, Alabama where Birmingham is located.) The yellow

counties shown as having less than 5 per cent Negro population fall mainly in the mountainous sub-region. Those in between comprise the Piedmont South, and the green and pink counties below the "Black Belt" comprise, generally, the Sand and Piney Woods area. This is still very vague and general, but may give you a rough guide.

A very detailed breakdown of the economic sub-regions within the South was prepared some time ago by Donald Bogue. This analysis, which gives a great many factors by county, was published under the title, Economic Sub-Regions of the United States, published I believe by the Department of Commerce; available through the Government Printing Office. I am sure you can secure a copy of this through your local library facilities. Another publication of possible value is Rural Regions of the United States by A. R. Mangus, 1940, Government Printing Office.

I am sorry we cannot be of more assistance, but hope this much will prove helpful to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. I thought you might like to have the enclosed transcript of George Mitchell's commentary for "The Face of the South".

H.C.F.

FARM BUREAU
INSURANCE
OF COLUMBUS, OHIO
has become
IN SERVICE
NATIONWIDE
INSURANCE
WITH PEOPLE

NATIONWIDE MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY
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NATIONWIDE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

246 North High Street • Columbus 16, Ohio

County-City Data Book! A Statistical Abstract Census 1952

call Jac re woofer?

May 21, 1958

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Our public relations people have been studying and are very much impressed by the movie, "The Face of the South," which is narrated by the former director of your council and in the preparation of which I am sure the Council played a large part.

We have been requested to check out several hypotheses relating certain aspects of our insurance operations to the four faces of the south, or subregions, described in the film.

It would be very helpful if you could supply us with a list of the counties comprising each of these subregions. We are ultimately interested in the whole Southeast and would like to have the details of the entire subregional delineation for our files. If this is not practicable or convenient at the moment, our immediate interest will be in the three states of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

Any assistance you can give us will be most sincerely appreciated.

Yours very truly,

W. D. Weed

W. Dwight Weed
Office of Research

db

file - Kytle, Calvin
Nationwide Ins.

June 11, 1958

Mr. David Estese
P. O. Box 624
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear David:

Enclosed is a suggested section for your letter as promised on Friday.

It was good to meet you. As a result of our discussion, I have an even stronger hope than before that you will be able to do this project for us.

Will look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

We hope to include in the bibliography any information relating to those factors which are taken into account in establishing insurance rates and coverage. These include the obvious fields of accidents, crimes, health, deaths, births and the like; all as studies of the Negro or as studies of a total given population with breakdowns according to race.

In addition we would hope to include those indirectly related areas such as studies of law enforcement, housing, income, mobility, and population changes, employment, educational attainment, purchasing power, marketing potential and others; all having to do indirectly but decisively with determining rates and potential coverage of Negroes. Such studies, articles, pamphlets and the like would not have to deal with the entire region or even with a given state. Studies of this nature which deal with any given locality, as small as one segment of a city or county, might well prove to be of value. Also, studies of any age group on any of the above factors where racial breakdowns are provided might be extremely valuable.

It is unlikely that more than a few published and unpublished works have dealt directly with this area.

Therefore, our hope is that we can locate a great many sources which deal indirectly with this field. These indirect sources, when collected, may provide us with a great deal of information.

June 12, 1958

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Nationwide Insurance Company
246 North High Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Calvin:

The bibliography project moves slowly, but it does move.

We have tentatively arranged to have the project directed by David Estese, Research Librarian at Emory University. The further we went into the matter, the more obvious it became that it was unlikely that a graduate student could properly handle this. Estese is now doing some preliminary work and we hope to make final arrangements with him within the next two weeks. We are convinced that he is the man for the job and hope that we can convince him of that fact.

We will keep you posted.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

July 9, 1958

Mr. Calvin Kytle
246 North High Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Calvin:

I trust that you have not written us off as a lost cause in relation to the bibliography. If not, you'll be happy to know that our plans are completed and the project is well under way.

We have secured David Estes, Research Librarian at Emory, for the project. He will devote a good bit of time to the work and will have the help of persons at several of the more important universities. Points of concentration will be Emory, Atlanta, Duke and Fisk Universities, and the Universities of Georgia, Florida and North Carolina.

Considerable preliminary investigation has begun. As you might expect it appears that the most valuable information will appear in the form of theses. Atlanta University, for instance, has several masters' theses of recent date dealing with the Negro insurance market. This is more than we had hoped for. As a guide for those who work on the project, we have drawn up a rather detailed list of subjects which are related to some extent to the purpose; migration, income, housing, and the like.

I feel that we were fortunate in securing Estes for the project. He comes well recommended and his preliminary work has been thorough and impressive. And, his contacts should have considerable bearing on the time factor. It seems reasonable to expect that the project can be completed on or shortly after September 1.

As you will see from the enclosed copy of a letter to Estes, we have agreed on a budget of $700.

Trust all of this meets with your approval.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1

July 9, 1958

Mr. David Estes
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear David:

The purpose of this letter is to confirm our conversation of Monday evening and to transmit our check for $200 as a partial payment for your services.

It is my understanding that we have agreed to the following conditions: (1) a consultant's fee of $400, half of which is represented by the enclosed check, the other half to be paid at the completion of the project; (2) an expense budget of $300 from which you will arrange to pay for part-time help at various university libraries, travel, supplies, and the like; and, (3) a completion date of September 1, barring unforeseen difficulties or delays in obtaining material. All of these conditions are, of course, subject to any revisions we may see fit to make as the project progresses.

It appears to me that the results of your preliminary investigation and the plans you have

made to cover the various university libraries are very encouraging and I have great hopes for the final results. I am especially happy that you have agreed to conduct this project for us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 check

Sent: Both original and revised copies of
Research Project.

August 25, 1958

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Nationwide Insurance Company
246 North High Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Calvin:

No need for concern over the late reply - in most matters we're more than behind schedule around here and it's a bit consoling to find the condition elsewhere.

Enclosed is a copy of the original project outline as requested, and a copy of our slightly revised outline which Estes and others are using.

We are in no particular need ~~for~~ immediate funds so why don't we wait and take up the whole matter later?

The project continues to move along well and is turning up what should be moderately valuable information. The hoped-for deadline of September 1 is being moved up somewhat, though I trust not by more than several weeks. Estes has experienced slower progress than had been anticipated at two of the university libraries. I hope this is at least partially due to the fact that materials do exist in significant numbers.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

NATIONWIDE INSURANCE
HOME OFFICE • COLUMBUS, OHIO

NATIONWIDE MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY
NATIONWIDE MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY
NATIONWIDE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
246 North High Street • Columbus 16, Ohio

August 19, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I'm terribly embarrassed to be so late in answering your letter of July 9. The only explanation I can offer is it came while I was on a short vacation and I simply have overlooked it in the rush of catching up.

I am, of course, delighted with your progress on the bibliography project. Would you like me to send you a check for $200 to cover the Estes' advance? Meanwhile, would it be possible for you to send me a copy of the project outline that you and I developed while I was in Atlanta some months ago?

Best regards,

C—

Calvin Kytle

js

October 28, 1958

Mr. David Estes
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear David:

Enclosed is our check for $460.31; the $400 consultant fee and the remaining $60.31 for expenses.

As I mentioned last night, we are of the opinion that you have done an excellent job and we are more than pleased. I hope that an occasion will arise which will enable us to work together again.

If we can be of any help to you, by all means call on us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Check #4785, $460.31)

November 10, 1958

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Nationwide Mutual Insurance Company
Box 2259
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Calvin:

Many thanks for sending the check so promptly. We are the stronger for it, and for the results of the research.

The bibliography has been copied and, if it hasn't reached you yet, should very shortly.

We realize that this is only the beginning for your purposes. If we can help you and your research staff, to put the bibliography to work, let me know.

The very best to you and Liz.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official Receipt)

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Dear Calvin:

Many thanks for sending the check so promptly. We are the stronger for it, and for the results of the research.

The bibliography has been copied and, if it hasn't reached you yet, should very shortly.

We realize that this is only the beginning for your purposes. If we can help you and your research staff to put the ~~finding~~ bibliography to work, let us know.

The very best to you and Liz.

Sincerely,

HCF

enc
Receipt

NATIONWIDE INSURANCE
HOME OFFICE • COLUMBUS, OHIO

NATIONWIDE MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY
NATIONWIDE GENERAL INSURANCE COMPANY
NATIONWIDE MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY
NATIONWIDE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
BOX 2259, COLUMBUS 16, OHIO

November 5, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Here 'tis, and much obliged. The bibliography is going to be of tremendous help to us and I don't know how we could have got it put together without you. Please give our special thanks to Paul.

I'll be in touch with you again real soon.

Yours,

Calvin

Calvin Kytle
Vice President-Public Relations

$1,000.00 CR
rha

vw
Att: Check

November 14, 1958

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Nationwide Insurance Company
246 North High Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Calvin:

Under separate cover we are mailing you the cards of the bibliography. We have made a second set and in the event of loss they are available. Enclosed is the Estes' report of the project and other pertinent information.

In general, with the exception of the time factor for which I offer my sincere apologies, we are very pleased with the results and I hope you will be.

Incidentally, your Sales Department may find the "Ebony - Market Characteristics of Ebony Magazine Readers" of some interest.

A note in the morning mail informs me that we are receiving fifty copies of Willie Mae on consignment. Will do our best to see that they are sold.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

June 17, 1959

Mr. James A. Applegate
Director of Public Relations Administration
Nationwide Insurance
246 North High Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Mr. Applegate:

Your letter has arrived just as I am about to embark on a trip, so I felt I should give you a hasty reply that can be supplemented later. I appreciate your assurance that this will be confidential.

We have been generally aware of Mr. Phillips' activities for several years. He is a promoter who, by trading on the attractiveness to conservatives of the "Booker T. Washington" philosophy, has managed to do rather well financially. His enterprises have been eyed with disfavor by the Negro leaders whose views we esteem, and questions have been raised from time to time about the ethics of his ventures. So far as I know, however, nothing illegitimate has been proved against him.

In short, though I don't have any specific documentation at hand, Mr. Phillips is not a person whom I would recommend or who would be likely to have the confidence of the people with whom we work. Since there is some question of identification with Tuskegee Institute, one way to check

further would be to write Dr. Luther Foster, the president of the Institute, for his views; I would unhesitatingly support Dr. Foster's judgment.

This weekend I will be at a conference with people who are likely to be more specifically informed about Mr. Phillips' standing and competence. If I learn anything more conclusive than the impressions given above, I will write you further.

Please give my best to Calvin Kytle.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

NATIONWIDE INSURANCE
246 NORTH HIGH STREET
COLUMBUS 16, OHIO

NATIONWIDE MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY
NATIONWIDE MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY
NATIONWIDE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
NATIONWIDE GENERAL INSURANCE COMPANY

June 15, 1959

RECEIVED JUN 17 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Mr. Calvin Kytle requested that I write to you and ask what information you might have regarding Mr. Sidney J. Phillips, who is associated with a firm bearing his name at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

The reason for this inquiry is that one of our executives has had a preliminary discussion with Mr. Phillips about the possibility of Mr. Phillips serving our company as a consultant. We don't have any firsthand knowledge about Mr. Phillips. At the moment, however, I do have a copy of the 100th anniversary edition of Booker T. Washington's autobiography "Up From Slavery". In the latter pages of this edition, published by Booker T. Washington Centennial Commission, there is some information concerning Mr. Phillips.

We would be very grateful to you, Mr. Fleming, if you could tell us -- on a confidential basis, of course -- what you know about Mr. Phillips, his general standing, and whether the Southern Regional Council would recommend our company's retaining him as a public relations consultant.

Thanks ever so much for whatever help you can give us.

Sincerely,

James A. Applegate

James A. Applegate
Director of Public Relations Administration

JAA:vw

Mr. Mellen
Placed on
New South
4/15/59
mf

April 15, 1959

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Nationwide Insurance Company
246 North High Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Calvin:

Thanks for the copy of your letter to Mr. Mellen with the kind words about the Council. Enclosed is another copy of our annual report to replace the one you sent him. I am asking that a subscription be entered in his name to New South, and you will be billed in due course.

I hope your news media up there have carried some word of Ellis Arnold's re-emergence as the would-be champion of democracy and progress in Georgia. This, plus concessions by Talmadge and Russell that the County Unit System might stand some modification, is creating quite a stir here. Maybe some time soon you could consider coming down to do a ten-years-later piece on the dawn's early light after the long, dark night in Georgia.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Annual Report)

RECEIVED APR 13 1959

April 10, 1959

Mr. John Mellen
Regional Manager
Nationwide Insurance
1000 Wade Avenue
Cameron Village
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear John:

From time to time you have heard me speak of the Southern Regional Council as being the most constructive organization in the South working in the field of race relations. I think you might be particularly interested in the annual report enclosed.

I am also entering a subscription in your name to the SRC's publication, "The New South".

Best regards,

Calvin Kytle

js
encl.
cc: Harold Fleming

Harold:

I think this should be self-explanatory. Mellen is our "man in the South" and one of whom I have great expectations. Please bill me for his subscription to The New South. I would appreciate it, too, if you would send me another copy of your annual report.

Best regards,

C—

~~Return this to HCC~~
acknowledged 11/9/59

RECEIVED OCT 27 1959

CALVIN KYTLE
~~44 King Avenue~~, Columbus 1, Ohio

October 26, 1959

Dear Harold,

The enclosed check is so small that I'm almost embarrassed to send it. It represents the SRC's half of the take from our feeble effort to mail-order Willie Mae last Christmas. Knopf reports that, all told, 60 copies were sold through the mailing. Liz's royalty amounts to 35 cents a copy, so ---. I only hope that $10.50 is enough to reimburse you for the clerical effort it took to supply Knopf with the lists.

CR
RHA
10/27/59

Sometime before Christmas I hope to send you another check, one a mite larger. This one will represent a plain out-and-out contribution to the Council, to which we're forever most obliged.

I will be passing through Atlanta next Friday on my way to the PRSA convention in Miami. When I talked with you long-distance I had hopes that I could drive down and take Liz with me, in which event we'd have planned to spend three or four days in Atlanta. Unhappily, she's taken a turn for the worse and I'm afraid a trip of that duration would be too much for her. It's pretty damn discouraging. I keep trying to remember that the doctor said we could expect setbacks off and on for at least a year, but it seems to me that after the first month, during which she appeared to be recovering remarkably, her condition has steadily worsened, to the point where now she's hardly any better off than she was before the operation.

Zack Cravey has finally granted us a license (though God knows how much we may have had to pay him on the side to get it), and our auto company is scheduled to set up shop in Georgia sometime in 1960. So I expect I'll have a legitimate reason to get down your way next year, maybe more than once.

I'm busy doing the final editing of Murray Lincoln's as-told-to autobiography, which goes to press next week. McGraw-Hill will publish next February and I'll be sure to see that you get an advance copy. I think you'll like it. ...One other item: we've hired George Stoney to do a company movie, and it promises to be a lulu.

Please give our love to Jane, Regards,

Cal

P.S. I have a piece on Mike DiSalle in the January CORONET.

CHATTANOOGA NEWS-FREE PRESS
Monday, August 8, 1960

Stirring Mob Rule

Minutes, the magazine of Nationwide Insurance Company, carries a disgusting lead article in its current edition which, surprisingly, tries to make a case for violation of the law to impose government by clamor through mob demonstrations.

Entitled "The Case for Public Demonstration and Civil Disobedience," the disruption - provoking article argues that protest marches and demonstrations may be the major — and proper — means of shaping the course of history.

The author, a freelance writer named Lincoln Adair, is a demonstrator himself. He heaps praise and honor on demonstration against American military preparedness, against American development of nuclear weapons for national defense against the Russian threat, against civil defense. The article in the Nationwide insurance magazine has high praise, of course, for the illegal confiscation of private property by integration agitators. And there are words of encouragement and defense for the Communist - inspired troublemakers who recently created serious disturbances and violated the law in their demonstrations against the investigations by the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco.

It is interesting that "the case for public demonstration" happens to list approval only for demonstrations on the leftwing side. There is no argument of a case for Ku Klux Klan crossburning, for example. There is no praise and encouragement for intimidation or coercion by demonstrators wearing white robes. As a matter of fact, the kind of people who are providing leadership in the demonstrations and civil disobedience of the leftwing variety would be quick to condemn demonstrations and mobs operating for the opposite point of view.

We believe decent, law-abiding citizens must agree that civil disobedience and law violations and coercive demonstrations are destructive forces, whatever their point of view.

If law and order are to yield to clamor, then the argument might run that the more clamor the quicker the ends of the mob would be attained. That is a call for revolution. It is an attack upon law and order, upon constitutional government. It is an effort to destroy the mortar that holds the bricks of peaceful society together. It is an appeal to the law of the jungle, where force or threatened force reigns above right and reason.

It is sickening that a large company like Nationwide insurance would use its facilities to distribute material promoting the flouting of the law and advocating mob rule.

By such reasoning, agitation is stirred, which in turn stirs counter agitation, which may result in a conflict of mob against mob to replace the normal, orderly procedure of government by law with deliberate justice.

CHATTANOOGA TIMES
Friday, August 5, 1960

The 'Troublemaker'

Who among your neighbors (not to bring it any closer home) is a "troublemaker"?

It would all depend, of course, on the definition used.

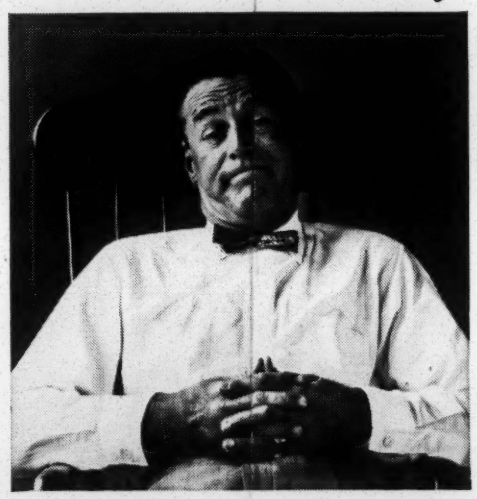
A magazine advertisement sponsored by the Nationwide Mutual Insurance Co. suggests that one "troublemaker" is "the silent one." It goes on to say:

"He never speaks up on issues. He never sounds off in the letter column of his local newspaper. He never writes his Congressman. He is quiet as a clam. And in his wish to offend nobody, he offends Democracy."

The duties of citizenship may be troublesome to perform, but to avoid them tends to make troubles of a vastly deeper nature.

Trouble-maker

He is the silent one. He never speaks up on issues. He never sounds off in the letter column of his local newspaper. He never writes his Congressman. He is quiet as a clam. And in his wish to offend nobody, he offends Democracy. How could Democracy succeed...if all of us, like this one, withheld our opinions, our ideas, our criticisms? Voting on election day is only part of a citizen's duty. Active, day-by-day participation in government, in society, in business associations, is a responsibility for each and every one of us. The *silent* trouble-maker fails to understand this. In his worship of "law and order," he never dares to question an oppressive law, never distinguishes "order" from stagnation. He is the apostle of social decay, not democracy.



P.S. *Democracy begins at home.* NATIONWIDE, in a unique experiment in economic democracy, seeks the counsel of its many policyholder-citizens by bringing them together with top management each Spring for a round-table discussion on personal, financial and insurance affairs. For more information on NATIONWIDE's Advisory Committee of Policyholders, ask your neighborhood NATIONWIDE agent.

IN SERVICE WITH PEOPLE
NATIONWIDE INSURANCE

New Ideas for a New Era

Nationwide Mutual Insurance Co., / Nationwide Life Insurance Co., / Nationwide Mutual Fire Insurance Co., / Home Office: Columbus, Ohio

As appearing in SATURDAY REVIEW (September 26 & November 7, 1959); HARPER'S MAGAZINE (December, 1959); THE ATLANTIC (November, 1959)

August 13, 1960

Mr. Paul W. Claypool
Nationwide Insurance
848 McCallie Avenue
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

This is a copy of a letter that was mailed today to the editor of the Chattanooga News - Free Press. We hope that the letter, or portions of it, will be published in the paper to offset in some degree what may be a potentially damaging editorial.

We expected to get some criticism from some quarters on this article, and we're getting it. But we're getting approval, too, and so far the "Bravo" letters outnumber the "Boos." I think in the long run the article may do us considerably more good than harm -- maybe even in Chattanooga.

You'll no doubt be hearing more from us on this. We certainly appreciate your sending the editorial and we'll do whatever we can to help you answer any criticism that may come your way as a result of the editorial.

Sincerely,

Bill Chambless
Editor, Minutes

cc: Calvin Kytle
Davis Douthit
Jack Spielman

AUG 15 1960

August 13, 1960

The Editor,
Chattanooga News - Free Press
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Sir:

The first paragraph of your August 8 editorial, "Stirring Mob Rule," reads as follows:

"Minutes, the magazine of Nationwide Insurance, carries a disgusting lead article in its current edition which, surprisingly, tries to make a case for violation of the law to impose government by clamor through mob demonstrations."

The rest of the editorial contains some excellent sentences denouncing "mobs," "clamor," "revolution," "the law of the jungle," "agitation," "the flouting of the law," etc. Some of your points are well taken, and I'm sure few of your readers would disagree with the opinions you express. However, I feel that your attack against Minutes and Nationwide Insurance is not justified by the content of the article you denounce.

The article "The Case for Public Demonstration and Civil Disobedience," by Lincoln Adair, advocates neither "government by clamor" nor "mob demonstrations." It does advocate peaceful demonstrations, but it seems to me there is a vast difference between a peaceful group of demonstrators and a mob.

The author believes participation in a public demonstration may be the most effective means open to an individual who feels strongly about a public issue but is frustrated by an inability to act upon it. Specifically, Mr. Adair refers to a New York demonstration against a Civil Defense alert and the lunch counter sit-in demonstrations (in the North as well as the South). He expresses his belief that public

demonstrations are sometimes effective when other methods of expression are not. He also states that civil disobedience -- demonstrating on an issue in spite of public abuse and the threat of suppression -- has been the forerunner of legislation in the past and may lead to desirable legislation in the future. He cites the Boston Tea Party and the demonstrations for women suffrage, for the rejection of Prohibition, and the efforts of Margaret Sanger to establish her Planned Parenthood Federation.

In substance, what Mr. Adair is advocating throughout his article is simply a means whereby persons who are concerned about important public issues can make their opinions known. He speaks out for nothing more than the exercise of one of the freedoms guaranteed under the Bill of Rights, "the right of the people peaceably to assemble."

Your editorial expresses surprise that a large company such as Nationwide Insurance would publish and distribute such an article. Your surprise is understandable, for certainly this is not the usual type of article found in a business publication, or "house organ." It is controversial; it expresses a viewpoint that is not 99.44 per cent popular; it will lead to criticism such as that expressed in your editorial.

Why did we publish the article? Certainly it was not to express a company viewpoint or to antagonize people. We published it because we think it sets forth quite well one man's views on the significance of individual and group action. Mr. Adair's views are shared in some degree by a great many persons, and to ignore that fact would be to close one's eyes to a problem that will be a source of controversy for years to come. We thought that by publishing the article we would be performing a service for our readers -- setting forth a viewpoint that certainly not all of them would agree with but providing a basis for disagreement that would be somewhat more substantial than uninformed bias.

The article does not necessarily express the viewpoint

of Nationwide Insurance. It does, however, reflect our interest in important current issues. We hoped the article would stimulate thinking and discussion, and perhaps lead to expression of other views on the subject. Our pages are open to other views, and we hope to publish some of these in the next issue.

We believe people should be concerned about important issues facing this nation and the world. We believe democracy is facing a severe test today, and that the test can be met successfully only if people will exercise the rights and the duties of citizenship. One of these duties is to keep informed about what's going on in the world. Our magazine, therefore, will continue to publish articles on current affairs -- not to indoctrinate, not to antagonize, but to shed some light and to stimulate some thought. This was our only purpose in publishing "The Case for Public Demonstration and Civil Disobedience."

Yours truly,

William Chambless
Editor, Minutes

P.S. If any of your readers would be interested in reading the article in question, we'd be happy to supply a copy on request.

NATIONWIDE
America's most progressive insurance organization

246 NORTH HIGH STREET
COLUMBUS 16, OHIO

NATIONWIDE MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY
NATIONWIDE MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY
NATIONWIDE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
NATIONWIDE GENERAL INSURANCE COMPANY

August 16, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

As you can see by the enclosures, we're beginning to make news in Tennessee.

First the Chattanooga Times praises us for our ad, The Troublemaker; then the News-Free Press blasts hell out of us for a piece in the current MINUTES, "The Case for Civil Disobedience." If you can find the time to read the two editorials, as well as the two pieces of ours that inspired them, I think you'll find enough implied to write an editorial of your own.

I am, of course, a little worried about the News-Free Press' comments. We have to defend quite a lot of things in this office that nobody regards as controversial, simply because we can't prove that they sell insurance. To do something that not only can be shown to have no effect on sales but actually causes us to lose some insurance already on the books is enough to bring all manner of demands internally for a cut in our budget or a change in our PR policies, or both. At times like these, we need all the friends we can get, telling our agents and our management just how lucky they are to have a PR office which speaks on the side of the angels.

In this connection, it occurs to me that you might know of some people in Chattanooga to whom we might send copies of both the MINUTES piece and the News-Free Press editorial, assuming that they've see neither, and who, after reading them, might be moved to write letters of complaint to the editor of the News-Free Press and notes of commendation to our local Chattanooga representative, Paul Claypool. At this moment Claypool feels pretty friendless.

Knowing how terribly busy you are I hate to bother you with this kind of thing, which I'm sure must strike you as pretty trivial. We are, however, just barely in Tennessee and our operating people are understandably nervous about meeting their first sales quotas, and for both these

reasons editorial comment like that in the News-Free Press can assume an inflated importance. I'd be especially grateful, therefore, for any suggestions you might have as to how we might answer it.

Yours,

Calvin

js
encls/Chattanooga Times article
Troublemaker ad
News-Free Press article
MINUTES, August 1960
Correspondence to:
Paul Claypool and
Editor, News-Free Press
cc: Davis Douthit
Bill Chambless

P. S. A personal note: Liz has had a considerable relapse which has us, and her doctor, pretty worried. He assures us, though, that there's no possibility of a new tumor, and attributes most of her present infirmity to a variety of complications -- not the least of them being a persistent staphyloccic infection -- which has just knocked the hell out of her whole body chemistry. This turn of events has been quite distressing to us, especially since we were so hopeful after her operation of last summer. For one thing, it has kept us tied to Columbus when we'd expected to be able to do some visiting in Atlanta and elsewhere....I saw your excellent piece in the NY Times magazine a couple of months back and meant then to drop you a note to tell you what a fine job Liz and I thought it was....My own outside writing is sporadic, contrary to the impression that some people might get by picking up the August 27 issue of Saturday Review, in which I have a piece on change and values (you know, <u>that</u> kind of piece) and the September issue of CORONET, in which I have a story on Steve Young, the senator....The CORONET story was written last winter and the Saturday Review is a condensation of a speech I've been giving to various clubs around town off and on over the past couple of years.

Via Air Mail

August 30, 1960

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Nationwide Insurance Company
246 North High Street
Columbia 16, Ohio

Dear Calvin:

I am sorry to be so slow responding to your letter of August 16 about the troubles in Chattanooga. I have been out of the office more than in these last few weeks.

I have talked to our old and good friend John Popham, who, as you probably know, is now managing editor of the Chattanooga Times. Popham confirmed what I suspected to be the case, as follows:

The News Free Press is a totally reactionary and irresponsible sheet. It daily blasts some manifestation of the 20th Century. Its blasts, according to Popham, are forgotten almost immediately, even by the editors themselves. In short, it is about like the Hearst Press at its worst and is virtually immune to sober rebuttal of its misrepresentations. In fact, an organized effort to get the News Free Press to retract or change its position might only stimulate a greater campaign on their part which would prolong an attack that otherwise might be transient and of no major importance.

Popham suggests, wisely I think, that Nationwide simply write it off and spend its energies on ~~objective~~ good public relations. In this respect Popham and the Chattanooga Times can be of great service. You'll recall the CT as a sober, responsible paper -- in the tradition of its offspring in New York -- always ready to give good people and institutions a lift. Your man in Chattanooga should know them, if he doesn't already. And you might have occasion to send Popham something special yourself. He asked me to pass on the word to you that whenever you have a good basis for a positive news treatment, by all means get the material to him. He meanss it, too.

I hope this doesn't seem unresponsive to you. From my own experience with attacks of this sort, I honestly believe that answering them is a waste of time, and that the best antidote is affirmative public relations.

I'm glad to have occasion to write you about this, since I have been intending for ever so long to drop you a note of appreciation and congratulations on the "Troublemaker" ad. It is a first-class job of public service.

By some maddening coincidence, our copy of the Saturday Review bearing your article didn't arrive. I am buying that and the September Coronet today, for Jane's and my delectation.

We're distressed by the news of Liz's relapse. She's had far more than her share of troubles, and Jane and I both fervently hope that they will soon be at an end. We'd like mightily to see you both again, and at length. Until that's possible, the very best.

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

minutes®

MAGAZINE OF NATIONWIDE INSURANCE

AUGUST 1960

The Case for
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE
•
NATIONWIDE INN

THE CASE FOR

Public Demonstration

Protest marches and picket lines, the author believes, may be a major factor in shaping the course of history

By LINCOLN ADAIR

HIS FIRST demonstration took place one Saturday afternoon early this spring on the corner of 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue in New York City. It lasted only 15 minutes and consisted of accompanying a few congenial persons who were walking back and forth in front of a five and ten cent store.

A month later he was among a group of over a thousand persons gathered in City Hall Park to protest Civil Defense. It was May 3, an unusually warm day, and he got his first sun tan during his second public demonstration. Several feet of movie film were shot of him and he smiled obligingly for various newspaper photographers. He had been singled out of the crowd because he was one of the youngest public demonstrators present and also because in a few minutes his parents would be guilty of breaking the law.

He would not remember, in later years, sitting on the grass that sunny afternoon and playing with a score of other youngsters, for Sean Powell Adair was only seven months old. But his parents would remember, and they were sure that one day he would

and Civil Disobedience

be proud of having joined them in a demonstration for peace.

Is there any real significance in these public demonstrations that seem to be cropping up all over the country? Many people think not. They attribute this growing phenomenon to beatniks, anarchists, communists, egomaniacs, or characters with excessive chips on their shoulders. However, an examination of the facts would seem to contradict this concept. The apartheid demonstrations in Africa, the peace marches in England, the nationwide picketing of Woolworth's and other chains that operate segregated lunch counters in the South, the worldwide student demonstrations (which as I write this have actually resulted in the overthrow of a government) are too widespread and too serious in purpose to be checked off as the work of the lunatic fringe.

Likewise, the demonstration at City Hall Park on May 3 was no hotheaded, spur-of-the-moment rebellion. It was organized by the Civil Defense Protest Committee, a nonpartisan citizens' group, and encouraged by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, an organization of growing national recognition. By refusing to take shelter during the Civil Defense alert, demonstrators were expressing their belief that air raid drills and shelters are completely futile against all-out nuclear warfare and therefore a waste of taxpayers' money and a cruel deception to the American people. The only true defense, the demonstrators maintained, is a constant effort toward world peace, rather than measures contributing toward an acceptance of war's inevitability.

Crackpots? Anarchists? Egomaniacs? Hardly. Some such superficially-motivated people will be present at any demonstration, but they are not the ones who quietly persevere despite aching feet, public scoffing, and the threat of force. Most demonstrators are simply people who feel so strongly about a public issue and are so frustrated by an inability to act upon it within the framework of their society that they find themselves doing something about it outside normally accepted patterns of action.

Could this happen to you? Chances are it could. In view of my background I am still somewhat surprised at myself for joining these demonstrations, and even more surprised that my wife, brought up in a typical midwestern home and educated in a state university as a teacher, is as anxious as I am to participate.

Curious about the apparent inconsistency, I interviewed more than a hundred persons who were taking part in the Civil Defense demonstration. Many of them had never so much as thought about such action and were still amazed to find themselves carrying a placard or walking a picket line. Mary Sharmat, a lawyer's wife who organized the original mothers' group, had been a staunch New Hampshire Republican. Novelist Norman Mailer refused to identify himself with any organization, but he nevertheless felt impelled

to demonstrate. A 72-year-old grandmother said she had always ridiculed public demonstrations but knew no other way to contribute toward a world safe from destruction for her grandchildren. A deeply patriotic college girl told me she had always defended public demonstrations but been violently against civil disobedience—until faced with this issue.

Why are demonstrators often ridiculed rather than judged individually for their integrity? Let's examine some specific examples.

I once heard a man say to a young lady who was one of a group picketing Woolworth's, "I have never shopped at Woolworth's in my life and I don't believe in discrimination, but by God I'm going in now just to show you how foolish you are!" In court, I heard the father of a college boy demonstrator actually criticize the judge for not dealing more harshly with his son. And once when I was participating in a quiet, lawful demonstration I noticed a policeman on duty who had been assigned for 30 years to a corner in the neighborhood where I had once lived. We used to sit over coffee chatting about the old Greenwich Village he knew so well, but when I walked up to introduce my wife he seemed ashamed to know me and called me "one of those crazy beatniks." All these scoffers had one thing in common. They reacted far more violently than they normally would have reacted to a difference of opinion. They were more disturbed by the act of demonstration, which presented a threat to their status quo, than with the issues involved.

Fortunately, this isn't always the reaction of the people—or the police. Driving by Woolworth's one day, I noticed a policeman bringing coffee to the demonstrators and I later learned that he had openly expressed sympathy with their efforts. Another day I saw an elderly lady, who had gone in through a side door and made a purchase without noticing the picket line, apologize profusely and insist on giving a donation to CORE (Congress of Racial Equality).

WHAT IS the significance of public demonstrations? I believe they may become the most important single factor in determining the road that civilization takes. I believe this because it seems to me a demonstration is sometimes the only effective means of expression open to people. A demonstration can't be ignored. Write a letter, sign a petition, join a delegation, and maybe you'll be listened to, maybe you won't. Join a demonstration and right away your cause gets recognized. Join enough demonstrations, with enough people who feel as you do, and you might be able to shape the course of history.

"But we must have law and order," you may protest. "Perhaps you have made a case for public demonstration, but how can you defend civil disobedience?"

First, it must be understood that sincere public demonstrators who engage in civil disobedience are prepared to take the punishment that the law metes out. Gandhi, responsible for the greatest peaceful demonstration in history, made this clear. Demonstrators have even encouraged and demanded arrest, believing that such action will eventually change the law.

Leading political figures have recognized civil disobedience as an effective force. In an address on May 12, 1960, at the University of Chicago, Adlai Stevenson told students

that "the so-called 'sit-in' movement reflects a new sense of direction, or purpose of self-confidence." He later said, "The thought is offensive that what is right must be won by lonely people sitting patiently on stools at lunch counters." Mr. Stevenson was certainly aware that these "sit-in" demonstrators were disobedient to civil law and often went to jail. Senator John Kennedy must also have been aware that our laws punish people by depriving them of employment or education for refusing to sign loyalty oaths, when he said: "If William Penn or Benjamin Franklin or Henry Thoreau attended college in America today, I doubt that they would sign this affidavit (a loyalty oath) despite their great loyalty to this country."

In the case of the demonstrators at City Hall Park, the law provided a punishment of $300 and/or one year's imprisonment. Newspaper reporters repeatedly asked people if they were aware of this punishment and prepared to plead guilty. There were no defectors—not even when the police commissioner publicly announced that everyone present was under arrest and subject to maximum punishment.

Twenty-six persons were actually arrested and were told by a judge in front of a packed courtroom of sympathizers, "You have done your country a disservice." Although it was pointed out by skilled lawyers that these people had tried legal means before resorting to public demonstration, they were sentenced to jail.

In the belief that these 26 had done anything but a "disservice" to their country, thousands of people picketed the jail until the prisoners were released, and it is interesting to note that among the crowd were many who had been apathetic toward the original demonstration at City Hall Park. Ironically, legal punishment often increases rather than decreases the number of demonstrators.

My wife and I joined the crowds outside the women's house of detention the day after the sentences were passed. The picket line was more like a Saturday afternoon social gathering. There were countless baby carriages and strollers, and many passersby joined the line. A woman on her way to market pushed her shopping cart around the line half a dozen times before continuing, and a cellist walked around with his huge instrument until he was almost late for his concert. We were surprised to meet friends who we'd thought would never take part in picketing, let alone support civil disobedience. One was the wife of a plant manager who had screamed at the injustice of union strikes—and still does. Another was a man who had chastised his daughter for participation in college student demonstrations—but doesn't any more.

A STUDY of history demonstrates unequivocally that public demonstration and civil disobedience are often a barometer of future social patterns. From the Boston Tea Party

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Four-time contributor to Minutes, Lincoln Adair applies the term "freelancer" to himself in several areas besides writing. He has acted, lectured, operated his own summer theater and publicity business, produced and directed documentary films, and even done a stint in a gray flannel suit at a Madison Avenue advertising agency. Now in public relations work, he lives in New York City.

to woman suffrage to the rejection of prohibition to Margaret Sanger's Planned Parenthood Federation, public demonstration and civil disobedience have been the forerunners of legislation. When dedicated people constantly demonstrate on an issue with increasing numbers, they can't help but be victorious in the long run.

But why such a long run? The cycle could be completed with so much less heartache—and sometimes less bloodshed—if people would only realize the true significance of public demonstration and give up their preconceived notion that such self-expression is limited to crackpots. These critics would do well to examine the history of a social measure they personally approve of. They might be surprised to learn that some form of public demonstration innovated it, and that those responsible for its acceptance and legislation were also considered crackpots.

I believe progress is being made. The public gradually seems to be changing its opinion of demonstrators, perhaps because of the generally favorable treatment given recent demonstrations by newspapers, radio, and television. A *New York Times* reporter interviewed my wife and me during the City Hall Park demonstration and understood why we would be proud to tell our infant son some day that he had been a part of an effort to achieve world peace. A popular columnist reminded readers that the 26 people jailed for performing a "disservice" to their country had merely been demonstrating for peace. Several newspapers commended a group of Brooklyn College students who had been suspended for refusing to take shelter. Across the nation, a student demonstration in California gained national press sympathy when 400 policemen were called out to remove a group of 200 protesting the House Un-American Activities hearings. Fire hoses were turned on the demonstrators and several were beaten unmercifully. At the expense of bloodshed and unnecessary suffering the demonstrators made their point, however, and the *New York Post* said: "Once again the kids have made fools out of the adults."

Indeed, American demonstrators seem to be gaining recognition overnight. On May 19 at Madison Square Garden, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy held a rally. Twenty thousand seats were sold out and huge crowds gathered outside. The rally was followed by a peace march to the United Nations at midnight.

When the leaders arrived at the U. N., thousands were waiting to join the line 20 blocks back at Madison Square Garden, and this time I saw very few scoffers among the many onlooking citizens of our nation's largest city. I believe the desire for peace was so strong among the crowd that no one thought of the demonstration as a demonstration. Rather, it seemed to be a spontaneous expression of hope and unity and even confidence.

Standing there among the silent crowd, I felt certain that lasting peace can be achieved—if people will only join together and work for it. I was reminded of a remark President Eisenhower made on a television program last August. "I like to believe," he said, "that the people, in the long run, are going to do more to promote peace than our governments. I think people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have it." ◄

December 1, 1960

College in the Country
West Georgia College
Carrollton, Georgia

Gentlemen:

It is with keen regret that I have to decline your kind invitation to the dinner and reception for Calvin Kytle on December 10 and 11.

My apologies for the lateness of this reply, but Mrs. Fleming and I had hoped until today that we could escape from prior obligations and be present.

With appreciation and good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

College in the Country

West Georgia College

invites you to Welcome Back to Carrollton

Calvin Kytle

Dinner	Reception
Saturday Evening	Sunday Afternoon
December 10, 1960	December 11, 1960
Seven o'clock	Two to three o'clock
King's Inn Restaurant	Student Lounge
RSVP (By December first)	West Georgia College

PROPOSED RESEARCH PROJECT
FOR
NATIONWIDE INSURANCE OF COLUMBUS, OHIO
BY STAFF OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

I. Primary purpose: to develop a bibliography of books, pamphlets, magazine articles, newspaper stories, unpublished manuscripts, doctoral dissertations, masters' theses, etc., etc., all to do with:

1. Insurance needs of the Negro in the Southeast, particularly with regard to:

(a) the availability of fire and property insurance, automobile insurance, and life insurance, by line and kind, to Negro families - this largely in quantitative terms; and

(b) the quality of coverages, the quality of claims service, and the cost of insurance available to Negroes as compared with the quality and cost of similar insurance services currently provided Southern whites.

II. Secondary purpose: to collect any such materials on the above subject that might be made available, free or on loan, in the cource of the development of this bibliography.

III. Sources: Colleges and universities in the South primarily Negro institutions and, more particularly, the business libraries of Negro institutions (Fisk, Atlanta, Tuskegee, Howard, etc.) Sociology departments of the bigger white institutions might also be profitably canvassed.

IV. Time of Project: From June 1 to September 15.

V. Fee to SRC: to be paid by Public Relations Office of Nationwide Insurance on the basis of effort and time expended.

VI. In the content of this study, Nationwide's role will be kept confidential.

DETAILS

Information obtained from a study of the sort outlined here is needed to help Nationwide Insurance serve the Negro public in its area of operations. Preliminary

and superficial studies indicate that:

1. Generally, Negroes are under insured;

2. The quality of insurance they get is poor;

3. The Negro market for casualty insurance has been neglected;

4. The relative cost of life insurance (predominantly industrial life) is high;

5. The problems of risk selection among Negroes, related as they are to the cultural implications of segregation, are special and have to be dealt with by special underwriting methods;

6. So far no underwriting method has yet been devised which would enable the average casualty company to write a large amount of Negro business with the same validity that obtains among whites.

It would be the purpose of this study not only to pave the published data leading toward a more nearly accurate analysis of the Negro insurance needs; but, perhaps more importantly, touncover any ideas in the merchandising and underwriting of insurance that might have been developed by Negro leaders themselves, leading toward better insurance programs to meet those needs.

PROPOSED RESEARCH PROJECT
FOR
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNC IL

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IV. Time of Project: From June 1 to September 15.

DETAILS

Information obtained from a study of the sort outlined here is needed to help insurance companies provide more equitable rates and coverage for the Negro public. Preliminary and superficial studies indicate that:

1. Generally, Negroes are under insured;

2. The quality of insurance they get is poor;

3. The Negro market for casualty insurance has been neglected;

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December
second
1953

Mrs Karl Neal
Executive Secretary and Librarian
Arkansas Library Commission
506½ Center Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs Neal:

SINGERS IN THE DAWN is still very much in print and still sells well. Ten cents a piece.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosures: Singers in the Dawn
Publications List

ARKANSAS LIBRARY COMMISSION
506½ CENTER STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

November 19, 1953

RECEIVED
NOV 23
Southern Regional Council

Conference on Education
and Race Relations
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

Is SINGERS IN THE DAWN compiled by Robert B. Eleager still available and at what price?

Sincerely yours,

Frances Potter Neal

Mrs. Karl Neal
Executive Secretary and Librarian

FN:vg

February 2, 1954

New York, New Haven & Hartford
Railroad Company
Grand Central Station
New York City

Gentlemen:

I turn in with request for refund the attached unused return portion of a ticket, New York - Putney, Vermont - New York, issued as shown.

Pleasant journey by your own and the B & M's line, and a relative brought me back by road.

Check should be made payable to the undersigned.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

February 4, 1954

Mr. Ernest E. Neal
Box 67
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Ernest:

Proud that you are going back to India, and blooming sorry to lose you from hereabouts. But you come back here better than ever.

I will make you Regional Director for the Southern Regional Council in Southeast Asia!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

Box 67
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
January 18, 1954

MEMORANDUM TO: All My Friends
FROM: Ernest E. Neal
RE: India Assignment.

The opportunity has presented itself for me to return to India. Last year I was there on a Ford Foundation Project. This time I'm returning as an employee of the Foreign Operations Administration, better known as Point IV.

I will begin a month's training period at the Foreign Service Institute, Washington, January 21. After the training period, I will be off to New Delhi, India, to become Adviser to the Community Development Program of the Government of India. Many of us feel that the community development program in India is the answer of free people to the threat of communism among the millions of poor rural people in the underdeveloped countries. It is with great humility that I go to this post. I am baffled by the problem that confronts India in attempting to relieve poverty and suffering among the millions of villagers. This does not daunt me, but offers a challenge which I hope the fifteen years of experience gained from working with the underprivileged farmers in the south will be useful.

Juette and the children will join me later. We thought it best to let the children finish out this year of school work.

The director of the Rural Life Council of Tuskegee Institute which has been my responsibility for the past five years will be assumed by Lewis W. Jones who has been Research Director of the Council for the past five years.

Part of my assignment in India will be to work out a cooperative program between Tuskegee Institute and the Government of India. There is much in the history of Tuskegee Institute that could be profitably utilized in the emerging rural development program of India. Indian officials who have visited Tuskegee have recognized this and have expressed enthusiasm for our approach to rural community problems. We foresee Indian students coming to Tuskegee for training, and Tuskegee faculty personnel serving in India for limited periods. This two-way flow should strenghten the program of Tuskegee considerably.

I have been granted a leave of absence from Tuskegee Institute; both the President and I consider this an expansion of the program of the Institute rather than a year's absence from my work at Tuskegee.

Naturally I will miss my friends. However, I feel that our friendship has been so firmly built that its continuance is no longer dependent on time and place. I will take a bit of each of you with me because all of you have contributed to my development. I hope as I learn the Indians I will be able to send a bit of them back to you, thus cementing the friendship of two peoples so far apart in space and culture, but so much alike in what they want and believe in.

From time to time I will send you newsletters about India and my activities there, and hope that from time to time you will let me hear of your activities and experiences.

October 17, 1955

Mr. Jonathan Daniels, Editor
THE NEWS AND OBSERVER
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Daniels:

Thank you very much for the excerpt from your speech you made in South Carolina. Your secretary kindly sent it along to me.

We think your point on public education was well-taken.

Again thanks,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

JC/ys

THE NEWS AND OBSERVER
JONATHAN DANIELS, EDITOR
RALEIGH, N. C.

October 14, 1955

Dear Mr. Constable:

Mr. Daniels is in Washington attending an editors' meeting, but I talked to him today, and he said he would be glad for you to reprint his Hartsville speech in NEW SOUTH.

I am enclosing excerpts from the speech as printed in THE NEWS AND OBSERVER, which cover all the points in the speech.

Sincerely,

Eula Williamson

Secretary

AIRMAIL

August 21, 1956

Honorable Gaylord Nelson
Insurance Building
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Gaylord:

Now that you are - I speculate - just back from the big doings in Chicago, I am writing to see if there is any chance of luring you back to Chicago for a long deferred reunion. I have to be there on September 1st to make a speech, of all things, at the convention of the American Psychological Association. By present plans, I will get in by plane mid-afternoon Friday the 31st, and I will leave on an 11 P.M. flight Saturday. I will be staying at the Morrison Hotel.

You have probably arranged a Labor Day weekend on the lakes or some such thing. But I didn't want to get so close without letting you know. Couldn't you and your bride take a holiday and come to the big city?

I don't think I ever wrote you that I heard your dulcet voice on a pre-primary radio broadcast, plugging your man Kefauver. I kept watching the television shots of the Wisconsin delegation last week, but I caught no glimpse of you. But these are the things we can catch up on if we get together.

At the very least, I will call you from Chicago.

Best,

HCF:mbo

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE
ST. PAUL 1, MINNESOTA

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

August 21, 1956

RECEIVED AUG 23 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director of Southern
Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in writing me regarding the little bulletin on land tenure in Italy. I have been away during the past month and only got back to the office today and saw for the first time the bulletin in its final form. I am disappointed in the way they treated one of my photographs. The one which shows part of the housing for the workers under the old regime had in the background blooming large the castle of Baron Berlingieri. I don't know why they would fail to print this photograph in its entirety. Apparently the editor didn't get the point.

Anyway, thanks again for your interest and for your comments. Your comment on table 2 is well taken. I'm sorry I didn't see this in advance.

Sincerely,

Lowry

Lowry Nelson
Professor of Sociology

LN:jh

Npa

NOTE: NPA Pamphlet #97
Land Reform in Italy

August 8, 1956

Professor Lowry Nelson
University of Minnesota
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Lowry:

Read and much enjoyed your booklet on fixing up land tenure in Italy. Was interested generally, and because for some months in 1944-45 I trained for a supposed job in Italian land reform!

Item for Edition II et seq:

Page 3. Mid-page. "As is indicated in table 2." I see how you arrived at that, but 'tis a puzzler to the new reader. He squints at Table II, and doesn't see a thing about Corporate Ownership, so he says "this bird has messed up." Suggest adding after Title of Table II a paren. (Natural Persons).

Conclusions I like. I quite wondered, too, why they had adopted our habit of living on hon. farm. I suggest that the financial drain is the price everybody has got to pay to keep the Communists out; either do it this way, expensively, but in order, or the other boys will bust through and take it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

GSM is welcome for this

RECEIVED AUG 6 1956

NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION

A NONPROFIT, NONPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ESTABLISHED IN 1934
DEVOTED TO PLANNING BY AMERICANS IN AGRICULTURE, BUSINESS, LABOR, AND THE PROFESSIONS
1606 New Hampshire Ave., N. W., Washington 9, D. C. • Telephone: Columbia 5-7685 • Cable: NATPLAN

bulletin to staff

95 Wt swipe available

FOR RELEASE MONDAY, AUGUST 6, 1956

M-3210
PR-11-56

Italy's program of land reform has been perhaps the most crucial single postwar development from a political standpoint as well as of major economic and social importance to the country, concludes Professor Lowry Nelson, of the University of Minnesota, in a report, Land Reform in Italy, published today by the Agriculture Committee of the National Planning Association. —1

He states that the land reform program can be credited with having helped to forestall the spread of Communism among the peasants. For example, he points out, although there was a marked increase in the 1953 Communist Party vote for the nation as a whole and particularly in the south, where most of the land reform work was under way, the increase was very small, or absent, in the communes within land reform areas. "This is important," he notes, "because the Communist Party, having reached what might be called a saturation point in the industrial north, was counting heavily for its further national gains on the success of its recruiting among the farmers of the south."

In publishing the report, the Committee observed that Italy's land reform program, which was begun in 1950 with Marshall Plan aid, has been "one of the most carefully planned and enlightened land reform programs in the world." In contrast with Communist land reform techniques, characterized by ruthless disregard for the rights of the land owners, Italy's program compensates expropriated owners for their property, and gives them an option of retaining a portion of the land if they carry out recommended improvements. In addition, farms worthy of being classified "model farms" are exempted from expropriation. "In short," the Committee comments, "expro-

OFFICERS: *Chairman,* H. Christian Sonne; *Chairman, Executive Committee,* Wayne Chatfield Taylor; *Vice Chairmen:* M. H. Hedges, Frank Altschul, Clinton S. Golden, Donald R. Murphy, Beardsley Ruml; *Secretary,* Arnold S. Zander; *Treasurer,* Harry A. Bullis; *Counsel,* Charlton Ogburn; *Assistant Chairman* and *Executive Secretary,* John Miller.

priation is, in part, a consequence of poor husbandry, whether through deliberate negligence of the owner of his inability to do better."

When the present program is fully developed, more than 100,000 families will have changed their status from wage earners or tenants to proprietors, Professor Nelson points out, adding that most of them will have their ways of life changed drastically from that of dwelling in a one-room tenement or cave to living in a three- or four-room cottage.

Hundreds of new schools have been or are being built. This is particularly important in the south, where adult illiteracy runs to about one-third, he observes. "The program," he continues, "will sound the death knell of feudalism. The heavy concentration of ownership of land, with its concomitant power to dispense or withhold employment where the supply of workers was excessive and inured to subservience for generations, placed strong political influence in the hands of a few persons. This influence is broken at last."

Professor Nelson points out a number of other direct and indirect social and economic effects of the program:

1. There will be a drastic change in the system of agriculture on nearly 2 million acres of land -- from an extensive monoculture to a more intensive method, with vineyards and tree crops along with grain and forage crops in a four- or five-year rotation scheme. The substitution of modern machinery and methods is also taking place.

2. The land transformation is raising the value of land from 50,000 to 100,000 lire per hectare to 600,000 to 700,000 lire. In addition, adjacent unexpropriated lands have risen in value up to 300 percent because of the new roads constructed, new villages, service centers, and the like.

3. Employment of large numbers of workers, including the skilled and unskilled, as well as hundreds of technicians, agronomists, economists, lawyers, engineers, and other professional people who have been in chronic oversupply in Italy.

4. The improvements made through the program have stimulated other industries such as construction, and large purchases have been made of machinery and tools, automobiles, tractors, trucks, fertilizer, and many kinds of technical equipment. As a result of the increased employment, merchants and shopkeepers generally have experienced increased business volume in the areas of land reform.

5. The upgrading of wagehands and tenants to the status of proprietor, together with the educational work, will strengthen a class that was formerly heavily weighted with impoverished wagehands, unemployed for a large part of each year, or at best, grossly underemployed.

#

LAND REFORM IN ITALY, by Lowry Nelson, Agriculture Committee of the National Planning Association. 60 pp. August, 1956. 75 cents.

N

May 10, 1957

Mr. E. D. Nixon
647 Clinton Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Nixon:

It was good to get a chance to talk with you the other day when I was in Montgomery. I appreciate very much your taking the time to discuss with me some of the matters in which I am particularly interested.

I am sending, under separate cover, our summary of segregation legislation and a pamphlet which we published called, "Next Steps in the South." As yet, the voting study whihh I talked with you about has not been put into final form. When this is ready, I will try to see that you get a copy.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

December 6, 1957

Miss Patricia H. Newell
Publicity Director
Rinehart and Company, Inc.
232 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Newell:

Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me an advance copy of NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE. The Stokelys have done a valuable piece of work. The book is not only eminently readable, but it is also one of the few things that have been written that show the positive forces at work within the South and point the way toward creative solutions.

We expect to review the book in an early issue of our monthly publication, New South. I will see that you get a copy.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rinehart
& COMPANY · INCORPORATED
Publishers

232 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 16 · N. Y.

15 November 1957

RECEIVED NOV 18 1957

Harold Fleming, Esq.
New South
Southern Regional Council
64 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have sent you, under separate cover, an advance copy of a book which we feel certain you will find of particular interest. NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE by Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely (November 26) measures the pulse of the South with intelligence and insight.

The positions taken by the press, clergy, universities, public school officials and citizenry are described with understanding and respect in terms of both current events and historical forces.

We sincerely hope you will be interested in NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE and would welcome any comments you may care to make.

Sincerely,

Patricia H. Newell

Patricia H. Newell
Publicity Director

PHN:CT

March 10, 1958

Mr. Frederick R. Neel
Public School 68, Manhattan
127 West 127th Street
Room 207
New York , New York

Dear Mr. Neel:

I am sorry but we do not have the type of pictures or posters you desire. I suggest you might write some of the Negro newspapers which we have found most cooperative when we needed pictures.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

PUBLIC SCHOOL 68, MANHATTAN
127 WEST 127TH STREET
ROOM 207

Dear Sir,

I am a member of a committee in our school that is assembling a resource unit on the, Negro's Contribution To Our American Culture. The unit is to be used as part of our course of study.

In the unit I would like to include pictures and posters of Negroes in all job areas, including trades and professions.

Could your organization supply me with some free or inexpensive pictures or posters? Also if you know of an organization that distributes pictures of this sort please let me know.

I appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Frederick R. Noel

Frederick R. Noel

September 12, 1958

Mr. Charles Livermore, Executive Secretary
State Commission Against Discrimination
270 Broadway 7, New York

Dear Chas:

Thanks for your note of September 9th introducing Ruth Glass to us. We will be glad to be of assistance to her. I have alerted our information staff of her coming.

We have just received good news that the Supreme Court has upheld the Eighth District Court of Appeals' reversal of the Lemley decision. There'll be a hot time in the old Southland this fall.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE COMMISSION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
270 BROADWAY 7, N.Y.

CHARLES LIVERMORE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

September 9, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I expect that you will be shortly hearing from a lady named Ruth Glass, who is a writer and a friend of Charlie Abrams.

She is anxious to do an article on you know what. I do not know her personally, but Charlie recommends her very highly and we would very much appreciate anything you can do which will facilitate her work. She will be in touch with you.

Sincerely,

Charles Livermore

Charles Livermore
Executive Secretary

November 18, 1958

Dr. Samuel Newman
Newman Building
Danville, Virginia

Dear Dr. Newman:

I postponed answering your letter of October 30 because I thought we could talk at the annual meeting of the Virginia Council on Human Relations in Charlottesville. Sorry you could not make it.

Regarding your questions about SCEF: this is a delicate matter for a staff member of one agency to comment on another agency. However, I do feel that the charges of communist affiliation of SCEF are not supported by evidence that any thinking, fair-minded person would accept.

We see the role of SRC as quite different from the role SCEF sees for itself, but that is a matter of taste and judgment.

Hope this helps.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

(Dictated by Mr. Routh but signed in his absence.)

FBR:ls

FBR - Suggest you confine yourself to oral communication when you see him. HCF

SAMUEL NEWMAN, M.D., F.A.A.P.
NEWMAN BUILDING
DANVILLE, VIRGINIA

HCF
PH
EV
JC - See Pg 3
MM
return to FDR

October 30, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Routh:

I am very much concerned with the problem of segregation.

I am a small contributor from time to time to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, New Orleans, La. Someone brought up the question whether the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. is in some way allied with Communists. Will you please enlighten me on this point?

I am a member of the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

Yours very sincerely,

SNewman

SN:ia

January 23, 1959

Professor Donald H. Wollett
Faculty of Law
New York University
School of Law
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Professor Wollett:

Many thanks for informing me of the program of the Arthur Garfield Hays Memorial Fund. Many of the areas which you propose to study are of great interest and importance to the Southern Regional Council. We should very much like to be included on your mailing list and would be glad to work with you in any way we can in the planning and execution of projects related to the South.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

FACULTY OF LAW TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

January 6, 1959

Mr. H. Fleming, Director
South Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Arthur Garfield Hays Memorial Fund, which was established by the friends and admirers of the late general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, began its work this fall at New York University School of Law.

The program of research and teaching in the field of civil liberties is under my direction with the assistance of a graduate law student and two senior law students.

Our investigatory work is geared to the concept of what might be called "middle distance" research, that is, the examination, without being tied to actual or pending litigation, of matters which have potential utility to all persons and groups interested in advancing and protecting civil liberties.

The first research project, which is nearing completion, is a study of the question of what judicial procedures and affirmative remedies are available to persons who seek to challenge the constitutionality of specific governmental action. This study has been conducted in the context of Louisiana legislation which prohibits public school teachers from advocating or in any manner performing any act toward bringing about integration of the races within the public school system or any public institution of higher learning.

Other reports dealing with the constitutionality of related legislation in Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia will be completed early in 1959.

Subject to budgetary limitations, our published work will be available for distribution to lawyers, organizations, and others who are active in the civil liberties field.

In addition to these projects, we are about to begin a study of the extent to which the right to a fair trial is impaired by published pre-trial comment, whether the source of the comment is private, e.g., a newspaper, or public, e.g., a congressional committee.

We also expect the civil liberties seminar for law students, which will be conducted next semester, to produce some publishable reports.

The purpose of this letter is twofold. First, we want to know if you would like to be included on our mailing list. Second, since the concept of "middle distance" research demands an earthy approach to civil liberties and attention to matters of current interest, we invite your suggestions as to matters which we might meaningfully explore.

Sincerely yours,

Donald H. Wollett

Donald H. Wollett
Professor of Law

LRE

February 13, 1959

Mr. Frank Neely
Rich's, Inc.
45 Broad Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Neely:

In a recent conversation, Mrs. Ben Parker said you might have use for several additional copies of the enclosed map showing population distribution, by race, in the Southern states.

I am happy to send them to you with our compliments.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
Enclosure (six population maps)

January 9, 1961

Mr. Edward Nestingen
905 S. Busey Avenue
Urbana, Illinois

Dear Mr. Nestingen:

We are most grateful to you for your thoughtful contribution toward the work of the Southern Regional Council. With the thought that you may find our materials of interest, I am adding your name to our mailing list.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s address, for most purposes, is the Ebenezer Baptist Church*. Correspondence with him concerning the Southern Christian Leadership Conference should probably be mailed to that organization at 208 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta.

With appreciation and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

P.S. -- *Dr. King is Associate Pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church and the address there is 413 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta.

905 S. Busey Ave.
Urbana, Ill.
Dec. 31, 1960

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1961
RECEIVED

Dear Friends —

$20.00 CR
RHA
1/9/61

A contribution toward your work.

Can you send me Martin Luther King's address?

Yours sincerely,

Edward Hesslinger

June 8, 1961

Dr. Samuel Newman, M. D.
770 Main Street
Danville, Virginia

Dear Dr. Newman:

Under separate cover we are sending the additional twenty-five copies of "This I Believe."

Thank you for sharing with us your letters of March 15 and June 21. We are grateful for the leadership and voice you are porviding and hope that you will call on us whenever we may possibly be of assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:A

April 12, 1962

Mr. Louis Lyons, Curator
The Nieman Foundation
Holyoke House
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Lyons:

I understand that Mr. Bruce Galphin, of the Atlanta Constitution, is an applicant for a Nieman Fellowship. I have known Bruce and his work for some time, and am able to recommend him to you.

Galphin does most of the Constitution's day-to day coverage of racial news and has also an occasional column on the editorial page. He has a deep and growing interest in the field, and does a good bit of independent thinking about civil rights problems and the Negro movement. Some of the results of this have found their way into articles for the Nation.

As a reporter, he inclines toward analysis rather than probing for facts. He has a good mind, I think, and should be counted on for considerable development. He writes well, though without much polish.

The sort of study in politics and history which, I understand, he would undertake at Harvard would profit him greatly. He has now a responsible assignment on an important paper, and is discharging it creditably; with a richer background he could be a reporter of real strength and influence.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 3/28

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

P. O. BOX 4114

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

27 March, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta 3

Dear Les,

This letter is to give you some details on the request I made of you this afternoon concerning the Nieman Fellowship.

My application is pitched mainly on getting a proper background on the "next frontiers" in civil rights: e.g., housing, employment. As you know, I have much interest in my race relations beat, but unfortunately I majored in physics and math in college (that's another long story) and took virtually no sociology, psychology, history, etc. So there's a big blank spot just where I should be knowledgable. If I had more will power and energy, I could do more reading on the subject, of course, but there's no substitute for a systematic exploration such as I could get at Harvard. The library, the faculty, the students, the free time all would be of immense value to me.

As I remarked, the Nieman is not an "award" for work already done but rather is granted on the basis of what the selection committee believes it could do for the recipient, for his newspaper and for the standards of journalism generally.

My application of course is considerably broader and more detailed than I have outlined here, so please let me know if you should want more information.

A letter of endorsement, I am told by our resident Niemans, should mention that the writer understands the reporter is applying for a Nieman, and then explains why he believes the reporter would benefit from the fellowship. The absolute deadline (at least for me) is 15 April, but I think the time is ripe any time now for letters of endorsement.

Les, I don't want to sound like Madison Avenue, but I have been advised to keep the number of endorsement letters down to about a dozen and to choose them carefully. I would look upon yours as a very important one.

Letters can be addressed to Mr. Louis Lyons, curator/ The Nieman Foundation/ Holyoke House/ Cambridge 38, Mass.

With deepest thanks,

Bruce Galphin

April 23, 1964

The Reverend Bernard C. Newman
Trinity Church in the City of New
York
24th Floor
75 Trinity Place
New York 6, New York

Dear Canon Newman:

I was in your city for a short while last week, and had intended to call you. I come to New York seldom, and when I do I usually find, as I did last week, that I am trapped into many engagements, with many obligations. I tell you this only because I want you to know that our conversation in Washington has been, and is still very much on my mind.

Following my return to Atlanta, I spoke with Mr. Paul Johnston, Esq. of Birmingham, and he has promised to put some thoughts into a memorandum for you. I know no one else in a better position to comment than he. He is, incidentally, very deeply engaged in some other things which would also be of interest to you, and has not yet been able to give the memorandum the "careful thought" which, in a note I have just received from him, he says, correctly, the matter needs. But you will be hearing more from me soon.

Charles Morgan's address is American Association of University Professors, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/nmj

file

December 14, 1964

Miss Geraldine Neil
Skidmore College
Saratoga Springs, New York

Dear Miss Neil:

You asked what I would term the gains of the FDP at the National Convention last August. I suggest these:

1. The gain of national recognition, and the bringing to light for the nation to see that 40% of Mississippi's population was unrepresented by the regular delegates of the Democratice party.

2. The resolution that all delegates to the 1968 Convention be chosen through processes that would not exclude Negroes.

3. The fact that Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Wisconsin, Oregon, and California issued resolutions in support of the FDP.

4. The walk out of a majority of the regular Mississippi delegation.

The FDP will, through the several prospective contests when Congress organizes next month, be again in the national spotlight for that period.

Personally, I think FDP should have taken the two-seats-at-large last August; but FDP has its goals, however, and they are

(Page should go on facet page) incorrect

more systematic, and even perhaps more realistic, than mine.

What future FDP will have depends on its own ability to perserve internal unity; the amount of enetgy which continues to go into it; and whether the Department of Justice can open up the voting situations in Mississippi, so that the people can become "legally" registered.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

Rec'd 11/30/64

AV

please draft letter for my sig. - you may want to check with Wiley

Pat

Skidmore College
Saratoga Springs, New York
November 24, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am a senior Government major at Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York. At present, I am completing my thesis-"The Evolution of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party." I am interested in knowing what you would term (1) the gains of the Freedom Party at the Democratic National Convention in August. In light of what happened in Mississippi on November 3rd, would (2) you predict that the Freedom Party will gain more attention from the National Party. I (3) am most interested in your views on the Freedom Party and would appreciate hearing from you. You were highly recommended to me by Mr. Meyer Handler of the New York Times.

Sincerely yours,

Geraldine Neil

Geraldine Neil

December 22, 1965

Editor
Newsweek Magazine
444 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Karl Fleming's piece on the funeral of the Texas soldier was beautiful and perceptive.

What the devil are you doing with a man like that in California?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file

70 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10011
OR 5-2536, OR 5-2700

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

CENTER FOR NEW YORK CITY AFFAIRS

August 23, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Horton was very pleased to receive your memorandum and the several reports describing the Council's operations. He asked me to let you know that they arrived safely this morning and to tell you how much he is looking forward to studying them.

Thank you very much.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs) Susan S. Horton

Susan S. Horton
Secretary to Mr. Horton

SH

October 7, 1968

Mr. Ben Neufeld
9911 DePaul Drive
Bethesda, Maryland 20034

Dear Ben:

I will be in Washington on the afternoon of October 16th, and can probably be reached through the Potomac Institute. Other than that, I don't see a time when I can get to Washington this month.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

9911 dePaul drive Bethesda, Maryland 20034 301 EM5 7934

2 October 1968

To Paul Anthony
Clay Cochran
Jim Gibson
Norman Perlstein
Cassandra Stockburger

Well, shall we try again?

Cassandra suggested an evening during the week sometime. That's ok with me, and we can even, I think, find a more convenient meeting place, say near Dupont Circle.

I am tied up the evenings of the 7th, 17th, 24th, 21st, that I know about so far. Oops! I just remembered the 16th and 18th.

If you can give me some advance warning and a few dates, or if you travelers would like to just arrange something I can clear with all us locals, we can move.

Incidentally, I don't want us to be stuck with the name I threw out last go-round. The important initials don't look too good to some people and could of themselves be a liability. How about something like G-ROAD - for Get Rid Of the Agriculture Department?

See you soon?

Ben

Ben Neufeld

9911 dePaul drive Bethesda, Maryland 20034 301 EM5 7934

29 October 1968

To Paul Anthony
Clay Cochran
Eleanor Eaton
Jim Gibson
Norman Perlstein
Cassandra Stockburger

— I had expected to see you at the End Hunger meeting on the 16th you didn't miss anything, except Orville explaining the political reality.

Well, shall we try again again??

Some of us will be meeting for another purpose, the 1968 Annual Meeting of the NCALL Research Fund, on the morning of 25 November, in Washington.

So, let me suggest that NCADA/G-ROAD/ our thing meet that afternoon, in Washington, at about 2 pm. This will give the seven of us three hours at a downtown location, after which it may be necessary to adjourn to my house in the suburbs (My wife may be out of town in which case I will have to feed and otherwise take care of my kids) where we can go on into the night. Again, I can promise transportation back to civilization from here as well as some manner of pot luck. For that matter, we could all come on out here as soon as we assemble.

25 November is a fairly good time to meet, inasmuch as the post-election furor will have died down and the important analyses will be available. I hope to see you all then.

Let us make it at 2 pm in the Dupont Circle Building: Clay's office, International Self Help Housing Associates, room 903. See you then.

Ben

Ben Neufeld

November 5, 1968

Mr. Ben Neufeld
9911 dePaul Drive
Bethesda, Maryland 20034

Dear Ben:

Regretfully, again, November 25 is one of those dates when I have another commitment. I do hope to get with you one of these days.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Thanks ~~MS~~
Jess mj- file

November 20, 1968

Mrs. Judy Neiman
10398 May Wind Court
Columbia, Maryland 21043

Dear Judy:

How good to hear from you and to have your new address. I will certainly be in touch with you.

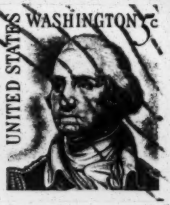
Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

10398 Mayfield Ct.
Columbia, Md. 21043



Mr. Paul Anthony
Director, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

November 11, 1968

Dear Paul,

I'm so sorry to miss the SPC dinner this year. I guess you didn't know we moved (the kids and I) to Columbia, Md. and are enjoying the delights of living in an integrated community and watching our new-town blossom into a city.

In fact we've been so busy enjoying, I haven't had time to call the Flemings yet but have seen Florence several times (Baltimore is closer). As Adam (my 12-year old) says, "you

don't really appreciate the North until you've lived in the South all your life. We all really love it here (though there are some things in Atlanta we miss, you and the SRC being prime among them).

Tell Moreland Smith I expect to be working for the Rouse Company by the first of the year. Rouse is truly a remarkable man and I can't wait to begin my new job.

Meanwhile try to stop by whenever you're in the D.C.

10398 Montgomery St.
WASHINGTON 2, D.C.

New York area (Friendship is just twenty minutes away) and I think you'd really enjoy seeing Columbia (it really lives up to its billing.)

Our new address is 10398 May Wind Court, Columbia, Maryland 21043 - telephone 301-339-3148. Do keep in touch!

Sincerely,

Judy

NCP

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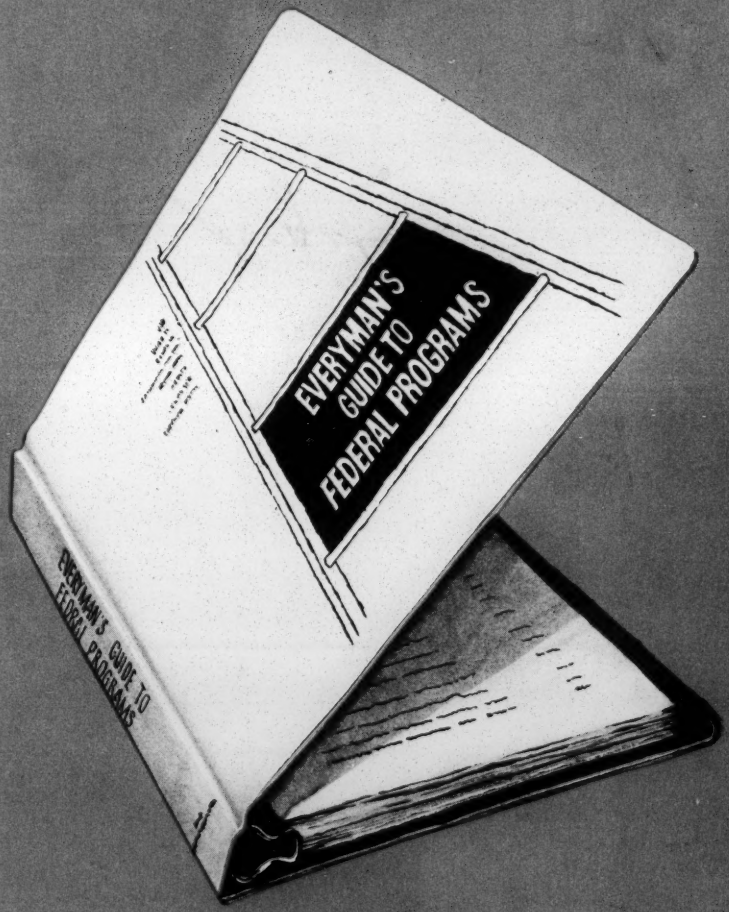

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June 2, 1970

Mr. J. Nathaniel Nelum, Chairman
Division of Education
Bishop College
3827 Simpson-Stuart Road
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Nelum:

Under separate cover we are sending you copies of the black elected officials directory. We are pleased to place your name on our mailing list, and there is no cost.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

BISHOP COLLEGE
3837 SIMPSON-STUART ROAD
DALLAS, TEXAS

JUN 1 1970

DIVISION OF EDUCATION

May 27, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Please place my name on your mailing list. If a fee is required, please let me know. I am pleased with the work of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

I would like to secure several copies of the publication Negro Elected Officials.

Please give me the information as to how I may secure this publication.

Yours for success,

J. Nathaniel Nelum

J. Nathaniel Nelum, Chairman
Division of Education

JNN/llj

August 20, 1946

Mrs. J. W. Hollandsworth
Booneville, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Hollandsworth:

Dr. Johnson told me just before he left for his vacation last week that he had talked with you at Lake Junaluska, and that you had expressed an interest in having some information on all-Negro towns. Miss Price and Mr. Slade have compiled some information, and I am sending it on to you with the hope that it will be helpful. I am enclosing a list of All-Negro Communities and a Bibliography of Magazine Articles on All Negro Communities.

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Office Manager

Encl. - 2

TWO TRAINS EVERY DAY in each direction on the line from Memphis to New Orleans stop at Mound Bayou. Less than a year ago trains used to stop at Mount Bayou on signal only but the growing importance of the little all-Negro town made a stop for all trains a must. Within a 75-mile radius of the town live 300,000 colored people, constituting the most densely populated Negro rural area in the world.

DRIVERS on Route 61 hit Mound Bayou 100 miles south of Memphis. The state highway is the Main Street of town.

MOUND BAYOU

Biggest building boom hits all-Negro town

NOT YET the biggest but unchallenged as the best-known all-Negro municipality in the United States is Mound Bayou, Mississippi.

Now in the midst of the biggest building boom since a band of 100 hardy black settlers cleared the bottomland forests and built cabins in the fever-ridden Delta swampland in 1887, Mound Bayou has ambitions of becoming the No. 1 Negro town of the nation's 22 such villages.

Six years ago the U. S. Bureau of Census showed Mound Bayou with a population of only 806. Today there are 1,500 Negroes living within the corporation limits. Mound Bayou is aiming at 5,000 in the next five years.

Prosperity has come to Mound Bayou in the strangest way. No big factory has opened nor has oil been discovered to give Mound Bayou its current boom.

Mound Bayou has cashed in on something bigger, more vital to the 1,074,578 Negroes in the state of Mississippi. Because Jim Crow is king along with cotton in Mississippi, Mound Bayou as the outstanding colored town in the state has been able to become the medical center for Negroes with a new, modern hospital the like of which has never been seen by most Negroes, no less than whites, in the South.

Mound Bayou cashed in on Jim Crow. Its Taborian Hospital erected in 1932 by the Sir Knights and Daughters of Tabor, an anti-slavery organization born before the Civil War and linked to the abolitionist Underground Railroad, is the best for Negroes in the state of Mississippi. To it flock patients from hundreds of miles around. Today because Negroes are barred elsewhere, because "separate but equal" is still a farce in Mississippi, Mound Bayou has become a thriving town.

Mound Bayou's rise to the position of a model community has been amazingly swift. Five years ago it was a run-down substandard town, without the minimum facilities for recreation and health care. Today it is a bustling place where people work and play with enthusiasm and where there is no racial tension.

It is one of the dangerous ironies of American life that happiness is sometimes achieved within the odious framework of Jim Crow institutions. Oddly enough throughout Negro America there is a substantial minority that believes the salvation of the Negro can only be effected through a program of thorough-going self-segregation.

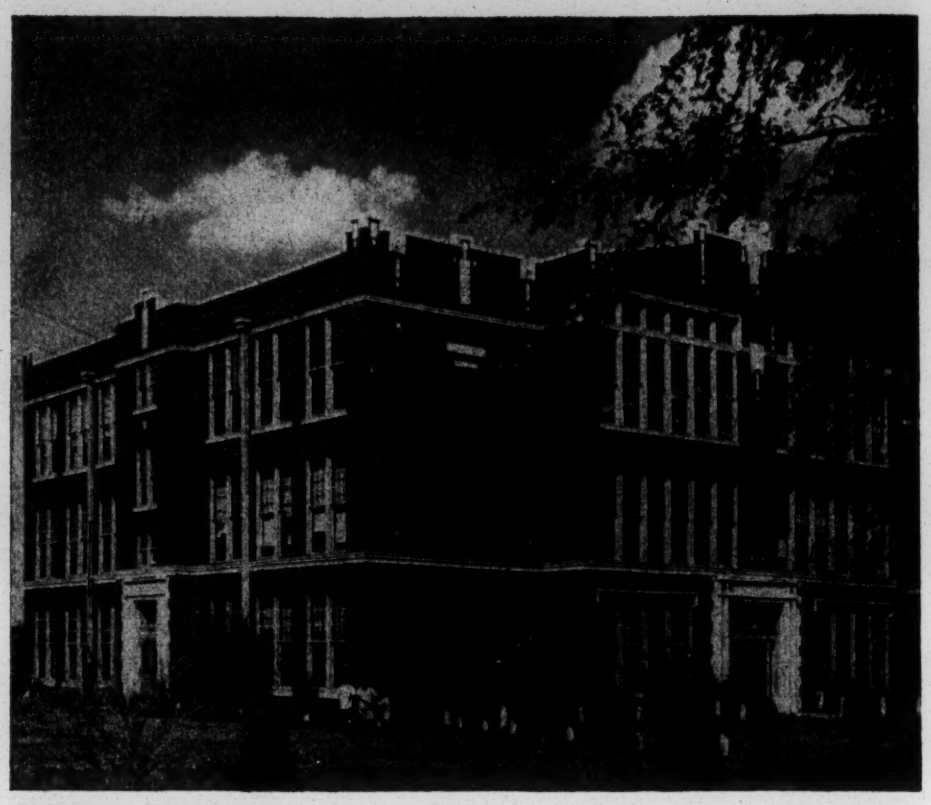
In a real sense Mound Bayou is the highest expression of voluntary segregation. It is constantly being cited by nationalistic-minded Negroes in their efforts to prove that Jim Crow pays solid dividends. It is the all-Negro community of which the most rabid drum-beaters for planned segregation are most proud. It is a relatively happy island rising out of a sea of poverty and hunger in the Mississippi River black lowland country.

(Continued on Next Page)

Ebony. Sept. 1946.

TOWN HALL is this modest little cottage where Mayor Benjamin A. Green holds office. Two youths riding their mules past the Town Hall are typical sight in Mound Bayou. Mayor Green is son of one of the town's founders. The 47-year-old, 125-pound bachelor has been mayor for 27 years. Although there have been some hot elections, no one has been able to take the job away from him. He is a Harvard graduate of 1914, was first elected after his return from France with the rank of major in World War I.

TOWN COUNCIL, governing body of Mound Bayou, meets regularly in Town Hall. They are (left to right) Mayor Benjamin A. Green, Ezell Anderson, undertaker; C. L. Keys, merchant; H. A. Riddle, dry cleaner; and Jim Shaffer, merchant who is treasurer of the town. Mound Bayou balances its budget, pays out money for improvements almost as fast as it comes in.



SCHOOL BUILDING in Mound Bayou is a far cry from most shabby schoolhouses attended by Negro children in the South. It compares favorably with the best white schools in Mississippi.

SEVEN CHURCHES of four different denominations uphold Mayor Green's boast: "Seems like we've got more churches than anything else." Here are church-goers leaving the Second Baptist Church.

Mound Bayou survives fire, boll weevil and white enmity

MOUND BAYOU some 58 years ago was everything its name implies. It was a undrained, fever-ridden wilderness of "swamp air" and terrific heat. Along the right of way of the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley Railroad line running from New Orleans to Memphis, the site was picked for a settlement by railroad officials who decided that only Negroes could live and work and survive the dangers of yellow fever and malaria.

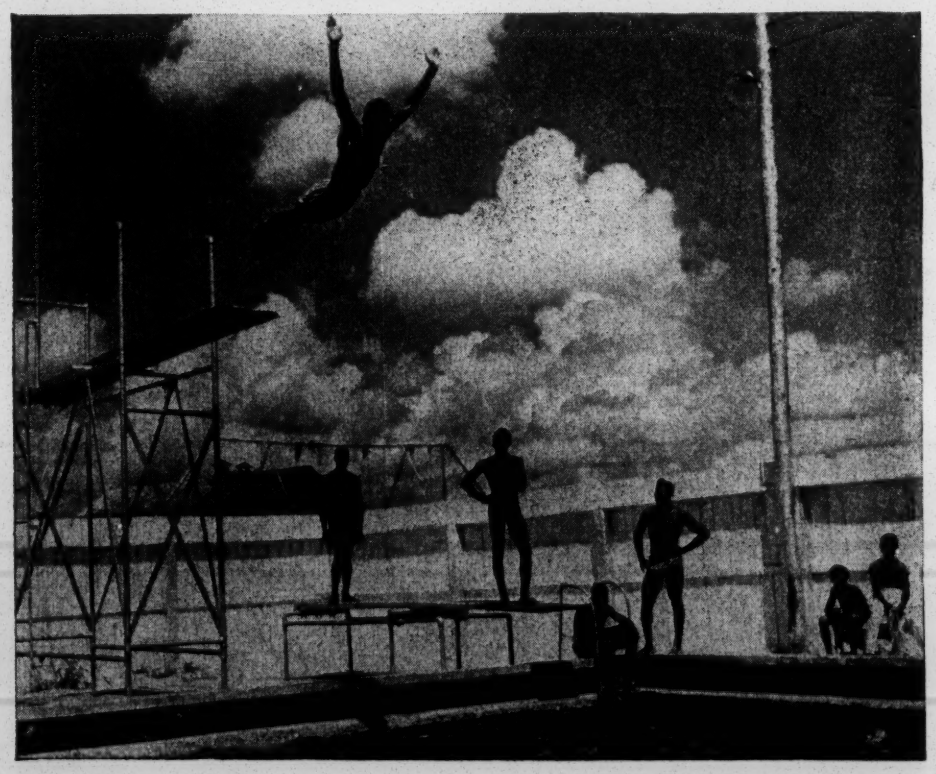
The railroad got two ex-slaves, Isaiah T. Montgomery and his young cousin, Benjamin T. Green, to buy the land at $5 an acre. They parcelled it out among stalwart Negro pioneers who cleared the forest, built cabins and planted cotton in the rich, black delta soil.

It is recorded that one day Montgomery said to Green: "Let us build a little town." Green agreed and a town site was laid out. Mound Bayou's first building was a sawmill built to supply early colonists with lumber. It was followed by Montgomery and Green's General Store, a restaurant, barber shop, rooming house and eventually a bank.

When, in 1903, the town was incorporated, Ike Montgomery became the first mayor.

Through good cotton years and bad, Mound Bayou has overcome adversity whether the boll weevil or near-by white towns. Once fire all but wiped it off the map but Mound Bayou came back.

OWN WATER SUPPLY is maintained by the town. Little Ronnie Meaux, 6, cools off his feet under one of the many water taps.



SWIMMING POOL is the only one in the whole state of Mississippi for Negroes. Pool has two diving boards, is ten feet deep. Visitors from all over the state pay fee of 35 cents.

SIX MONKEYS in Goodwill Park zoo attract white as well as colored youngsters. Zoo also has peacocks, rabbits, alligators and parrots. The zoo, like the pool, is the only one in the state for Negroes.

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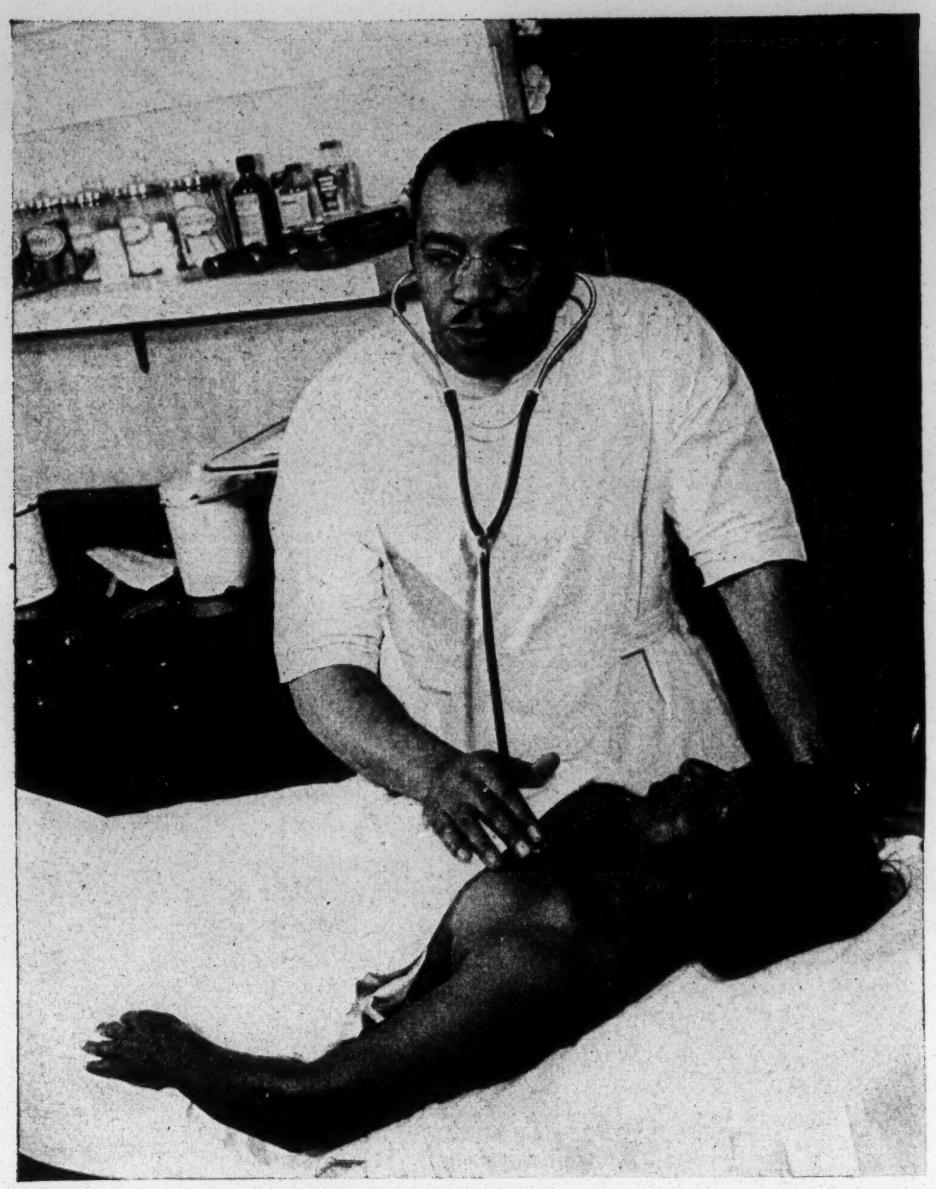
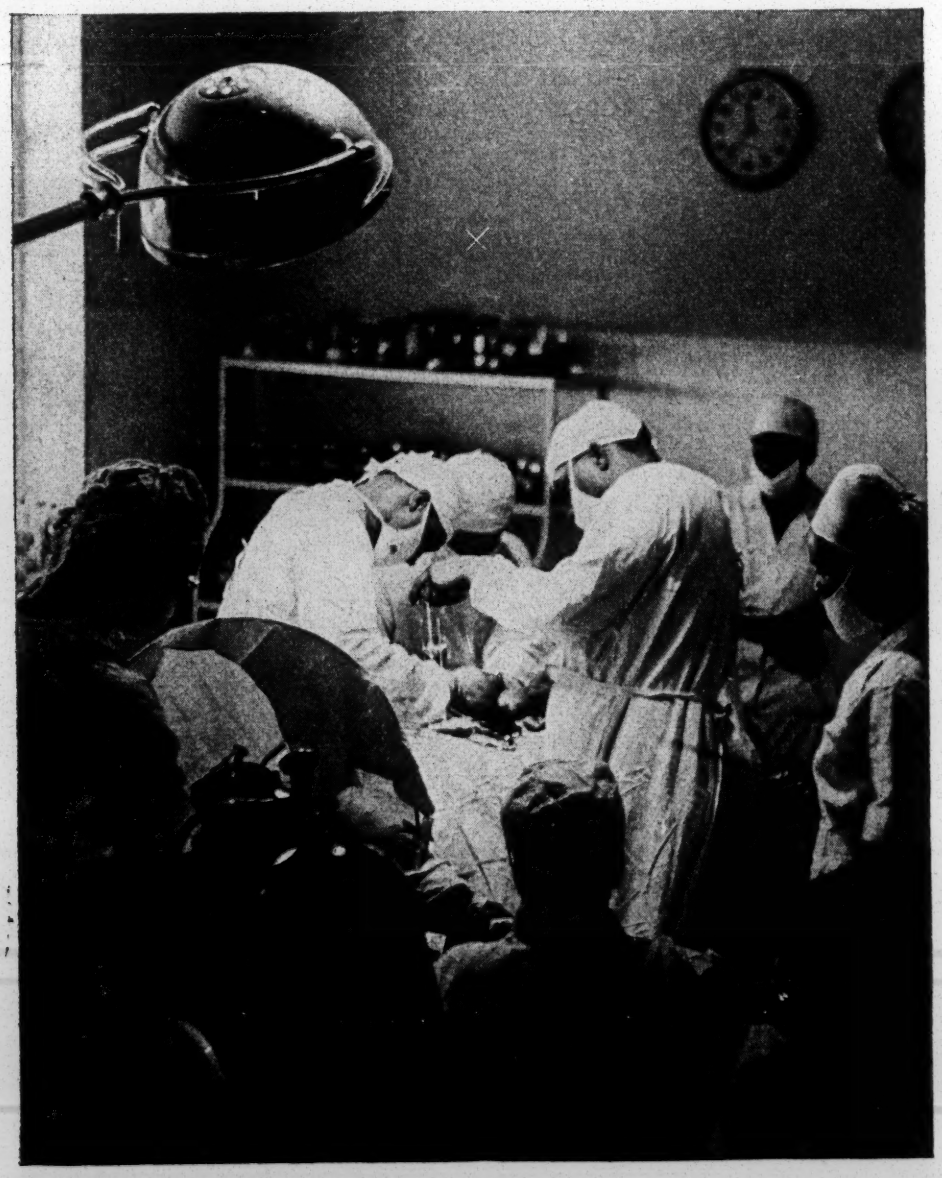


IN HIS CLINIC Dr. Howard examines one of many patients that he sees in a typical working day of 12 to 16 hours. Dr. Howard often gives patients vegetable seeds along with medical advice and urges them to try modern farming methods.



IN THE MODERN OPERATING ROOM of Taborian Hospital, Dr. Howard and his assistants perform an operation on a patient with a broken leg. Last year he performed 1,200 operations.

HARD-WORKING COUPLE are Dr. Howard and his wife. She is manager of the Green Parrot Inn, modern restaurant in Goodwill Park. She helps manage their farm and plays an important part in Mound Bayou civic affairs.

MEDICAL MISSIONARY

FOUR out of five Negro mothers in Mississippi do not give birth to their babies in a hospital.

There are just not enough hospital beds for the sick, let alone mothers-to-be.

In the nation there is one hospital bed for every 110 whites. In Mississippi, there is only one hospital bed for every 1,110. It is virgin soil for a medical missionary.

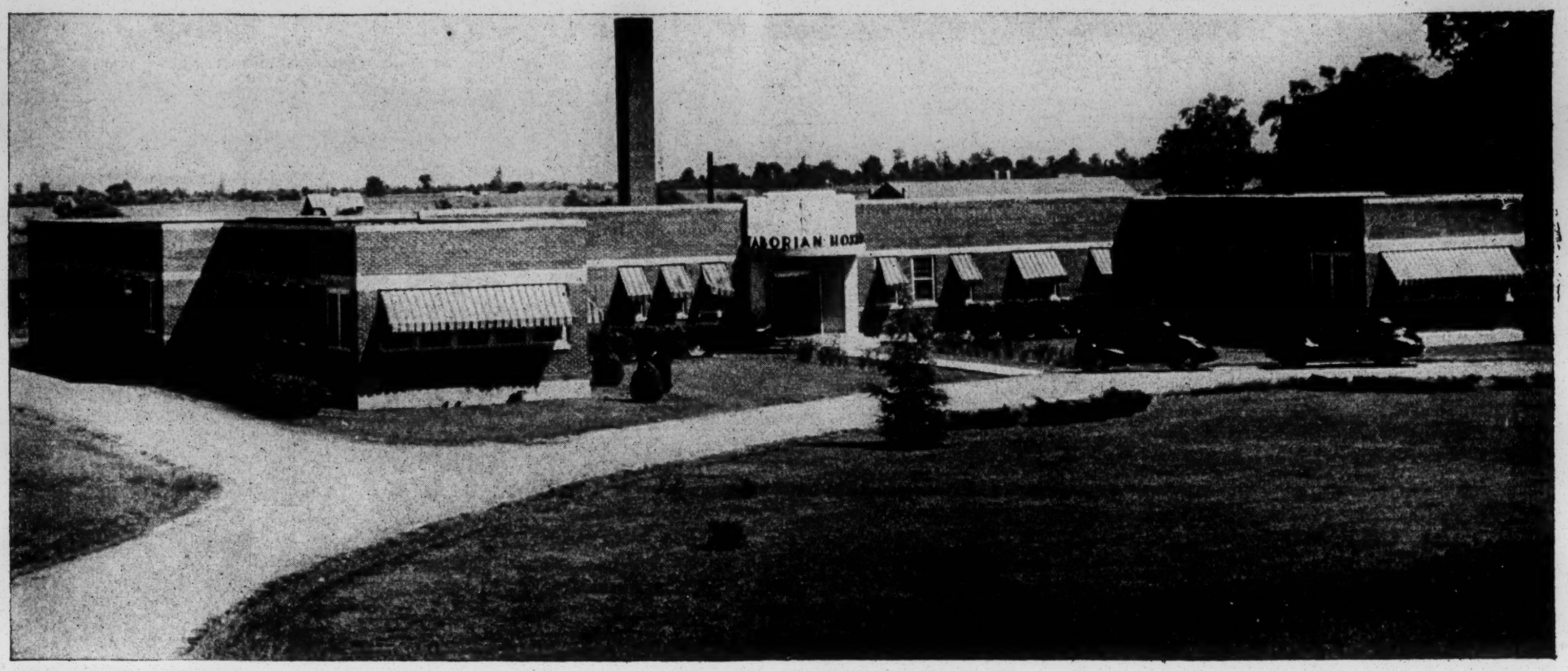
The missionary proved to be young Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard, who once had plans to go to Africa and bring medical aid to the natives but he found Mississippi needed help almost as much as the Congo.

The chance to pioneer with his little black bag instead of a safari was given Dr. Howard by the strong, civic-minded 40,000-member Sir Knights and Daughters of Tabor. Offering life, burial, sickness and hospital insurance at nominal fees, the lodge found that its insurance was virtually worthless in Mississippi as far as hospitalization was concerned. There just were no hospitals to which to send its sick members. Its Chief Grand Mentor, P. M. Smith, began a campaign to raise $100,000 to build a hospital and on February 12, 1942—appropriately Lincoln's Birthday—the Taborian Hospital with 42 beds opened its doors (Today 76 beds, more to come.)

Dr. Howard, who was a practicing surgeon at the George N. Hubbard Hospital at Meharry Medical College in Nashville, became chief surgeon of Taborian, which came up to the best hospital standards with its modern equipment and clean, light wards. Patients poured into Taborian from every corner of the state.

Today Mississippi, through Taborian Hospital, knows that Negroes want the best of hospital care. There is a constant waiting list at the Mound Bayou medical center. "The demand for private rooms is 20 times the supply," reports Dr. Howard.

GAS STATION was converted into this clinic by Dr. Howard. It is just across the street from the hospital. Clinic is open Sundays and three days each week.



TABORIAN HOSPITAL, built four years ago at a cost of $100,000, is Mound Bayou's No. 1 showpiece. It has 76 beds out of a total of 963 hospital beds available to Mississippi's million Negroes. Highest rate for a private room at Taborian is $5 a day.

IT TOOK a young surgeon fresh out of medical school to give Mound Bayou the civic face lifting it needed to make it the outstanding Negro incorporated town in the United States. He was 34-year-old Dr. Howard, whose medical ideas run far beyond what can be done with a stethoscope and a scalpel.

One look at Mound Bayou convinced him that much more than a hospital was needed to give the townspeople health and happiness. "Some folks still think it's funny that Negroes should like to swim or play tennis," he says. "But next to hospitalization and housing, the Negro's greatest lack in Mississippi is recreation facilities. The Negro boy in the Army has learned to want these things and we've tried to give him as much as we can in Mound Bayou."

The Howard Plan was the result of the doctor's thinking as soon as he was installed as chief of the new Taborian Hospital. It was aimed at turning a ramshackle community into a model town.

Since Howard's appearance on the Mound Bayou scene, the importance of juke joints has declined. In their place has come the $40,000 Good Will Park. Financed by both colored and white people in Bolivar and neighboring counties, the park is a rarity in Mississippi where public parks are largely closed to Negroes.

Some juke joints remain but a large part of their former clientele now patronizes the clean, highly respectable Green Parrot Inn, which adjoins Good Will Park and is managed by Mrs. Howard. Its spacious pavilion is the town's main dancing spot. Dr. Howard's plan of reconstruction also includes the building in the near future of a theatre and a hotel. Blueprints for these buildings have already been drawn by Negro architects.

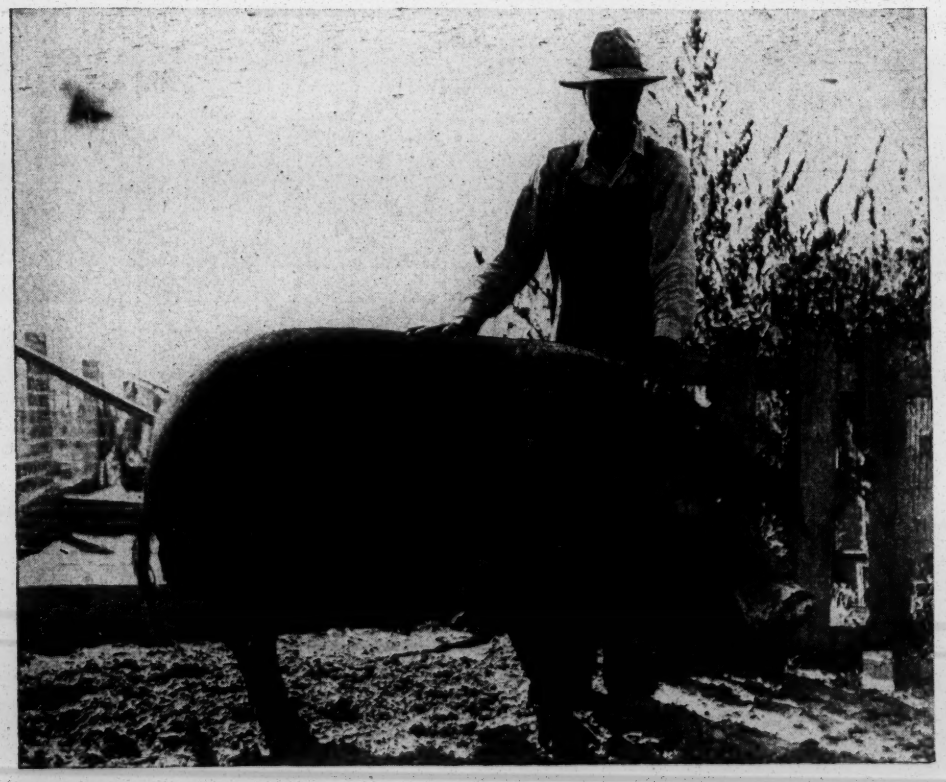
The idyllic peace that pervades Mound Bayou is twofold: the absence of a race problem flows from the lack of white men in the community; its crime rate is so low as to make unnecessary any kind of law-enforcing agency.

There is no police force, no court, nor anything resembling a jail in Mound Bayou. The town has been without a jail for 15 years. Yet during that period not one major crime has been committed.

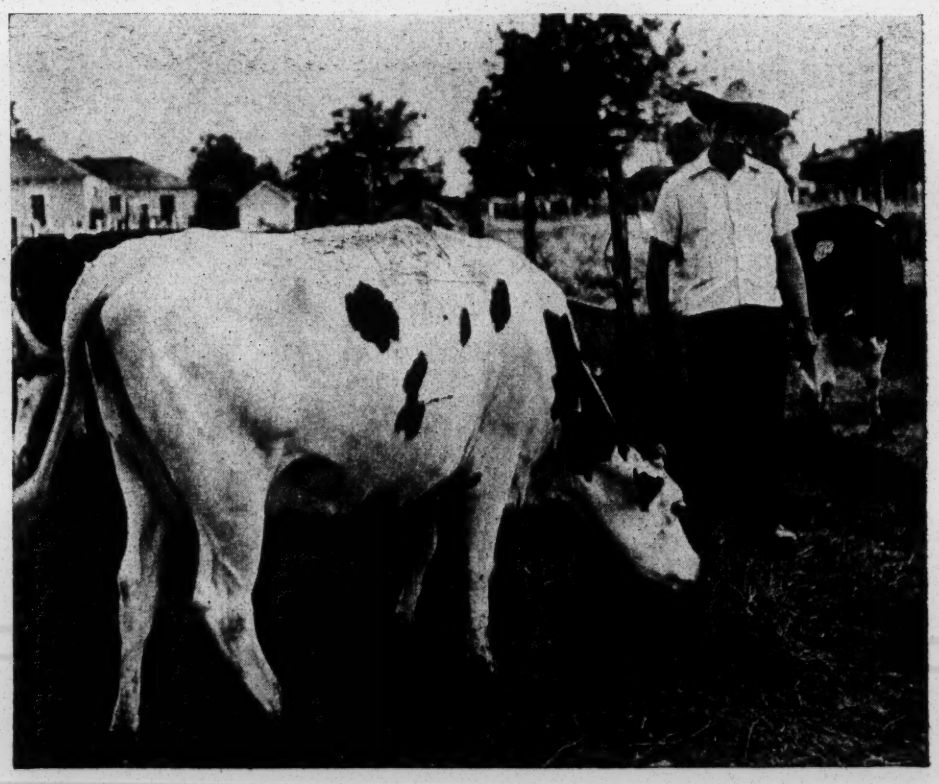
Nearest approach to lawlessness is a small fight now and then. Invariably the culprits are told to appear at Mayor Benjamin A. Green's office at 9 o'clock the following morning. As the town's only dispenser of justice, courtly, able Mayor Green is wise and humane. Usually he lets offenders off with a mild lecture or light fine.

A high civic pride combined with the knowledge that the eyes of the country are focused on them are the chief reasons why there is so little wrong-doing. "We all know each other here," Mayor Green explained recently, "and are interested in upholding the town's good name. If a man makes a little mistake, and is sorry, we forgive him. Citizens are taught to respect themselves and feel a personal responsibility. The eyes of the country are on us. We believe that the Negro, if given the opportunity, will do the right thing. He has the opportunity here and he does the right thing."

This opportunity has not been easy in the making. It has been an uphill battle waged against appalling natural disadvantages, hostility and discouragement of Negro progress that is second-nature to most white southerners. That Mound Bayou has prospered and grown is perhaps a minor miracle of the Delta country.



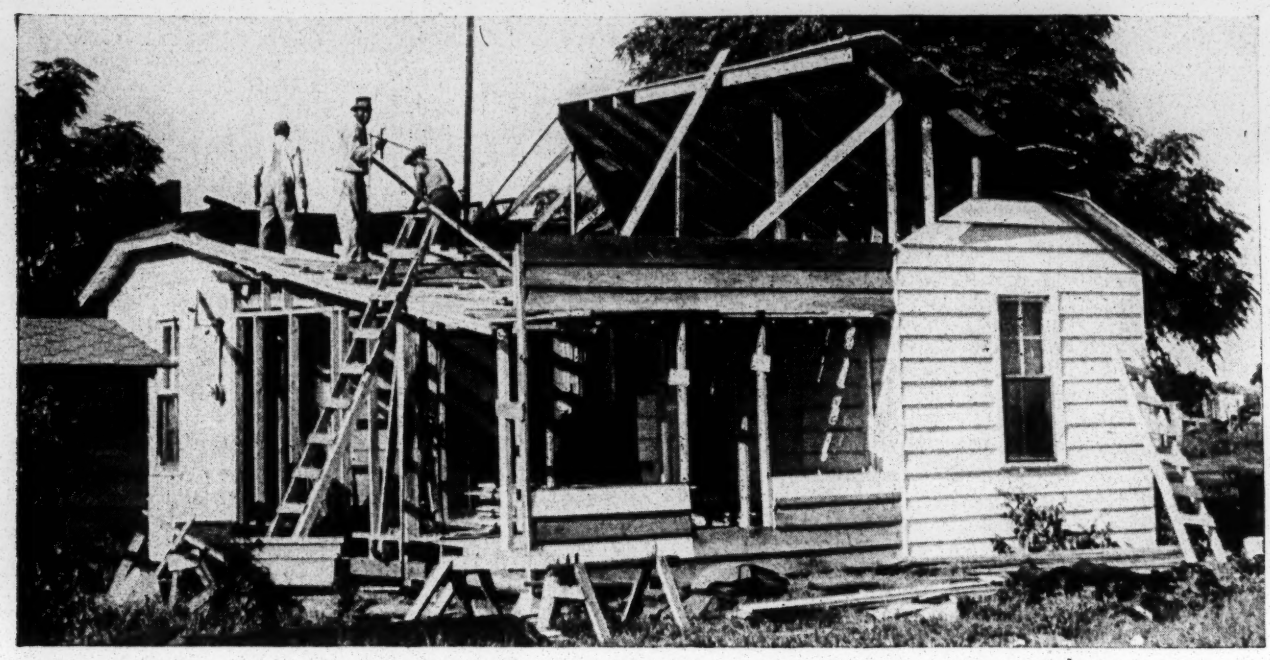
PRIZE-WINNING HOG, a Poland China breed, is pampered by Henry Farris, one of Dr. Howard's farmhands. Dr. Howard recently bought the Isaiah T. Montgomery farm of 320 acres, which was the original site of the town founder's property.



THOROUGHBRED HOLSTEIN COW is fed hay by Farmer Dr. Howard. He owns one of the finest herd of Angus cattle in the South valued at $25,000. He also has more than 1,000 white Plymouth Rock chickens and five registered Tennessee walking horses.

(Continued on Next Page)

HOUSING PROJECT is Dr. Howard's new venture, part of Mound Bayou's new building boom. The eight new four-room cottages will have inside toilets and baths, electricity and gas. They will rent for $28 per month. "I'll build more bungalows if these prove out," says Dr. Howard. He would like to locate a national memorial for Negro veterans in Mound Bayou.



ADDITIONS are being built on many homes in Mound Bayou. Here is one going up on the house of Ezell Anderson, manager of the Mound Bayou branch of the Delta Burial Corporation. A new co-op cotton gin was opened in Mound Bayou three years ago to serve the 2,000 farmers in the area. There are three gins in town. Plans are in the making for a co-op market where farmers can buy hardware, seed, implements and fertilizer and save the profits.

NEW DRY GOODS STORE will be located in this cement-block building under construction on Main Street. The Knights and Daughters of Tabor plan to erect a building to house their central office in Mound Bayou. Blueprints also call for the doubling of the hospital.

OLD SHACKS like this one still are found in Mound Bayou but the town is hoping to replace them in coming years.

PRO AND CON OF JIM CROW

BIGGEST question concerning Mound Bayou is: "Are Jim Crow towns the solution to the South's racial problem?"

Mayor Green himself answers: "I don't know. But it's the best that we have found. It has worked out here. That is all we can say."

Although Mound Bayou has been pretty much sticking its head in the sand on the race question, "the problem" has come up to plague the town on its bid for a new Veterans Administration hospital. From the North, however, the Negro press and strong organizations protested against another Jim Crow vets hospital—and to add insult to injury, locating it in a Jim Crow town.

Mound Bayou's politicos were incensed and blasted the opposition with bitter invective. Mayor Green put it this way:

"Whatever we may think of segregation, we're going to have it here in the South for the next 100 years.

"In this section we are trying to get something that will benefit our own people right now—not 100 years from now."

And then Mayor Green offers the town's slogan which sounds like Chamber of Commerce propaganda and which is their biggest justification for a Jim Crow town: "Everything that advances Mound Bayou also advances the status of the Negro people everywhere in America."

NEW MODERN HOMES like this Mound Bayou bungalow are a bold contrast from the shacks in which most Dixie Negroes live.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MAGAZINE ARTICLES ON ALL-NEGRO COMMUNITIES

"Brown Town: Eatonville, Florida Is Oldest Negro Village in United States," Ebony, I (February, 1946) pp. 37-43.

Pictures of Eatonville and its citizens; brief story of founding of town and description of life there.

Carter, Hodding, "He's Doing Something About the Race Problem" (Mound Bayou, Miss.), Saturday Evening Post, February 23, 1946, p. 30,+.

Pictures of Mound Bayou and its citizens; story of town and what Dr. T.R.M. Howard has done there.

Carter, Hodding "The Miracle of Mound Bayou", Negro Digest, (May, 1946), pp. 5-11.

Condensation of article by Mr. Carter in Saturday Evening Post, February 23, 1946. (See above)

Hamilton, C. G. "Refuse to Bury Negro Politician" (Mound Bayou, Miss.), Christian Century, LVI (December 6, 1939), p. 1526.

Very short article; brief history of Mound Bayou.

Hill, M. C. "Basic Racial Attitudes Toward Whites in the Oklahoma All-Negro Community", American Journal of Sociology, XLIX (May, 1944) pp. 519-23.

The article is the result of extended investigation of six All-Negro communities in Oklahoma (Boley, Langston, Taft, Rentiesville, Clearview, and Tatums). The racial attitudes of Negroes living in these communities are analyzed and compared with attitudes of Negroes in mixed communities.

"Negro Town" (Mound Bayou, Miss.), Newsweek, XIV (July 24, 1939), p. 14.

Very short article; brief history of difficulties of town.

Spellman, C. L. "Elm City, A Negro Community in Action", Rural Sociology, X (June, 1945) pp. 174-87.

Copies of this Bibliography and List may be obtained on request from the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Try to get missing counties from Postal Guide

ALL-NEGRO COMMUNITIES

Town	County	Population
Alabama		
*Cedarlake	Morgan	300
Greenwood Village	Macon	1,200
Hobson City	Calhoun	
**Mason City (near B'gham)	_____ no p.o.	
Plateau	Mobile	4,429
*Shepherdsville	Dallas	
Arkansas		
Biscoe	Prarie	
Edmondson	Crittenden	
Gould	Lincoln	
*McGhee	Desha	
Thomasville	_____ no p.o.	
California		
*Abila	_____ no p.o.	
Allensworth	Tulare	85
Bowles	Fresno	
Victorville	San Bernardino	
Florida		
Eatonville	Orange	200
*New Monrovia	Palm Beach	150
Georgia		
*Archery	Sumter	
Burroughs	Chatham	
*Cannonville	Troup	200
*Greenough	Mitchell	
*Leroy	Burke	
Illinois		
Brooklyn	Schuyler	2,063
Robbins	Cook	
Kansas		
Nicodemus	Graham	296
Kentucky		
*Camp Nelson, New Zion	Scott	175
Maryland		
Fairmont Heights	Prince George	1,213
Lincoln	Prince George	
Highland Beach	Anne Arundel	
North Brentwood	Prince George	641

Town	County	Population
Michigan		
Idlewild	Lake	
*Marlborough	———	
Mississippi		
*Expose	Marion	
Mound Bayou	Bolivar	834
Mt. Carmel	Bolivar	700
Renova	Bolivar	
*Jefferson Davis	———	100
New Jersey		
Gouldtown	Cumberland	150
Lawnside	Camden	1,379
Mizpah	Atlantic	
*Springtown	Cumberland	
Whitesboro	Cape May	
New Mexico		
*Blackdom	———	
New York		
Sandy Ground	Richmond, Staten Island	
*Richmond Borough	———	
*Staten Island	———	800
North Carolina		
Columbia Heights (Suburb of Winston-Salem)	Forsythe	
Method	Wake	
Oberlin (Suburb of Raleigh)	Wake	
Ohio		
Handford	Franklin	220
Oklahoma		
Boley	Okfuskee	874
*Bookertee	& ——— no p.o	
Langston	Logan	351
*Grayson	Okmulgee no p.o.	411
Lima	Seminole	239
*Mantu	——— no p.o.	100
Porter	Wagoner	
Redbird	Wagoner	218
Rentiesville	McIntosh	154
Taft	Muskogee	690
Tatums	Carter no p.o.	
Tullahassee	Wagoner	1,856
Vernon	McIntosh	

Town	County	Population
Pennsylvania		
Darby	Delaware	2,772
South Carolina		
Booker Washington Heights	Richland	
Lincolnville	Charleston	600
Tennessee		
*Hortense	Dickinson	
*New Bedfore, Near Chattanooga	Hamilton	
Texas		
*Andy	Cherokee	
*Booker	Red River	
Independence Heights	Houston	
Kendleton	Fort Bend	
*Mill City	Dallas	
*Oldham	Houston	300
*Roberts	———	
*Union City	———	
Virginia		
Almargo	Pittsylvania	
*Coardtown	Accomac	400
Hare Valley	Northampton	
Ocean Grove	Norfolk	
Titustown	Norfolk	
Truxton, near Portsmouth	Norfolk	
West Virginia		
Institute	Kanawha	600

Negro Year Book, 1937-38, p. 257,8
*Negro Year Book, 1931-32, pp.529-30
**Negro Year Book, 1925-26, pp.385-86

Career Project

September 15, 1944

Mr. John H. Johnson
Managing Editor
NEGRO DIGEST
5619 South State Street
Chicago 21, Illinois

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of August 24 has been forwarded to Atlanta, where I have been working for some time as Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council.

I shall be glad to write a brief article on the subject, "If I Were A Negro," for NEGRO DIGEST. It may be a couple of weeks before I have the article ready, but I shall get it to you as soon as possible.

Under separate cover I am sending you some literature on the work of the Southern Regional Council. If there is anything in this material which you want to quote or to digest, please feel free to make use of it. Let me call your attention particularly to our monthly publication, THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER. If you do not receive this publication regularly and would like to be on our list, we shall be glad to send it to you with our compliments. I believe that you will find quotable items in the FRONTIER from time to time, and you are at liberty to use them if you wish.

May I say that I continue to find NEGRO DIGEST an exceedingly useful, stimulating, and constructive magazine. I wish for it an ever-increasing success, because it fills a real need.

I should like to ask whether we might have permission to reprint NEGRO DIGEST articles occasionally in THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER. I am particularly interested in the things which are written especially for NEGRO DIGEST, such as the series on "If I Were A Negro" and the "Negro Digest Poll of Opinion." For example, I should like very much to quote Mrs. Roosevelt's article which you published in your October, 1943 issue.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Separate cover
SRC #1, #2
Southern Offensive
July, August FRONTIERS
White Primary, I Never Knowed

NEGRO DIGEST

5619 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO 21, ILLINOIS
Telephone: Englewood 8900

August 24, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Have you ever thought about what you would do if you were a Negro?

One writer said that if he were a Negro he would live in constant fury and would beat his brains out in protest against discrimination. We feel sure that you join us in rejecting the negative suggestion of this writer.

We believe that there is a positive message to be given to colored people by white Americans and we would like to have you give it in 500 words or more.

We believe that you will be making a vital and needed contribution to better interracial relations, and bolster the morale of the Negroes if you will consent to prepare an article for us on the subject, "If I Were A Negro."

Perhaps you might well discuss what you would do about the following:

1. All-out participation in the war effort.
2. Working for complete equality and full integration into the democratic process.
3. Demanding equality now.
4. Segregation in the Army and Navy.
5. Affiliation with the labor movements.

We realize that you are very busy, but we do hope that you will take the time to accede to our request for, in doing so, we honestly believe that y u will be making an invaluable contribution to the war program.

We are enclosing the October, 1943 issue of the NEGRO DIGEST for your inspection. You will note that in this issue the article on "If I Were A Negro" was written by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Others have appeared by Pearl S. Buck, Oswald Garrison Villard, Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, John P. Lewis, Arthur B. Spingarn, and Ruth Benedict.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Johnson
Managing Editor

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.

JHJ:EFC

NEGRO DIGEST

5619 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO 21, ILLINOIS
Telephone: Englewood 8900

September 14, 1945

Dear Doctor Johnson: You may recall that sometime ago we asked you to contribute to our popular "If I Were a Negro" series. In September, 1944 we received a letter from you stating that you would prepare the article as soon as possible.

We are writing now to ask your cooperation in doing the piece for us within the next ten days or two weeks or, as soon thereafter as possible. We would appreciate your sending a collect wire stating when we may expect to receive the article.

With appreciation for your cooperation, I am

Very truly yours,

John H. Johnson

John H. Johnson
Editor and Publisher

JHJ:NT

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director of the
Southern Regional Council
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

COPY

Dear Sir: Have you ever thought about what you would do if you were a Negro? One writer said that if he were a Negro he would live in constant fury and would beat his brains out in protest against discrimination. We feel sure that you join us in rejecting the negative suggestion of this writer.

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2. Working for complete equality and full integration into the democratic process.
3. Demanding equality now.
4. Segregation in the Army and Navy.
5. Affiliation with the labor movement.

We realize that you are very busy, but we do hope that you will take the time to grant our request for, in doing so, we honestly believe that you will be making an invaluable contribution to the war program.

We are enclosing the October, 1943 issue of NEGRO DIGEST for your inspection. You will note that in this issue the article on "If I Were A Negro" was written by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Others have appeared by Pearl S. Buck, Oswald Garrison Villard, Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, John P. Lewis, Arthur B. Spingarn and Ruth Benedict.

Very truly yours,

John H. Johnson
Editor and Publisher

Current Projects

September 26, 1944

Mr. John H. Johnson
Managing Editor
NEGRO DIGEST
5619 South State Street
Chicago 21, Illinois

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of September 20. I am delighted to have your permission to reprint Mrs. Roosevelt's article and other material which is written especially for NEGRO DIGEST.

We should like very much to exchange publications and we are putting NEGRO DIGEST on our mailing list to receive the SOUTHERN FRONTIER and all of our pamphlets. I shall prepare the article on the subject "If I Were A Negro" as soon as possible. I have placed this task near the top of a very heavy "must" list.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

* List for Exchange

NEGRO DIGEST

5619 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO 21, ILLINOIS
Telephone: Englewood 8900

September 20, 1944

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of September 15. We are glad to know that you will write the article for us on the subject, "If I Were A Negro." We shall look forward to receiving it at an early date.

Please accept our thanks, also, for your offer to send us complimentary copies of your monthly publication, "The Southern Frontier." We would like to receive it for we believe that there will be usable material contained in it from time to time. Would you like to exchange publications? X

I am enclosing a reprint of Mrs. Roosevelt's article on "If I Were A Negro." You have our permission to reprint this and other material which is written especially for NEGRO DIGEST provided full credit is given NEGRO DIGEST and our address given.

Please know that we sincerely appreciate all the complimentary things which you said about the magazine.

Very truly yours,

John H. Johnson

John H. Johnson
Managing Editor

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

JHJ:BD
Enc: 1

Negro Digest

T. A. A. F., Box 116
Tuskegee, Ala.
28 January '46

RECEIVED
JAN 29 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Johnson,

I received your letter of 10 Jan. and I wish to thank you for also sending me the pamphlets, circulars, and "anonymous" letter from a so-called "citizen."

The origin and purposes of the Council were not news to our family. Nevertheless, we appreciated your thoughtfulness in forwarding this material.

After a quarter of a century of searching and research "in behalf of human equality," you must, indeed, be able to tell me a great deal more about your personal victories. The feelings of "cynicism and futility" are to be expected when one is working with an organized group to champion the causes of the Negro race... a name invented to distinguish thirteen million people (in the United States) who are not a united group, not entirely (nor legitimately) related by blood, religion, or culture. Mr. Johnson, your race problem lies in this race fallacy!

Neither my husband nor myself have lived as long as a quarter

of a century. We are able to trace our family origins back through four generations of (legally) free peoples. There are not so many people in these United States who can say the same for their heritage. (We usually answer the query "Race"?, on applications, by "black." It has been most interesting to note the reactions to this, in the final considerations. Mr. Haley and I have drivers' licenses with the interpretation "white", and these have never been questioned!)

I am amused rather than cynical over the sheer desperate attempts of some Americans to perpetuate a color line that is so filigreed dim, it takes a fanatic (Bilbo and Hitler, for instances) to see the paints of ignorance and fear. The mania is a disease; it has been cured, it can be treated, and it must be wiped out entirely. Any utter futility I feel in the matter is based upon extreme shame for the hypocrisy of the American people, no matter what color their skins may be. No one noticed anything but red blood flowing on the battlefields of the second World War. But we were so intent on waging that war abroad, we purposely neglected the identical evils raging at home.

Victories do not always necessitate bloodshed. But the American people need some kind of rude awakening from their moral lethargy, don't they?

I wish your Council every success in realizing achievements in its work towards attaining the "ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South." At least, in your resolution, the words "research and action" suggest some passive and active resistance to injustices. I am eager to know if the recent petition of a group of students, in N. Carolina, for abolishing segregated educational institutions in that state, was an indirect result of your efforts when you were at the state's university several years ago.

Thank you, again, for your letter and enclosures. Although our residence in the South is temporary (duration will be determined by the Army), our interest in your Council's moral victories will be sustained wherever we go. The "cause" has as many positive effects as there are people, and methods, reflecting a genuine desire to eradicate intolerance.

Very truly yours,
(Mrs.) Hope Haley

1/10/46

Mrs. Hope Haley
T.A.A.F., Box 116
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Haley:

I am sorry for this delay in acknowledging your most interesting letter of December 26. For some reason it was not forwarded promptly from Chapel Hill to Atlanta. I resigned my position at the University of North Carolina two years ago to become Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council.

I appreciate your honest expression of opinion concerning my article in the December Negro Digest. I did not particularly want to write the article, but the editor, Mr. John H. Johnson, had been after me for over a year, so I finally gave in. Let me offer a few comments by way of discussion of your letter.

I will stand up for the Golden Rule as a way of life in anybody's civilization, but I do not concede that such attitudes as "not facing facts, keeping one's mouth shut, yet grinning broadly," etc., are corrollaries of the Golden Rule. To me, the Golden Rule is simply the principle of reciprocity. Of course, it is possible to have a society based on mutual fear, dislike and suspicion. That is all right if everybody understands the rules and behaves with some uniformity. As an anthropologist, I have studies primitive societies which are organized on that basis, but I would not want to live in one of them. Our society is bad enough, and I would like to see it move as rapidly as possible toward the time when the basis of reciprocity is mutual understanding and recognition of rights.

I do not see anything in my little article which suggests that I am trying to describe the formula, or even a formula for living and thinking—except, of course, the basic philosophy of the Golden Rule. The Editor says, "Write us 500 words on the subject 'If I Were a Negro'." I put him off for a year, then I give in and send him an article containing a few suggestions drawn from a large number of suggestions that might possibly have been made. Pray, do not expect a miracle!

All of my suggestions are related to a philosophy of life rather than to such tools as a liberal education. If I had been stating my ideas

(over)

with regard to education, I doubt very much whether they would differ from yours.

I do indeed get tired of trying to put my thoughts into words and actions. In fact, after nearly 25 years of teaching and research and other activity in behalf of human equality, I find that I have to combat a feeling of cynicism and futility about the whole thing.

I think you will be interested and amused, as I was, by another reaction to my article. I am enclosing a copy of an anonymous letter which I received from New York City dated the same day as yours. I have received quite a few of these anonymous things through the years. I always consider that the person's name is probably not worth the paper that it isn't signed on.

I am sending you some of our publications on the chance that you might be interested in the sort of work we are trying to do. I hope to have the privilege of meeting you and continuing our discussion sometime.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

Separate cover - #1, 2, 3, 4 - Packet, December Frontier.

C.W.
1/11/46

Negro Digest

T.A.A.7., Box 116
Tuskegee, Ala.
26 Dec. 1945

Dear Mr. Johnson,

A Christmas gift, the Negro Digest, is here. An article in this issue (Dec.), entitled Whites Are Individuals Too, compels me to write to the author.

From experience (and this is personal, simply because it's impossible to speak for a group of people, or even put yourself in "another person's shoes") the Golden Rule, turning the other cheek, loving (or trusting) everybody, not facing the facts, keeping one's mouth shut, yet grinning broadly at the same time, are no short cuts to freedom. Freedom. To me, that's the realization of what it means to be human, — to hope, plan, and act responsibly.

Do you ever get tired of trying to put your thoughts or theories, as a student of human relations, into words and actions? And let me ask

you this, also, — have you forgotten that relationships between human beings do not lend themselves to rules, as do the manipulations of physical objects?

Then, it's not being honest to even suggest, altho you admitted that you "hesitated" to do so, any formulae for living and thinking. I searched, in vain, for your reference to a liberal education; for as an educator, you surely must agree with me that it is the purpose of a liberal education to free people from such servitude as it frees them from servitude to stereotyped thinking and conventional action of all kinds.

It was a waste of time and energy for both you — to write, and me — to read this formula, in the false hope that might be a quick answer to an eternal problem.

Very truly yours,
(Mrs.) Hope Haley

COPY

New York City
December 26, 1945

Professor Guy B. Johnson
University of N. Carolina

My Esteemed Professor,

I read with marked interest your article in the December 1945 issue of the Negro Digest on "Whites are Individuals, Too".

Pray tell me my noble and esteemed Professor, since when do we white folks; have to apologize to the degenerate primitive canibal Negro race? And since when do you assume authority to speak for the white race.

You are supposed to be a Professor. Do you realize what would ever happen to our white race, IF, God forbid, this revengeful primitive black race, gained dominance over the white race.

No, I have no racial prejudice towards any one. But, this does not mean that I have to subordinate the security and dominance of my white race for this intellectual fawning hypocricy of the Blacks.

May I ask you to read a book called "The Negro a Menance to American Civilization" by Dr. Robert W. Shufeldt. Yes, read it very very carefully, and then see if you can still entertain such an attitude of apology to the black revengeful Negro race towards the white race.

And while I bear no race prejudice, I am also mindful of race security, and dominance of our white race, and concious of our racial heritage, which I regret to say Democracy equality bunk is helping so much to bastardize.

The time is not very far distance when the Civil War will be fought over again. But this time it will not be the North fighting the South, but both combined against the Negro race, so as to sustain the security and dominance of our race.

Yes, I am a Northern man, and I must tell you frankly, that it is the tragedy for the white race, that the South lost the Civil War. For slavery would have been abolished on its own economic weight. And it was not necessary to have killed off so many whites for the Negro race to threaten us now.

So Professor, do not be so anxious to apologize to this atavistic, primitive Negro race, pulsing with revenge against the white race.

Respectfully yours,

A Northern Citizen

Negro Digest article

February 12, 1946

Mr. W. H. Bass
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Bass:

Your letter of January 29 has been forwarded to me from Chapel Hill, North Carolina. I was associated with the University of North Carolina for twenty years, but resigned my position there two years ago to become director of the Southern Regional Council.

I appreciate your thoughtful letter. It always does a person good to know that others understand what he is trying to say and appreciate what he is trying to do. You will be interested to know that I have received several letters about my article in the Negro Digest. One of them was a terrible letter written anonymously by "A Northern Citizen". He gave me a good "cussing out". I know his type and it does not bother me a bit.

I think you will be interested in the work of the Southern Regional Council. It is a bi-racial organization of Southern people working together for progressive measures in the South. The enclosed leaflet will tell you something about the Council. I am also sending some additional literature under separate cover.

With highest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

#1, #2, It Seems Queer.

Little Rock, Ark.,

January 29, 1946.

Hon. Guy B. Johnson,

Chapel Hill, N.C.

My Dear Sir:

I have just read your article entitled "If I Were A Negro" and I hasten to inform you that I am glad to have had the pleasure of reading your article and to learn that some white people realize that the color of a man's skin does not determine his "MANHOOD".

For your information, I am glad to say that I am a Negro and am proud of the fact and I wish to express my sincere appreciation for the article that you have in the December issue of the "NEGRO DIGEST".

When the time comes that we have more white men of your calibre, the better will the relations be between the two races.

And I am not unmindful of the fact that there is a great deal to be done by the Negro, and while he has made remarkable progress since his Emancipation, yet he has been in the midst of a civilization that has contributed mightly for his advancement. And he has a great deal to do to bring up the race to the standard that has been set by the Caucasian race.

My prayer is, that the good work that has been done since Emancipation will continue until the whole world will know and practise the slogan that "I am my Brother's keeper".

Sincerly yours,

W. H. Bass

W. H. Bass,
Retired Railway Mail Clerk.

NEGRO DIGEST

RECEIVED
APR 24 1947
Southern Regional Council

5125 SOUTH CALUMET AVENUE
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS
Telephone: OAKland 4282

April 22, 1947

Dear Mr. Warwick: This is to acknowledge your letter of April 16 and to thank you for sending us copies of the reports on the Negro veteran's status in the South.

We will not be able to use these surveys as the basis for an article but we would like to keep them in our files for future reference.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Burns

Ben Burns
Executive Editor

BB:hr

Mr. Ray Warwick, Dir.
Public Relations
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 16, 1947

Mr Ben Burn, Executive Editor
Negro Digest
5125 South Calumet Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr Burns:

The brief article in May Negro Digest by James Roosevelt suggests to us that you might be interested in publishing an account of some specific findings on the problems of the Negro veteran in the South.

I enclose copies of state surveys made by Negro veterans of the Southern Regional Council's Veterans Services Division under Dr. George S. Mitchell, now executive director of SRC. These reports, based on personal investigation by the veterans, give a pretty clear picture of the Negro veteran's situation in the South.

If you feel that your editorial staff can digest an article from these reports you are free to make use of them. Of course, we'd like for the Southern Regional Council to be given credit for the material. A survey of Florida, similar to these, is to be off the press soon, and I can send you that if you want it. You will observe that, in all these reports, the over-all pattern is pretty much the same, although some states are doing better by the Negro veterans than others.

I hope you may find the material useful.

Sincerely,

Ray Warwick
Director of Public Relations

"If I Were A Negro..."

By

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Reprinted From October Issue

NEGRO DIGEST

5619 South State Street

CHICAGO 21, ILL.

IF I WERE A NEGRO

§ First Lady sees Negro struggle part of world battle of beliefs

Freedom: Promise or Fact

Written Expressly for NEGRO DIGEST

By Eleanor Roosevelt

IF I WERE a Negro today, I think I would have moments of great bitterness. It would be hard for me to sustain my faith in democracy and to build up a sense of goodwill toward men of other races.

I think, however, that I would realize that if my ancestors had never left Africa, we would be worse off as "natives" today under the rule of any other country than I am in this country where my people were brought as slaves.

In a comparatively short period of time the slaves have become free men — free men, that is, as far as a proclamation can make them so. There now remains much work to be done to see that freedom becomes a fact and not just a promise for my people.

I know, however, that I am not the only group that has to make a similar fight. Even women of the white race still suffer inequalities and injustices, and many groups of white people in my country are the slaves of economic conditions. All the world is suffering under a great war brought about because of the lag in our social development as against the progress in our economic development.

I would know that I had to work hard and to go on accomplishing the best that was possible under present conditions.

Even though I was held back by generations of economic inequality, I would be proud of those of my race who are gradually fighting to the top in whatever occupation they are engaged in.

I would still feel that I ought to participate to the full in this war. When the United Nations win, certain things will be accepted as a result of principles which have been enunciated by the leaders of the United Nations, which never before have been part of the beliefs and practices of the greater part of the world.

I would certainly go on working for complete economic equality and my full rights under a democratic government. I would decide which were the steps that I felt represented my real rights as a citizen and I would work for those first, feeling that other things such as social relationships might well wait until certain people were given time to think them through and decide as individuals what they wished to do.

I would not do too much demanding. I would take every chance that came my way to prove my quality and my ability and if recognition was slow, I would continue to prove myself, knowing that in the end good performance has to be acknowledged.

I would accept every advance that was made in the Army and Navy, though I would not try to bring those advances about any more quickly than they were offered. I would certainly affiliate with the labor movement because there is the greatest opportunity for men to work side by side and find out that it is possible to have similar interests and to stand by each other, regardless of race or color.

I would try to remember that unfair and unkind treatment will not harm me if I do not let it touch my spirit. Evil emotions injure the man or woman who harbors them so I would try to fight down resentment, the desire for revenge and bitterness. I would try to sustain my own faith in myself by counting over my friends and among them there would undoubtedly be some white people.

The 10th American

The story of the Tenth American, the Negro, is our theme each month and the increasing awareness of his status has made us the biggest Negro magazine in America, if not in the world.

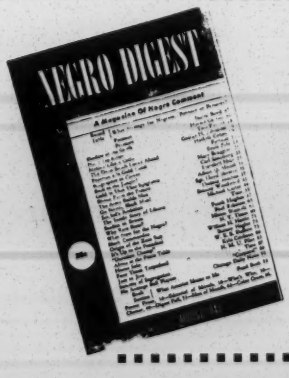
Negro Digest brings you each month every important article and comment on the Negro published in the nation's press, periodicals and books. Authors in Negro Digest for the past year include: Wendell Wilkie, Carl Sandburg, Langston Hughes, Quentin Reynolds, Clare Boothe Luce, Pearl Buck, Richard Wright, Roland Hayes, Walter White, Ernie Pyle, Roi Ottley, and Oswald Garrison Villard. Among the many regular features in Negro Digest are the following:

"If I Were a Negro . . .". Outstanding white notables writing on this provocative subject have included Pearl Buck, Ruth Benedict, Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, and Oswald Garrison Villard.

Color Craze. A collection of wack Jim Crowisms of American life.

Digest Poll. The Gallup Poll of Negro opinion on key race questions.

Book Section. Condensations of leading works on the Negro: Past condensations have included "Brothers Under The Skin," "New World A-Coming," "South of the Congo," "Brown Americans," and "The Dark Stain."



NEGRO DIGEST
5619 South State Street
Chicago 21, Ill.

I am enclosing $3.00. Please enter my subscription for one year.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY and STATE .....

Negro Digest

IF I WERE A NEGRO

If I were a Negro, I would probably view life quite differently from the way I view it as a white man. I know that the Negro's struggle for survival and security is complicated by race prejudice, and I know that the Negro has experiences which I will never have.

I hesitate to say, then, that if I were a Negro, I would do this or I wouldn't do that. However, as a student of human relations I can observe certain trends and, I hope, offer some constructive comments. In doing so, I am well aware that advice is easier to give than to take.

First of all, if I were a Negro, I would certainly strive in every fair and peaceful way to promote the cause of democracy and human brotherhood. In all this I would try to be guided by the Golden Rule.

I would resist the temptation to "get even" with white people for the injustices and discriminations which they practice. If I yield to that temptation, my moral position is as weak as theirs.

I would try hard to remember that white people are individuals and never let myself get into the habit of lumping them together in a stereotyped way or of imagining that <u>all</u> whites are prejudiced against <u>all</u> Negroes.

I would avoid attributing all of the problems of my group to discrimination and segregation. The removal of these barriers will make life fairer and pleasanter, but it will not work miracles in the hearts of men or eliminate conflicts between the races.

I would not advertise the problems and handicaps of my group so much. Sometimes after I have read certain Negro newspapers or heard certain Negroes speak I am disturbed by the thought that grievances and problems can be emphasized to the point that they damage morale instead of helping it. One is tempted to say despairingly, "If things are this bad they must be hopeless, so I'll stop struggling and just

drift along." I suggest that the Negro might well take a strategy lesson from the Jew on this point.

Finally, I would try to keep my sense of humor. It has helped to pull the race through trials and tribulations, and it would be unfortunate indeed if that sense of humor is ever overshadowed by bitterness or despair.

Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Article for Negro Digest
10-5-45

Black
Gleamcoat Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF GREATER NEW YORK

345 East 45th Street • New York 17, N. Y. • Telephone: ORegon 9-6400

JAMES W. FOGARTY
Executive Director

November 14, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3 Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you so much for your very kind letter of November 2, 1962.

I shall be looking to my professional friends and associates for a great deal of help in my new assignment here at the Community Council. It is a very challenging job!

Please do call me when you are in New York next time - busy though you are. It will be good to be able to talk over lunch. Our office is opposite the UNITED NATIONS.

Sincerely,

Jim

James W. Fogarty
Executive Director

P.S. Very interesting report in today's N.Y. Times plus your picture - an old picture no doubt - or the job hasn't aged you as it would a less hardy soul.

Jim.

December 15, 1953

Mr Dan W Dodson
Professor of Education
Center for Community and Field Services
New York University
Washington Square, New York 3, N Y

Dear Dan:

Of course I will come and will love to although I cannot get there unless somebody would somehow raise up enough to cover my bare travel. I don't think that will amount to over $75.00. I have put January 21-22 on calendar at your disposal.

We are having some interesting adventures in getting QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS out over the South. There is an amazing list of organizations which have bought it in good big blocks and sent it out to their people. The State Board of Education of Mississippi got a thousand of QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS and a thousand CHECK LISTS; the Southern Presbyterians sent one to each minister in that denomination, and their Board of Women's Work sent them out to Presbyterian women leaders. The Board of Education of the Methodist Church sent copies to each District Superintendent from Virginia to Texas. And the Southern Baptist Convention, the National Council of Negro Women, the YMCA, the YWCO, State teachers associations, and so on and so on. We have printed more copies of this one than of any SRC has ever done and she still rides high!

Additionally, there is a neat device that's been tried and that we hope can be multiplied. We got the National Council of Churches to assign an able parson to work for two weeks, after briefing, traveling within a confined local area (central Kentucky), carefully consulting with church leaders, getting across the idea of local discussion groups on what to do locally about the courts and the schools. I have a most interesting report of his work which I will bring along in January.

I am convinced this is the right way to work it. Mail these people all the stuff you want to but nothing happens until a guy rings the doorbell and gets them to sit down and talk about it. We are trying now to get the National

Council of Churches to put on six or seven people who will do that in additional pieces of the South in the first three months of 1954. I wish to goodness I had a field staff of twenty people - I could turn out such a degree of being informed and open minded on the subject as would amaze Honorable the World!

So I think I would have something to say to your folks.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

CENTER FOR FIELD SERVICES

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

December 8, 1953

RECEIVED
DEC 10
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

For some time the staff of the School of Education of New York University has been consulting with a group of national agency people as to how we could mutually improve our programs. One of the things on which we agreed was the need for the agency heads and ourselves to think through the pending Supreme Court Decision on segregation of education. Their concern, of course, is how they should advise their local units on the issues which will be created.

I personally believe that a group of these agencies can play a stellar role in tipping the climate of opinion in many communities toward making the decision work with a minimum of friction if, perchance, it breaks in our favor. We have scheduled a small conference on this problem for the evening of January 21 and all day January 22. The invitations are restricted principally to a group of agencies which are affiliated with the National Social Welfare Assembly. The invitation is being extended jointly by the University and the Assembly.

Naturally these agencies are concerned about what their function should be. They are also very interested in what will be the implications state by state and community by community. We need desperately to have somebody who "knows the lay of the land" to interpret to these agency heads the implications of the decision as it will affect community life. We have asked Thurgood Marshall to discuss the legal background.

Our problem is this. We are doing the entire venture on a shoestring. We felt that there would be collective resource among us and those who have an equity in the problem to meet the purposes of the session. We wonder if it would be possible for you to be present with us for this Conference and on Friday evening give a round-up of what you consider are the implications for the local southern scene. I believe we could find money enough to pay your travel expenses if you could see fit to be with us. Let's put it to you this way. If we could find money enough for your travel expenses, would you come for the service you might be able to render to 25 or 30 national organizations which are going to be advising their local chapters throughout the South on this development?

Best wishes ever,

Dan

Dan W. Dodson
Professor of Education
Center for Community and Field Services

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

CENTER FOR COMMUNITY AND FIELD SERVICES

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

January 5, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thank you for your good letter of December 15. I am sure we can arrange your transportation costs for the conference. I am enclosing a copy of the proposed program. It seems to be shaping up pretty well.

Your report on activities is indeed heartening, and I hope that while you are here, you may be able to contact some agencies that might make it possible for you to have the manpower you are seeking to make the calls and distribute the pamphlets.

It will be good to see you January 21.

Sincerely,

Dan

Dan W. Dodson
Professor of Education

P.S. Will you please send us 20 more copies of the pamphlet and a bill for same.

GM.

Frontiers
-36
Ever
shortbread
Jan 8. '53

bill paid
1/8/54.

CONFERENCE

on

What constructive guidance can national agencies give in answer to questions from local communities raised by the pending Supreme Court decision on segregation in public schools?*

sponsored by

Education-Recreation Conference
NATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE ASSEMBLY and NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Thursday evening, January 21
Friday, January 22, 1954

at

New York University
Washington Square

Thursday, 6:00-10:00 p.m.
Dinner

Place: Madden Room, Faculty Club
22 Washington Square North

Chairman
David D. Henry, Executive Vice Chancellor
New York University

Legal Aspects of the Supreme Court Decision

Thurgood Marshall, Director and Counsel, or
Robert L. Carter, Assistant Counsel, Legal Defense and Educational Fund, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Implications for Southern Communities

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council.

Discussion

---

* An exploratory group of agency representatives felt that this is the time for analysis and counsel to local units regardless of the nature of the final outcome. Many agencies are already receiving requests from the field for information and guidance.

opp

Friday, 9:30 a.m. - 4:30 p.m. Place: Room 409, Main Building
100 Washington Square East

Chairman
Mrs. Alfred E. Mudge, Chairman, Education-Recreation Conference, National Social Welfare Assembly.

Discussion Leader
H. H. Giles, Director, Center for Human Relations Studies, New York University

9:30 Problem Census based on questions received by national agencies from their local units.

10:30 Discussion organized around problems which emerge from Census.

12:30 Sandwich luncheon served informally in the meeting room.

1:30 Summary of progress

Bernice Bridges, Director, Education-Recreation Services, National Social Welfare Assembly.

2:00 Discussion

4:00 Summary of conclusions and consideration of utilization of conference proceedings.

Dan W. Dodson, Associate Director, Center for Community and Field Services, New York University.

opp

February 2, 1954

Mr. Dan W. Dodson
Professor of Education
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Dan:

Many thanks, and I had a lot of fun and saw a lot of nice people. And I am satisfied the meeting did a lot of good.

For your leisure I send you a curious and interesting document. It looks as though I can now get various Church bodies to duplicate, in other portions of the South, what the man Vastine did in central Kentucky.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh
Enclosure

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

January 26, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks again for the fine job you did for us. We all appreciate the great spirit you have and wish only that we were in a position to do more. I hope that the meetings started some thoughts and some actions which will be of real help as we come to face the problem.

Sincerely,

Dan

Dan W. Dodson
Professor of Education

RECEIVED
JAN 28
Southern Regional Council

May 12, 1954

Mr. H. Harry Giles
New York University
157 West Thirteenth Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Harry:

Many thanks for Arthur Graham's name. I am going to Oak Ridge for a coupld of days this week and no doubt I will be somewhat in Mr. Graham's custody, and certainly in his company. So I will keep my eyes open.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
157 WEST 13TH STREET, NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: OREGON 5-3486

27 April 1954

RECEIVED
MAY 6 1954
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
830 W. Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The last time I saw you was at the meeting of agencies held at New York University. Since that time you have received a sizable grant from the Ford Foundation to carry on your interracial work in the Southeastern states. All of us here are simply delighted with this news.

A friend of mine who was formerly a graduate student at this Center, Mr. Arthur R. Graham, who is now minister of the Oakridge Unitarian Church has also heard about the grant. Long before that he had been following the work that you were doing. He now writes to me to ask whether it might be possible that you would consider a person of his qualifications for the expanded staff of your work. Arthur is a quiet, intellectual, courageous sort of person. During the war, as a chaplain in the armed forces, he risked his whole future several times in the interest of interracial equality. Though I consider him an unusually able man, I am not sure that he stems from a Southern family. This might make it impossible for you to consider him. If you were interested, I know that you could not find a more devoted or well-informed person.

Sincerely yours,

Mike

H. HARRY GILES
Director

HHG/z

July - any (?)
incoming 7 February
and '55, filed in
"Engagements - July"
ah

February 4, 1955

Dr. Harry Giles, Director
Center for Human Relations Studies
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Dr. Giles:

The Kentucky Council for Human Relations (an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council) is establishing contacts with school systems in various parts of Kentucky through a group of highly qualified consultants to the Kentucky Council. This part of the program of the Kentucky Council is under the direction of Dr. C.H. Parrish, Professor of Sociology, University of Louisville, and Dr. Irwin T. Sanders, Professor of Sociology, University of Kentucky.

Both Dr. Sanders and Dr. Parrish will be interested in hearing about the plans for the Workshop in Human Relations under the auspices of the Center for Human Relations Studies at New York University. For your information, I am enclosing a list of the Kentucky consultants. It may be possible in the months ahead through their contacts with communities and school systems in Kentucky to find possible participants for the Workshop. Some of the consultants might also be useful to your consultants in the Workshop. The suggestions of Dr. Parrish and Dr. Sanders on this would be helpful.

Dr. Mitchell is out of the city until next week and I am sure he will be able to send you other suggestions in regard to the questions raised in your letter to him of February 2nd. Please do send announcements of the Workshop to Dr. Parrish and Dr. Sanders.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH/rnf
enclosed:
list of Kentucky consultants
cc: CHP
ITS

February 8, 1955

Dictated February 7th

Mr. H. Harry Giles
Director
Center for Human Relations Studies
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mike:

Honored and perfectly willing to come up for two or three days for the Workshop. For the time being you can take your pick of any two or three days between July 6th and August 13th. But let me know soon what you pick. As to other people to bring in or to write to about the Workshop:

Heads of PTAs in each Southern state; heads of colored PTAs in each Southern state, obtainable from Mrs. Charles L. Williams, National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, 1200 N. W. Sixth Avenue, Miami 36, Florida.

The school boards in the following Southern cities have Negro members, and so far as we know the names of the Negro incumbents, here they are:

Rufus E. Clement - Atlanta, Georgia
W. C. Ervin - Augusta, Georgia
Carlton L. Jones - Charles City, Virginia
David D. Jones - Greensboro, North Carolina
L. A. Alexander - Knoxville, Tennessee
Carl B. Hutcherson - Lynchburg, Virginia
Coyness L. Ennix - Nashville, Tennessee
C. Waldo Scott - Newport News, Virginia
F. J. Carnage - Raleigh, North Carolina
L. C. Downing - Roanoke, Virginia
W. J. Trent - Salisbury, North Carolina
Booker T. Bradshaw - Richmond, Virginia
William R. Crawford - Winston-Salem, North Carolina

One of the liveliest men in the field is the Chairman of the City School Board in Greensboro, North Carolina. His name is D. E. Hudgins.

The Chairman of the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation is Mrs. Yolande Chambers. She knows a lot about this school business and is spry and effective. Married to a young Negro Presbyterian minister.

You might tap an interested vein by reaching superintendents of parochial schools in such cities as Richmond, Virginia, New Orleans, Louisiana, and San Antonio, Texas.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-0634

FEB 4 1955

February 2, 1955

Dr. George B. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. (Room 432)
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

This coming summer, as I think you can tell from the enclosed mimeographed announcement, we are planning to include team training and in particular to deal with problems of de-segregation, north and south. Dr. Dan Dodson will head the section and the other work on de-segregation and it is his wish to have top consultants, especially people who are thoroughly at home in the southern situation who may come in for anywhere from a day to several days of the workshop.

I am addressing this letter to you for two purposes. First, to find out whether you could, yourself, serve as a consultant to the section dealing with de-segregation sometime between the period of July 6 and August 13 during which our Workshop is held. We would expect to pay an honorarium of $250.00 flat fee and would hope that the consultant would be willing to talk to the whole Workshop as well as meeting for anywhere from a day and a half to three days or so with the small group which is particularly interested. My second inquiry concerns your nomination of other people who might be interested and competent in this field. We would particularly like to have the names of school superintendents or school principals who might as well as coming themselves for consultant service know teachers and administrators who might like to join our Workshop group.

Sincerely yours,

Mike

H. Harry Giles, Director
Center for Human Relations Studies

HHG:gv
Enc.

February 14, 1955

Mr. H. Harry Giles
Director
Center for Human Relations Studies
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Giles:

Please refer to our letter to you of February 8th. On page 2 we gave you the name of Mrs. Yolande Chambers as being the Chairman of the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation, but did not specify the place. Mrs. Chambers is Chairman of the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation in Norfolk, Virginia

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley
(Secretary to
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director)

EAB/

* Mrs. James Chambers

file

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-0634

February 17, 1955

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director for Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

I am indebted to you for your thoughtful letter of February 4 regarding our special program in the Summer Workshop. We are sending at once a preliminary announcement to each of them.

Sincerely yours,

H. Harry Giles

H. H. Giles
Director

Dictated by H. H. Giles
Forwarded by Arlene Bogner

February 21, 1955

Mr. H. Harry Giles
Director
New York University
School of Education
Center for Human Relations Studies
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mike:

Suppose we settle on my being at your service in New York Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, July 12, 13, and 14.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-0634

FEB 21 1955

February 18, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

It was grand to know that you can be with us for two or three days between July 6 and August 13. Could you come during the second week of the Workshop on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, or Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday between the 11th and 14th of July? You will notice I am trying to make it three days.

Thank you so much for the names and addresses you sent of people who might be interested in participating or securing participants in the Workshop.

Sincerely yours,

H. H. Giles

H. Harry Giles
Director

Dictated by H. H. Giles
Forwarded by A.B.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-0634

February 23, 1955

FEB 26 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I believe that Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, July 12, 13, and 14 will suit us fine and will report this at once to Dan Dodson who is the leader of the section on desegregation and integration. I expect you will be hearing from him about plans.

Sincerely yours,

Mike

H. Harry Giles
Director

ab
cc:
Dr. Dodson

February 28, 1955

Miss Mary Beauchamp
New York University
School of Education
Center for Human Relations Studies
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Miss Beauchamp:

The best thing I can give you are two recent pamphlets, which are being mailed to you at the Conrad Hilton Hotel. Answers for Action sells for 20¢ and Changing Patterns sells for 50¢.

Look through them and you will agree that they are good.

Here's hoping we all have a pleasant session in Chicago.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under separate cover, to Conrad Hilton Hotel:
Answers for Action: Schools in the South
Changing Patterns in the New South

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-0634

February 25, 1955

FEB 28 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I believe you are going to be in Chicago for the ASCD meeting. I am leading a discussion group on integration of the public schools and am trying to have available as much of the material as we can collect.

Will you be so kind as to send to me at the Conrad Hilton any materials which the Southern Region Council has developed? We will be most appreciative of any help you can give us.

Cordially,

Mary Beauchamp

Mary Beauchamp
Assistant Professor

George Mitchell
245

WELCOME
TO THE
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES WORKSHOP!

We're glad you're with us for the 1955 Human Relations Workshop! You will find information about our schedule and working arrangements in this bulletin. As we get acquainted and begin planning together, details and changes will be shared in supplementary announcements.

For now, we want to say "hello," and express our hope that you will find the Workshop a rewarding experience.

Cordially,

The Staff

July 6, 1955

The Human Relations Studies Workshop
P.S. 33, Manhattan
9th Avenue at 27th Street

Center for Human Relations Studies
School of Education
New York University

Offices and Facilities

Coordinator's Office	H. Harry Giles	Room 203
Workshop Office	Mrs. Arlene Bogner Mr. Abner Morton Miss Norma Teodorini	Room 202
Library		Room 202
Play School Office	Miss Helen Smith Director Mr. David Jackson Workshop Liaison	Room 101

Workshop

The name "workshop" designates the operation of an educational plan in which the problems of participants are the focus of the work done, and the staff leadership, the readings, the plans, trips, and projects are designed to contribute to the understanding and solution of participants' problems.

Thus the participant, whether student or staff member, is part of a joint endeavour to 1) identify purposes; 2) identify problems encountered in achieving purposes; 3) plan and work out ways to deal with the problems and achieve the purposes through greater understanding and better methods; 4) to present results; 5) to evaluate.

A workshop in human relations studies at the graduate level is concerned with professional problems involving the relationships of people. At N.Y.U. it is taken for granted that the over-all purpose of human relations education is to promote the maximum growth of all, in a democratic society. It is recognized that understanding of self and others, of theories which help us perceive the "whys" of human behavior, and of the techniques which can be used for the development of democracy in the interest of all human beings are basic.

Office Hours of Staff

Will be announced in assembly.

Assemblies and Special Meetings

Assemblies provide a time for viewing the purposes and progress of the Workshop, for reports from groups, for speakers, for films of interest to all. From time to time an assembly, a whole morning, or a whole day may be given to speakers or institutes of special importance to the human relations field, often with invited participants from state and local agencies.

Section Meetings

The section is the basic working group of the Workshop. It is here that the interests and problems of members are made known and that the staff member in charge works out with the group plans for the content and method of the program.

Team Planning

For teams of two or more persons from schools and communities, the afternoon time on Wednesday has been set aside so that all staff members can be available for consultation, when arranged by request of the teams, to aid in planning for the work of the coming year "back home."

Lunch

The lunch period is a time for refreshment and talk with friends. It is a good opportunity for getting acquainted with members of other sections. Announcements of Workshop plans, changes in schedule and presentation of guests are made at this time. All Workshoppers will be expected to lunch in the school cafeteria unless dietary reasons make this unfeasible.

Special Interest Groups

If you have a special interest, and would like to get together with others from any and all sections to discuss it, the afternoon time on Thursday provides your opportunity. Notify in writing your section representative to the advisory council, or the Coordinator, if you wish to call such a meeting.

Library

Books are available at the Washington Square library and a selected number are available from the Workshop office.

Workshop Advisory Council

Each section is invited to elect one permanent representative and to send one or more alternates to the weekly meeting of the Workshop Advisory Council with the Coordinator, held on Tuesdays from 1:30 to 3:00 in the Lounge. The purpose is to get suggestions, representative of individual or group membership of each section, as to what things are good and bad in the operation of the workshop and ideas for improvement. The elected representatives are expected to report to their sections on these deliberations and their results.

Workshop Committees

The following committees are usually found valuable in enhancing the Workshop life:

Committee	Purpose	Staff Advisor
Social	for teas, parties and trips and final banquet	Miriam Hayden
Publications and Program	for developing workshop bulletin or newspaper, posting and clearing Workshop notices	Chan Montgomery
Evaluation	for study of the Workshop and its usefulness	Mary Beauchamp
Lunch	for the management of the aesthetic, social, and professional aspects of the noon-day period	Mary Thompson
Assemblies	for ideas and program participants	Dan Dodson

Other committees may be formed as participants desire, and membership is voluntary. Meetings are held from 1:30 - 3:00 on Monday, and the elected chairman or other representative is asked to report to the Advisory Council meeting on the following day. The committees are usually formed in the first week.

Play School Observation and Participation

Miss Smith, Mr. Jackson and the staff of the Play School will welcome interest in their activities. Arrangements for observation and participation with children or adults from the Chelsea neighborhood is to be arranged by individual workshop participants through Mr. Jackson in the Play School Office, room 101.

Biographical Notes

Miriam Hayden has been associated with intercultural education in the East since 1945. She is chief counseling officer of the Center for Human Relations Studies, author of "The Core in Curriculum" and for many years was a teacher in the DesMoines, Iowa public schools. She is a specialist in classroom methods, has had community study groups in the human relations field, and has taken part in all the field studies of the Center, particularly in training of interviewers.

Mary Thompson is a teacher in the Philadelphia Schools and has served on special assignment as a member of the curriculum staff there. She has taught courses in the department of Child Development and Elementary Education of N.Y.U. She was a member of a picked team of specialists sent to South Korea to aid in the development of a whole new educational program there.

Mary Beauchamp has been a teacher, supervisor and administrative officer in public schools in the Mid-West and West. She is co-author with Howard Lane of the book, Human Relations in Teaching, just published by Prentice-Hall. She is a specialist in group dynamics and has attended Bethel Institute. She is a teacher of the major course in Child Study of the Department of Child Development and Elementary Education at N.Y.U.

Chan Montgomery is a sculptor, painter, puppeteer, musician, and philosopher of education. He has taught all branches of the arts in public school and college classes, in the Mid-West, South and East. He has been a member of the Center staff since it began in 1947 and has taken a major part in devising records and presentations for research. He directed the Center's part of the N.B.C. radio presentation, "The Sixth Borough" last year. He is co-author with H. Harry Giles of "The Nature of Human Relations Studies."

Dan W. Dodson, editor of The Journal of Educational Sociology, for four years executive of the New York Mayor's Committee for Unity, has been staff member and consultant to the Center for Human Relations Studies since its founding. He is presently Director of the Center for Community and Field Services of N.Y.U. School of Education and is nationally known for his articles, speeches and legal testimony against segregation and discrimination.

Rhetta Arter is director of Research and Field Studies at the Center for Human Relations Studies. She has had wide experience in the field of social work and adult education. Her publications include, "Living in Chelsea", a report on a human relations action-research project done for the Hudson Guild.

H. Harry Giles is Director of the Center for Human Relations Studies, author of Human Dynamics and other books and articles in the field of educational theory and practice. He has taught in schools and colleges in the Mid-West, South and East, has been a social worker and acts as consultant to schools and community organizations.

Other staff personnel actively concerned with the Workshop include:

Miss Helen Smith, Director of the Play School

Mr. David Jackson, Play School Liaison

Mrs. Arlene Bogner, Secretary of the Workshop

Mr. Abner Morton, Assistant Secretary

Miss Norma Teodorini, Assistant Secretary

DAN W. DODSON
17 ODELL AVENUE
YONKERS 3, N. Y.

July 9, 1955

JUL 11 1955

Dear George:

I forgot to say that we meet at Public School 33 which is located at 27th Street and Ninth Ave. on Manhattan's West Side.

Sincerely

Dan

DAN W. DODSON
17 ODELL AVENUE
YONKERS 3, N. Y.

July 9, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave.,
Atlanta, Ga.

JUL 11 1955

Dear George:

Here is the schedule on your visit with us.

We are going to have a conference on "The Impact Of The Supreme Court Decisions" on Wednesday July 13th. At that time we will be hosts to a number of agency represenatives. In the morning at 9:30 I will lead off with a quick overview. Jean Grambs will follow. She will be followed, in turn by Leon Sachs of Baltimore, who will describe how the agencies down there worked on the threatened riot. We will then have some discussion groups, and at lunch you will be called upon, if you are willing, to speak to us on the road ahead. We would like you to outline for us what you think are the strategies and how we can best help. You understand "we" means essentially the national organizations of the city here.

The rest of the time you are here we want you to serve as a consultant. We do not have a large enrollment, but they are good people.

Best wishes. We will see you Wednesday.

Sincerely,

Dan

July 16, 1955

FROM: GSM

TO: FBR

I learned at the New York University meetings that in getting the police to end the scenes near schools, which occured in some Baltimore schools, reliance was usefully placed upon a clause in the statute relating to truancy, which made it unlawful to stimulate truancy. Maybe it would be a good thing to tip off our state people to provide themselves with state statutes relating to truancy.

Another reflection at N.Y.U. was that grand juries often prove a useful means of getting before the public the truth of a conflict situation. Would it not be well if our state people were encouraged to familiarize themselve with the procedures and usage of grant jury inquiries?

Still another thing that came from Jean Gramb's discussion was that precious are the weeks and months before trouble when used to lay the background of the matter by (supporting) community groups.

I do not doubt that in your rounds you have been spreading these ideas, neither do I doubt that your mind will strike many sparks on other similar things we could and should do. What do you advise?

GSM

eab/

July 16, 1955

FHR:

The human relations people have agreed techniques on what to do about rumors. They also have agreed techniques on what to do to avoid riots and to break them up after they start.

I should think it would be helpful to our people if they had this material, either in digest form or laid before them in extenso.

How difficult would that be to do?

GSM

eab/

JUL 18 1955

MINUTES OF THE THIRD MEETING OF EXECUTIVES AND OTHERS INTERESTED IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Held at New York University Human Relations Education Workshop Public School 33.

July 13 - 2:15 - 4:15 p.m.

Those present: H. Harry Giles, N. Y. U.; Rhetta Arter, N. Y. U.; George Mitchell, Southern Regional Council; John Sullivan, NY SCAD; Dan W. Dodson, N. Y. U.; Maury Fagan, Philadelphia Fellowship Commission; Martin Chworowsky, University of Pennsylvania; M. Delott Garber, Hartford; E. F. Vargas, N.Y.U.; Harold Schiff, Anti-Defamation League; Ruth M. Louis, National Council of Negro Women (N.Y.U. Student); GWC Brown, Evening College, Virginia State College at Norfolk; H. Trigg, State Board of Education, North Carolina.

Chairman: John Sullivan

The meeting had been called to consider seven of the fifty-six questions posed by the first assembly of the group. All of these dealt with the subject of desegregation and integration and the members of the group present had participated in the lecture and discussion session of the Institute on Integration which began at 9:30 a.m. with talks by Dr. Dan Dodson, Dr. Jean Grambs, and Leon Sachs.

John Sullivan opened the meeting by reviewing the history of this informal assembly. He reported on the conclusions of the Interim Committee that there should be several meetings each year. He also referred to the possible development of a national clearing house function from some foundation aid.

The discussion on problems of integration was lively indeed! A variety of points of view as to the nature of problems and their solution were given with all present participating and with a number of opposing points of view expressed.

A principle problem was raised by Dan Dodson: "What is an adequate philosophy of grouping?" Dr. Dodson pointed out the disadvantage to a child of any kind of imposed segregation. He raised the question of whether "balanced grouping" is not really a quota system and asked the group to distinguish between segregation on racial lines and segregation on religious lines.

A variety of experiences and points of view were then expressed and the meeting concluded with agreement to refer to the Interim Committee with John Sullivan as its chairman the the planning of a series of get-togethers for the coming year.

July 29, 1955

Mr. H. Harry Giles
New York University
157 West Thirteenth Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Mike:

New York University most kindly sent along a grand check for $250.

I greatly appreciate it and feel overpaid for a most pleasant two or three days.

I thought the Institute accomplished a lot. It was particularly fun that you had that goodish number of Southern teachers there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-0634

July 22, 1955

JUL 25 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

This is to thank you for your visit and services with us. We have the feeling that the work of your organization is by far the most important now being done on the Southern frong. Your own contribution to this work is, of course, something very special.

The Workshop is still profiting daily from the stimulating effect of your scholarship, your general feeling of hopefulness, and your incisive analyses.

I have asked the University to send you the check for $250 and I am sure you will receive it in due time. The wheels of the gods are often far more rapid than the University budget office, however.

Sincerely yours,

Mike

H. Harry Giles
Director

ab

NYU 1955

Team Training in Human Relations Education

The 1955 Workshop in Human Relations Education under the auspices of the Center for Human Relations Studies, School of Education, N.Y.U. will be held from July 6 to August 12, 1955 at P. S. 33, Chelsea School, 27th St. and 9th Ave., N.Y.C.

This is a special invitation to schools, school systems and community agencies to consider the possibility of sending a team of staff members to this workshop for professional training. There would be two primary purposes: 1) the development of plans, including program content and method, to be carried out during the coming year; 2) the development of individual members and their competencies.

The Workshop will be so organized that during the morning sessions individual members may take advantage of rich curriculum. After lunch, teams may meet to make a census of local problems, formulate purposes for the coming year, and work out detailed plans for achieving these purposes and involving professional and lay participation in the work. Teams will be encouraged to call on workshop staff members and others, as consultants in their afternoon sessions.

The importance of such team training and planning has been demonstrated over the past fifteen years in schools and industries where it has been found that members of teams support each other when back on the job, and so achieve considerably greater results than individuals who receive training and make plans as individuals.

For maximum value, members of teams include administrators as well as staff members, and all alike are chosen to represent a school, a school system, a community organization, or the like. When they come as official representatives of their peers and superiors, team members have a sense of mission which adds greatly to their sense of the significance of the experience.

Official designation may be made by one or more means. The teams may be chosen by a board, an administrator, or by vote of their colleagues, according to the responsibility and authority they are expected to carry with them. It is highly important that designation be accompanied by instructions to carry back and report their plans to the local group or groups concerned, and that provision be made for facilitating next steps in the operation of the plans made. In addition, where team members are given special grants in aid for this professional training and planning experience, there is a psychological as well as a material impetus given. Some Boards of Education and managements give such grants out of funds for in-service training. Others seek donated funds from foundations and individuals and administer them for this purpose.

The tuition cost for the 1955 Workshop is $22 per point for 8 points of graduate credit, a total of $176. Other expenses vary, but in general a grant of $300 per person is recommended.

Inquiries regarding the program should be addressed to: Professor H. Harry Giles, Coordinator of the Workshop, 26 Washington Place, New York 3, N.Y.

opp

May 21, 1956

Mr. Dan Dodson
Center for Human Relations Studies
School of Education
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Dan:

I suggest that you mail out an announcement of your Summer offerings at the Center for Human Relations Studies to each of our state officials as herewith.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - List of SRC affiliated organizations

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES

RECEIVED MAY 18 1956

Dear Friend,

This announcement is going to a selected list of persons in the hope that they will help the Center for Human Relations Studies in securing and selecting the most promising students for the summer program, 1956.

You may yourself wish to enroll, in which case we shall welcome you and ask that you indicate the course or courses you may want to take on the enrollment slip enclosed.

You may know others who would profit by our offerings. In such case, will you please pass along to them word of what is available and write their names and addresses on the enrollment slip. We will then send information to them.

As you can see from the accompanying announcement, the Center is planning two short-term offerings of two weeks each in June for administrators and others who cannot afford time for the six weeks of summer session. In the summer session itself, the introductory foundation course, a new course on basic theory and practice, and thesis seminar provide for both the general student who wishes to get an overview of the human relations field and for the advanced student who needs major content and degree requirement work. These may be taken for three weeks (3 to 4 points) or six weeks (6 to 8 points).

I look forward to your reply.

Sincerely yours,

Dan W Dodson

~~H. Harry Giles~~
~~Director~~

ab

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
ANNOUNCEMENT OF SUMMER OFFERINGS
CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
Washington Square, New York 3, New York

Tel. Algonquin 4-0634 or Spring 7-2000

All courses meet at Washington Square

Intersession 1st two weeks, June 5 - 15.

199.1 (299.1) INTRODUCTION TO HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES. M-F, 12-3. Professor Dan Dodson. A general survey of problems, agencies, and major developments in the field. 2 to 3 pts.

299.5,6 FIELD WORK. Professor Dodson. Hrs. arr. 1 to 3 pts.

299.7,8 INDEPENDENT STUDY. Professor Dodson. Hrs. arr. 1 to 3 pts.

Intersession 2d two weeks, June 18 - 29.

299.50 ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP IN HUMAN RELATIONS. M-F, 12-3. Professor H.H. Giles. Basic concepts and practices related to case examples. 3 pts.

299.5,6 FIELD WORK. Professor Giles. Hrs. arr. 1 to 3 pts.

299.7,8 INDEPENDENT STUDY. Professor Giles. Hrs. arr. 1 to 3 pts.

Summer Session, 6 weeks, July 3 - August 10

199.3,4 ORIENTATION AND INTEGRATION IN HUMAN RELATIONS. M-F, 12-3. Professor Dodson. An overview of the whole field, a foundation course, concerned with purposes, problems, practices, and content of race relations, intergroup education, and community agency work. 3 to 8 pts.

299.125,126 HUMAN BEHAVIOR AND HUMAN RELATIONS. M-F, 12-3. Professor Giles. How to understand and deal with causal factors in human relations. 3 to 8 pts.

399.3,4 THESIS SEMINAR. Hrs. arr. 3 to 6 pts.

299.5,6 FIELD WORK. Hrs. Arr. 1 to 6 pts.

299.7,8 INDEPENDENT STUDY. Hrs. arr. 1 to 6 pts.

Registration dates: Intersession, June 4; Summer Session, July 2
Fees: $25 per credit point, $7 University fee, and $3 student activities fee (paid once)

Tear off and return

To Center for Human Relations Studies, H.H. Giles, Director
New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, N.Y.
Please reserve a place for me in

Name _____
Date _____

	1st 2 wks.	2d 2 wks.
Intersession	( )	( )
	1st 3 wks.	2d 3 wks.
Summer Session	( )	( )

Course No. Course Title

	1st 2 wks.	2 2 wks.
Intersession	( )	( )
	1st 3 wks.	2d 3 wks.
Summer Session	( )	( )

Course No. Course Title

Please send information to

Name _____ Address _____

Name _____ Address _____

Center for Human Relations and Community Studies
School of Education New York University

September 11, 1958

TO: All Majors in the Center

Dear Friend:

On the eve of registration I thought you would like to know of the prospects of our program for the coming year. Undoubtedly most of you have heard that Professor Beauchamp resigned from the University last June in the interests of the furtherance of her own career. At the end of July Professor Lane accepted an appointment at San Francisco State College and hence is no longer with us. These two friends of ours will be missed and we all wish them well.

You will be interested to know that we have secured the appointment of Dr. Elsa Whalley to our staff. She comes with a Ph.D. in Social Psychology from the University of Chicago and with a wide range of experience in research and teaching. We are rather pleased that we could persuade her to leave the University of Illinois at Urbana to join our enterprise.

You will also be pleased to know that Miss Margaret Linders has taken a sabbatical leave as principal of the Edison School in Bridgeport to be our Teaching Fellow this year. Roger Shaw will have a full time staff relationship to the program. Professor Louis A. Raths, perhaps the leading person in evaluation in American education, is leaving the Vice President's office where he has been working on the improvement of instruction during the past year and will lead our Thesis Seminar for us. You doctoral students who are interested in this course should note that the hour is changed from Monday 8:15-10 to Friday 4:15-6.

I shall look forward to seeing all of you at registration and for those of you who are too far away to be with us let me wish you the best year you have ever had. For those who will be here, let me assure you that we will do all in our power to make this, for all of us, a great productive year.

Wish I had time for more news now but this is "alleged to be vacation. See you next week.

Sincerely,

Dan W Dodson

Dan W. Dodson
Director

DWD:sls

April 2, 1959

Mr. Wilmot Sulzer
Human Relations Society
Center for Human Relations Studies
School of Education
New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Sulzer:

I have received and read with some interest the announcement of the formation of the Human Relations Society. I attended this Center back in 1949-1950 and 1950-1951, and found the place completely fascinating. Also, from Dan and Mike I believe I received the best intellectual and practical underpinning possible for work in the field of intergroup relations.

At the present time I am President-Elect of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. I also am Chairman of NAIRO's Commission on Nature, Scope and Theory.

NAIRO publishes the Journal of Intergroup Relations. I would be interested in receiving copies of Mr. Shaw's and Mr. Feuer's papers for consideration for publication in the Journal.

Please give my best regards to good ole' Dan, and if Mike Giles is still there, to him, too. Two finer guys never existed.

I regret that I cannot take an active part in the Human Relations Society, but I am enclosing $1.00 for membership.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

Discussion of the Proposed
HALL OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE 1964 WORLD'S FAIR — ~~free?~~ make folder

Wed., February 7, 1962, 6:30 p.m. Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street, New York City

PRV
PAV
~~IML~~
ML
MJ-folder

1964 World Fair

MINUTES

Present:

Alexander J. Allen
National Urban League
Mrs. Virginia Apsey
American Friends Service Committee
William S. Bernard
Co-Director, American Council for Nationalities Service
Robert Bondy
Executive Director, National Social Welfare Assembly
Irving M. Engel
Honorary President, The American Jewish Committee
Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director, Potomac Institute
Philip Hiat
Executive Director, Synagogue Council of America
George Hunton
Director, Catholic Interracial Council of New York
Dumont F. Kenny
Program Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews
Walter M. Langsdorf
Member, Citizens Advisory Committee for Federal Participation in the New York World's Fair
John V. P. Lassoe, Jr.
Executive Secretary, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials
Oscar Lee
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
John A. Morsell
Assistant to the Executive Secretary, NAACP
John Slawson
Executive Vice-President, The American Jewish Committee
Albert J. Zack
Director, Public Relations Department, AFL-CIO

/Several members of the staff of The American Jewish Committee were also present/

Unable to attend, but wish to be included in future plans:

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
Henry Wheatley
Senior Field Representative, N.Y. State Commission Against Discrimination

In opening the meeting, Dr. Slawson expressed his pleasure at the interest shown by those present, in coming together for this discussion. He expressed the hope that it would be an informal and frank exchange of views. The proposal which the American Jewish Committee was now laying on the table was, he explained, never contemplated as an undertaking which any organization could carry through alone; on the contrary, it would require joint effort by many organizations concerned with intergroup relations.

Dr. Slawson briefly explained the central idea behind the proposed Hall of Human Relations. It was intended, he said, to deal with the quest for equality of opportunity. At this stage, there is no definite knowledge as to how welfare, education, health, religion and other activities related to "the person" rather than "the thing" (the main concern of the Fair) will be approached. The work of America's voluntary groups in coping with the problems of prejudice and discrimination, and their efforts in extending equality of opportunity would be portrayed.

Dr. Slawson stated that in order to discover whether the idea was worthy of consideration by a group such as this, it was tested out in various ways. To review what had been done, he now called on Irving M. Engel, who was the first godfather of the project and originally submitted it to the World's Fair Corporation.

Mr. Engel said that regardless of what takes place at the Fair, it is bound to attract a vast attendance. The prediction is 70 million. With the Government's present promotion of foreign travel to the U.S., the current total of some 600,000 foreign visitors per year is expected to reach an unprecedented high by 1964. Thus it is more than ever important that a faithful image of America be projected.

Mr. Engel recalled that in 1939, the Fair itself contributed buildings for certain non-commercial exhibits devoted to ideas rather than products. With this precedent in mind, the proposal of a Hall of Human Relations was put before Robert Moses by Mr. Engel and James Felt, Chairman of the City Planning Commission. That was about a year and a half ago. Mr. Moses welcomed the idea and said he would ask his Board of Design to consider the type of building that would be required. But soon thereafter the Board of Design resigned; furthermore, it was announced that the Fair would depart from the policy of 1939 -- no buildings would be contributed for any purpose.

Despite this disappointing development, continued Mr. Engel, it was thought worthwhile to consult various specialists, in order to discover whether the concepts behind the proposal could be translated into compelling exhibits, and if so, how much it would cost. Among those consulted were architects and engineers, and people in broadcasting and

public relations. All expressed great enthusiasm. The best "educated guess" as to the probable cost is roughly $3 million to erect an appropriate building (about 6,000 sq. ft.), equip it with exhibits, maintain it for two years and take it down. The architects consulted appear to agree that the building should be one of architectural dignity; that it should physically foster good human relations by affording space and facilities for people to be comfortable; that its central feature should be a theatre in which productions could be seen virtually around the clock, with space for exhibits and group activities around the periphery of the hall.

Mr. Engel further reported that a noted producer has volunteered to organize a group of people from Broadway and Hollywood to serve as consultants and suggest the kinds of dramatic events that should take place. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has likewise expressed approval.

The problem of securing financial assistance, said Mr. Engel, is difficult. Thus far, only one foundation has been approached -- the Ford Foundation. But there seems to be reluctance to give money for a Fair, even though many of the exhibits could be built for continuing use at universities and other educational centers throughout the country. Unlike the House of Medicine, to be erected with the assistance of pharmaceutical and other industries, or the Hall of Education, which has textbook publishers and school-equipment suppliers behind it, the Hall of Human Relations has no such prospective backers. The only "rich uncle" concerned with human relations is Uncle Sam.

At present, said Mr. Engel, the most promising prospects seem to be in Washington. The President has appointed the Secretary of Commerce to draw up a plan for submission to Congress; and only a few weeks ago, Secretary Hodges announced the appointment of a Citizens Advisory Committee for Federal Participation, which has been considering what type of plan should be recommended. But, unless representative voluntary organizations consider the proposal worthwhile and wish to become actively identified with it, even the Federal Government cannot effectuate the concept alone. Its very essence is voluntary intergroup cooperation.

Thus, concluded Mr. Engel, the question is two-fold: First, is the proposal worthwhile? And if so, how can the organizations here represented help bring it to reality?

Dr. Slawson suggested that before opening the discussion it might be helpful to hear something about the thinking of the Citizens Advisory Committee for Federal Participation in the Fair. He introduced Walter M. Langsdorf, who is a member of that committee and who also was in charge of exhibits at the 1939 World's Fair.

Mr. Langsdorf stated that about seven acres are allocated for the Federal site, and that the President, who is anxious that the Government participate effectively, will probably ask Congress to appropriate between $15 and $20 million. Mr. Langsdorf explained that the first step will be a request for $300,000 for the appointment of a U.S. Commissioner and the development of a detailed plan. During its deliberations so far, the Citizens Advisory Committee has agreed that the Federal exhibits should not simply show what the various Government departments are doing; nor should they include a Hall of Science, as in the forthcoming Seattle Fair; nor should there be an exhibit on defense. The promise of democracy should be emphasized, including progress and unfinished business. The Committee had thought of a theme along the lines of "Challenge to Greatness."

Mr. Langsdorf reported that the proposal for a Hall of Human Relations, which he presented to the Citizens Advisory Committee, was very favorably received; in fact, he said, the concept was included in the Committee's recommendations to the Secretary of Commerce. However, Mr. Langsdorf cautioned that Government sponsorship might necessitate compromises. Since all of the Federal exhibits will probably be contained in one building, the most that could be expected would be a wing or a section devoted to human relations. In reply to a question from Mr. Fleming as to whether the organizations would have to pay for exhibits, Mr. Langsdorf replied that the Government presumably would underwrite them, turning to the organizations for other resources in the form of advice and guidance.

During the discussion that followed, verious drawbacks inherent in a Government-sponsored exhibit were pointed out. Mr. Lassoe felt that if the organizations merely served in an advisory role, their identities would be submerged. Mr. Allen warned that because of the Government's concern for international relations, progress might be overstressed and problems unduly minimized. Mr. Fleming pointed out that foreign visitors would be most impressed by activities displayed under voluntary auspices, which are not regarded as Government propaganda. Dr. Morsell doubted that the cooperation of voluntary groups with Government would necessarily assure a picture of voluntary effort.

On the other hand, Mr. Zack felt that from the standpoint of international relations, Government auspices would be very desirable; even if our ideas were somewhat watered down, there would not be a total loss -- which might be the case if we had commercial backing. He saw no harm in having a wing or section as opposed to a separate building. Dr. Lee added that more people would be likely to come to the Federal Building than to a separate Hall of Human Relations.

Several persons urged that other sources of funds be explored. Dr. Slawson replied that there had been some thought of suggesting to several

of the larger commercial exhibitors that each one allocate a relatively small "plus" toward the Hall of Human Relations, as the contribution, in a sense, of American industry. However, he said, the prospect of being able to accomplish this joining-together of industry is not viewed with optimism.

Mr. Fleming urged that approaches in several directions should go on simultaneously. The minimal objective, he said, should be Government support, since concern for human relations is the direct responsibility of a government of all the people; just putting a man on the moon is not enough. At the same time, however, the voluntary organizations should seek foundation support for their own exhibit, selecting sources of such a nature as to preclude any feeling that funds were being diverted from the regular work of the participating organizations. Several persons agreed that the voluntary organizations should, if possible, "keep on a separate tack." Mr. Langsdorf underscored that there is no absolute guarantee of a Federal exhibit until Congress acts, or of a Hall of Human Relations. He urged that all eggs not be put into the Federal basket.

On the question of strategy in Washington, Mr. Engel recalled that a bill introduced last year for Federal participation in the Fair died in the Senate, mainly because of Southern opposition and objections raised by those having no great fondness for New York. The sole sponsors of the bill were New York's senators, both Republican. He urged that the new bill be introduced under bi-partisan auspices.

Several of those present said their organizations had been apprised of various Fair projects. These include a Hall of Religion planned by the Protestant Council of New York, and the lease of land by 10 Catholic lay leaders for a Church exhibit. Rabbi Hiat said that although the Fair had hoped for a three-faith exhibit similar to that of 1939, it was his impression that the project was not going through. Mr. Bondy reported that discussions concerning a social welfare exhibit had not yet advanced very far. He felt that human relations deserved a unique place and treatment in a separate context. However, he said, lacking sufficient financial resources, a combination of interests may be necessary.

Dr. Slawson, summing up the sense of the meeting, stated that there seemed to be agreement in favor of pursuing several avenues of support simultaneously, with the majority viewing a separate project under the auspices of voluntary organizations as most desirable.

Dr. Slawson again emphasized that unless those present were willing to identify themselves with this project, it could not go forward; as he said at the outset, neither the AJC nor any other organization could "go it alone." Mr. Zack stated that he wished to consult with his principals

before making any firm commitment. Dr. Lee thought his agency would wish to consider the question of undertaking two involvements in the Fair, in view of plans for a Hall of Religion. The majority, however, felt that it was not necessary to seek any firm and binding organizational commitment at this juncture, that an unnecessary loss of time might be involved and that a small steering committee, to explore various possibilities, would be advisable. Three members of the group -- Robert Bondy, Harold C. Fleming and John A. Morsell -- agreed to meet with Dr. Slawson to help suggest the names for a steering committee.

Respectfully submitted,

Ethel C. Phillips

February 19, 1962

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

TAV
MMJ-file

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1962

July 3, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

As I recall, even though you could not be with us at our meeting on the Hall of Human Relations, you expressed a desire to keep in touch with developments. I am therefore enclosing the progress report.

Sincerely,

Ethel C. Phillips
Director of Publications

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ECP:ig
enc.

A. M. SONNABEND, President
MORRIS B. ABRAM, Chm., Executive Board
RALPH FRIEDMAN, Chm., Administrative Board
WILLIAM ROSENWALD, Chm., Nat'l Advisory Council
MAURICE GLINERT, Treasurer
ARTHUR D. LEIDESDORF, Associate Treasurer
ORIN LEHMAN, Secretary
JOHN SLAWSON, Executive Vice-President

JACOB BLAUSTEIN, Honorary President
LOUIS CAPLAN, Honorary President
HERBERT B. EHRMANN, Honorary President
IRVING M. ENGEL, Honorary President
JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER, Honorary President
HERBERT H. LEHMAN, Honorary Vice-President
SAMUEL D. LEIDESDORF, Honorary Vice-President
JAMES MARSHALL, Honorary Vice-President
RALPH E. SAMUEL, Honorary Vice-President
HORACE STERN, Honorary Vice-President
FRED LAZARUS, JR., Hon. Chm., Nat'l Advis. Council

MAX WM. BAY, Los Angeles, Vice-President
MARTIN L. BUTZEL, Detroit, Vice-President
IRVING L. GOLDBERG, Dallas, Vice-President
ANDREW GOODMAN, New York, Vice-President
PHILIP E. HOFFMAN, Orange, N. J., Vice-President
JULIUS S. LOEWENTHAL, New York, Vice-President
RICHARD MAASS, White Plains, N. Y., Vice-President
EARL MORSE, New York, Vice-President
NORMAN RABB, Boston, Vice-President
IRVING SALOMON, San Diego, Vice-President
GARDNER H. STERN, Chicago, Vice-President

July 2, 1962

TO: Mrs. Virginia Apsey
William S. Bernard
Dennis Clark (succeeding George Hunton)
Philip Hiat
J. Oscar Lee
Fred Routh (succeeding John V. P. Lassoe, Jr.)
Albert J. Zack

FROM: Steering Committee for the Hall of Human Relations at the New York World's Fair: 1964

Alexander J. Allen
Robert Bondy
Harold C. Fleming
David Hyatt
John A. Morsell
John Slawson

RE: Progress Report

You will recall that at our dinner meeting last February, several of us volunteered to serve as a steering committee to explore ways and means of effectuating the proposal for a Hall of Human Relations. It was agreed that this should be a cooperative undertaking on the part of national organizations, and that financial support might be secured either from the Government (in assigning part of the U.S. Pavilion to this project) or from commercial sponsorship. The steering committee was asked to pursue both of these possibilities.

We wish to report the following developments:

In April, a warm endorsement was received from Edward R. Murrow, Director of the United States Information Agency. Copy of Mr. Murrow's letter to the Assistant Secretary of Commerce in charge of Federal participation in the Fair is enclosed with this report.

At the same time, Mrs. John F. Kennedy wrote to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had suggested that Mrs. Kennedy might wish to serve as Honorary Chairman of the Hall of Human Relations, that while it seemed too early to become identified with any specific World's Fair plan, she found the proposal "a fascinating one."

Federal participation has been approved by Congress, the House voting $17 million and the Senate $15 million; but authorization does not become effective until a Senate-House Conference Committee arrives at a final figure--at best, $8 million less than the sum the President requested.

In view of this limited appropriation and continued uncertainty as to the Government's specific plans, we have considered it advisable to concentrate on non-governmental prospects.

During the past three months, we have been in consultation with representatives of the Youth Pavilion, a project launched by the Intercontinental Fair Corporation under the auspices of the National Social Welfare Assembly. Envisioned as a all-embracing center reflecting the interests and aspirations of American youth, this is one of the most ambitious undertakings at the Fair. Programs developed by the NSWA's constituent organizations are now being submitted by the Intercontinental Fair Corporation to industrial concerns which are believed to be interested in Fair activities of a public-service nature.

The National Social Welfare Assembly and the Intercontinental Fair Corporation regard our Hall of Human Relations as singularly appropriate to the Youth Pavilion, and they have drawn up plans whereby the Hall would occupy a self-contained section of the Pavilion, with its own theater and exhibit areas, and its own committee of cooperating agencies. The Intercontinental Fair Corporation is confident that a corporate sponsor acceptable to all of us can be secured. To provide Intercontinental with additional descriptive material, the type of dramatic presentation to be shown at the Hall of Human Relations has been outlined in a memorandum which is enclosed.

We believe that the Youth Pavilion plan, which is being energetically carried forward, offers the best chance of success for our project. We are therefore working closely with the NSWA and Intercontinental. You will hear from us again as soon as there are new developments meriting consideration and action by our organizations.

Meanwhile, your comments and suggestions on the dramatic presentation or any other aspect of this report will be most welcome.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

4/9/62

Dear Mr. Klotz:

I have had the opportunity to read the amended proposal calling for a Hall of Human Relations at the 1964 World's Fair in New York City and believe that it represents a truly challenging concept which could redound to our credit overseas.

As you know, the job of my agency starts at the water's edge. Aside from explaining our foreign policy, we project many facets of American life--how we think, act, work and play. Our heritage of freedom, our beliefs and aspirations and our motivations towards our fellow man are an integral part of the story we are constantly unfolding abroad.

It is these human factors--as well as our technological successes--which capture the imagination of men everywhere. And if the proposed Hall of Human Relations could capture in visual and tangible dimensions some of the lofty concepts that propel us as a people we would have a tremendously exciting story to relay to the peoples of the world.

Sincerely,

Edward R. Murrow
Director

The Honorable Herbert W. Klotz
Deputy to the Secretary
Department of Commerce

HALL OF HUMAN RELATIONS

AT THE 1964 WORLD'S FAIR

Dramatic Presentation: Suggested Content

A sequence of ideas which might be dramatized on film or on the stage is outlined on the following pages, together with a few illustrative episodes. This summary is not comprehensive, nor does it attempt to formulate the dramatic treatment. Its purpose is briefly to indicate the wealth of possible subject matter awaiting the hands of a skilled writer and producer. Experts in history and other social sciences would be called upon to select and authenticate the final material.

The Dark Side of History

Since time immemorial, human beings have been at odds with one another because of differences in custom, culture, race, religion ...

They have sought to impose their own ways upon one another--sometimes peacefully, often by fire and sword.

Their differences have been endlessly exploited by the divide-and-conquer schemes of tyrants, most recently by the Nazi and Communist power drives of our time.

In every century, power-seekers have inflamed and manipulated intergroup prejudices to further their selfish ends. Demagogues have

played on popular fears and superstitions, purposely making some defenseless minority a scapegoat for the community's grievances.

-- Assyria Uproots Conquered Tribes. (ca. 750 B.C.) Fearful of cultural and religious diversity, rulers of ancient Assyria systematically deported or scattered subject tribes, in order to create a uniformly subservient population.

-- Christians Thrown to the Lions. (First to third centuries, A.D.) Under the Roman emperors, the Christians were blamed for every disaster--earthquakes, pestilences, the great fire of Rome. Many suffered martyrdom.

-- Christianity as Persecutor. In the late Middle Ages, growing dissent within Christendom's ranks led to persecution of dissident sects, such as the repeated attempts to exterminate the Waldensians.

-- The Spanish Inquisition. In 15th-century Spain, the Inquisition--the Church's agency for rooting out heresy--was pressed into service by the state as a tool for forcibly converting a mixed Christian-Moslem-Jewish culture into a monolithic society--a scheme that caused thousands to suffer forced conversion, imprisonment, torture or death at the stake.

-- Protestant vs. Catholic. The split in the Western Church set the stage for more mutual persecution and scapegoating: on one side, crimes like the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of French Pro-

testants (1572); on the other, terroristic acts like the false rumors of a "Popish plot" in England (1678), which caused innocent Catholics to be cruelly executed.

-- India: Moslem Against Hindu. Ever since the Moslem ruler Aurengzebe (1658-1707), notorious for his oppression of the subject Hindu population, India was torn by religious strife--until the Independence settlement of 1947 set up Moslem Pakistan as a separate state.

-- The Doukhobors of Russia. The Doukhobors, a religious sect dating from about 1740, were devoted to communalism and pacifism. They suffered ever-repeated dispossession, banishment and starvation under the Czars until resettled in Canada in 1895.

-- The Jews as Victims. Prime scapegoats of Europe, Jews have suffered exclusion, pillage, deportation and death from the First Crusade (1096) and the Black Death (ca. 1346) to the Russian pogroms (ca. 1900) and Hitler's mass murders (1942-45).

Then Came America ...

America was settled by freedom-seekers, explorers, pioneers and adventurers from every part of the earth. Many brought with them the ancient prejudices of the old world. They did not learn to live together overnight.

-- Bigotry in Colonial America. Puritan Massachusetts and other states savagely persecuted Quakers during the 17th century.

Religious dissenters were sometimes driven into the wilderness to perish.

-- Catholics as Scapegoats. From colonial days onward, Catholics felt the brunt of prejudice. Thus, in 1741 a fire in New York was blamed on a Catholic-inspired slave rebellion, and many innocent persons were executed. In the early 1850's, after the coming of mass immigration, the "Know-Nothing" Party so inflamed anti-Catholic sentiment that many employers advertised, "No Irish need apply." For 30 years, Irish Americans were blamed for all kinds of trouble--from slums and crime waves to lowered wage-scales. Over a century later, the "American Protective Association" was still disseminating fantastic charges of Catholic conspiracies.

-- The Negro: Freed But Not Free. Though slavery was ended in 1863, Negroes continued to suffer discrimination, disfranchisement and outright terrorism in some parts of the country. In Southern states, segregation still persists today--most conspicuously in the public schools. Although school segregation was declared unconstitutional in 1954, three states are yet to make a move toward integration. In some communities, steps toward compliance with the law precipitated outbreaks of violence--as in Little Rock, Birmingham, Nashville ...

-- Second-Class Citizens. In various parts of the country, Indians, Mexicans and Orientals, as well as Negroes, have been denied the right to vote, to serve on juries, to be judged without prejudice

and even, in some instances, to safety and security of person. For 70 years, until 1952, there was no year free of lynching. Not until 1948 was the last barrier to the American Indian's suffrage removed.

-- "Nativism." After World War I, a revived Ku Klux Klan attacked not only Negroes, but "foreigners," Catholics and Jews as well. Prejudice incited by the Klan helped defeat Al Smith in 1928.

-- "Polite" Discrimination. At the turn of the century, as recent immigrants began to rise on the social and economic ladder, the cult of "White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant supremacy" was used to hold them down. In industry, in the professions, and in colleges and universities, barriers of religion, race and national origin became more and more common.

* * * * *

Yet despite many troubles and often tragic setbacks, America has proved that freedom is a unifying force which can overcome the fears and frictions that have divided mankind and perpetuated tyrannies in the past.

-- Despite flareups of bigotry, America contains more than 200 religious sects living freely and peaceably side by side.

-- Despite outbursts against the foreign-born, America has welcomed more immigrants than any nation on earth--in fact was born of immigrants and built by them. The waves of immigration which precipitated prejudice also speeded the

great westward movement, the building of railroads, expansion of cities, development of our great universities and centers of science and the arts.

-- Our very diversity has made us the world's greatest testing ground for human relations. Never before have people come together from some 60 national origins and all the races of mankind to compose "one nation indivisible."

How did it happen? The answer is that the entire human family, with all its differences, agrees on certain essential needs. The chance to work for these essentials is what binds people together. We all agree that everyone needs food, shelter and clothing. Beyond this, we agree that every human being is entitled not only to live, but to live in a certain way--without certain wrongs and with certain rights:

-- Without being pushed around because of color, religion, ancestry or sex.

-- Without slavery or forced labor.

-- Without degrading punishment or torture.

-- Without gag-rule....

and

-- With freedom of religion and expression.

-- With an equal say in government.

-- With equal treatment before the law.

-- With a free and equal education.

-- With an equal chance to go after a better job, higher education, more comfortable home.

-- With the right to own property....

These rights are not luxuries. They belong to everyone, along with a roof and three meals a day. In fact, America is proof that where people have their rights, they live all the more securely under their roofs and with the greatest measure of health and plenty.

It Depends on Each of Us

In contrast to countries where injustices are frozen into the status quo, freedom makes it possible for citizens to work in their communities, through their courts, through their government--even to press their government--for improvements.

Since World War II, America has made greater strides toward equal dignity and opportunity for all her citizens than at any time since the days of the Founding Fathers.

-- Fifteen years ago, not a single state had a fair housing law. Today, 14 states forbid discrimination in public housing, and 9 in private housing as well.

-- Fifteen years ago, only three states prohibited discrimination in employment. Today there are fair-employment laws in 20 states, protecting over 100 million Americans.

-- Fifteen years ago, 17 states and the District of Columbia required racial segregation in the schools. Today, school desegregation is under way in all but three states.

-- Fifteen years ago, racial segregation was the rule in the armed services. Today, the opposite policy is in effect.

-- Fifteen years ago, 18 states had laws forbidding discrimination in places of public resort or amusement. Today, 28 states have such laws.

The driving force behind this progress is voluntary citizen-action. Throughout the land stand countless citizens joined in common effort, working on their own initiative in their communities, through their courts, through their elected representatives, through their churches, clubs, unions, business and professional associations....

These efforts of ours begin in small places, close to home: the neighborhoods in which we live; the schools we attend; the meetings where we discuss community affairs; the factories, farms and offices where we work. Those are the places where every man, woman and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity.

Those are the places where all of us practice person-to-person democracy; where we learn to understand our fellow citizens of other religions and races; where we fortify freedom with firm human relations.

4/26/62

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

For release to papers of
Sunday, April 30, 1944

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL CONDEMNS RACE ISSUES IN POLITICS

Board of Directors Approves Action on Southern Problems

Atlanta, Georgia, April 29, 1944

Pointed condemnation of those persons who raise issues of "white supremacy" and "social equality" in current political campaigns was included in resolutions approved at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council held here yesterday. The full resolution, released through Dr. Howard W. Odum, president of the Council and chairman of the Board of Directors, states:

> In the heat of current political campaigns in various parts of the South, the race issue has been raised by certain candidates or by their promoters. Vicious rumors have been circulated, and the old spurious issues of "white supremacy," "social equality," and the like have been dragged forth in an attempt to arouse the passions and prejudices of voters.
>
> We condemn all such tactics as unfair and destructive of the spirit of unity and cooperation which we need now as never before, and we appeal to all good citizens to consider carefully whether those persons who use such tactics are worthy of public trust.

The Board also adopted the following statement on the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States with reference to the white primary in Texas:

> The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that the exclusion of Negroes from the Texas Democratic primaries is a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The Court has simply recognized the fact that primaries are effective instruments of government, and that the exclusion of the Negro voters from Democratic primaries in some of the Southern states is equivalent

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to denying them the right to vote on account of race.

This decision has far-reaching consequences, and we appeal to the people of the South to make these consequences positive and constructive rather than negative and destructive.

We deplore the statements of political leaders and others indicating a determination to disregard or nullify the decision of the Supreme Court, and we call on all fair-minded citizens of the South to respect the letter and the spirit of the Court's decision. Let us all, white and Negro, be calm and wise. Let us strive to serve the ends of justice and good government for all of the people of the South.

To allow Negro citizens to participate in the government under which they live is to give democracy a chance in the South. To deny the vote to qualified Negro citizens is inconsistent with the American ideal of justice and equality before the law. The sooner we recognize these simple facts, the better off we shall be. We can not honestly wage a war for freedom and democracy in foreign lands when we deny to our own Negro citizens the rights and privileges which are justly theirs.

The Southern Regional Council, organized in January, 1944, to carry out the decisions of earlier conferences on social and racial problems in the South held in Durham, North Carolina; Richmond, Virginia; and Atlanta, Georgia; gave priority to a Southern Regional Council program dealing with the problems of law enforcement, social legislation, race relations, and household employment in the South.

Directors present from six Southern States included: Virginia: Wilson H. Brown, Gordon B. Hancock, Louis I. Jaffe, Luther P. Jackson, John G. Pollard, Jr.; North Carolina: Howard W. Odum, Will W. Alexander, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Clark Foreman, John H. Wheeler; Tennessee: Charles S. Johnson, James L. Robb; Georgia: L. D. Milton, Josephine Wilkins, Mrs. Grace Hamilton, Ryland Knight, T. James McNamara, R. L. Russell, Forrester B.

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Washington, Philip Shulkofer, Guy B. Johnson, Leonard Haas, Benjamin E. Mays, Ira Dei, Reid; Florida: Mrs. Henry Stevens, G. D. Rogers; Louisiana: A. W. Dent, Ernest Dolpit; Kentucky: P. A. McDowell.

Dr. Howard W. Odum, of the University of North Carolina, is President of the Southern Regional Council. Vice-presidents of the organization are: P. B. Young, editor of the Norfolk JOURNAL AND GUIDE; Homer P. Rainey, president of the University of Texas; and Carter Wesley, editor of the Houston INFORMER.

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Releases

Statement by
Guy B. Johnson
for A.P.
June 7, 1944

The attitude of the Southern Regional Council on the white primary was expressed in a resolution passed by the Board of Directors of the Council on April 28. The resolution urged "all fair-minded citizens of the South to respect the letter and the spirit of the Supreme Court's decision," and added that "to deny the vote to qualified Negro citizens is inconsistent with the American ideal of justice and equality before the law."

Let us hope that the action of the Sub-Committee of the Executive Committee of the Georgia Democratic Party is only a temporary expedient, and that the Party will solve this problem right. By right, I mean in keeping with the American principle that every citizen is entitled to a voice in the government under which he lives. The smartest thing that ~~the Democratic party~~ Georgia can do is to ~~set up reasonable~~ apply the qualifications for voting, ~~apply them~~ fairly to all citizens, and let qualified Negroes vote in the primaries. These Negroes would take their civic responsibility very seriously, and by and large they would cast their vote along with white people who believe in good government. This would do away with a lot of the loose talk and demagoguery which now goes on in both races.

~~When we do this thing right, we will have better government and better relations between the races.~~

Too many people dread doing the fair ~~and~~ Christian and American thing about this problem. It is like putting off an operation—the dread is much worse than the operation itself. When we do this thing right, we will have better government and better relations between the races.

TO MEMBERS OF THE GEORGIA LEGISLATURE

The attached editorial will appear in the January issue of The Southern Frontier, monthly bulletin of the Southern Regional Council. This advance release of the editorial is sent for your information.

Southern Regional Council
432 Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Distribution:

Members of Georgia Legislature
AP, UP, Constitution, Journal,
Daily World, Time, Life.

AN EDITORIAL ON THE POLL TAX

"The accursed refusal to face and discuss unpleasant facts" is said to be typical of the Southern Mind. A Southerner said it, so we have accepted it as true. However, the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South which met in Atlanta a few weeks ago to discuss the region's problems of political franchise gave the lie to what had been a hated truth. The South, they said, must begin to remedy a situation that made political serfs of 10,000,000 Southern people -- and, lest that Southern Mind close too quickly, we hasten to add 6,400,000 of whom are white.

Several facts should be kept in mind when considering the poll tax in the South. Donald Strong of the University of Texas has said, "The case for poll tax retention rests on folklore; the case for its abolition rests on propaganda, which is often more impassioned than exact." Many extravagant and lurid arguments have been made on both sides of the question. The basic problem of the poll tax in the South, however, is a simple one -- it is a voting requirement. And while some secure Southerners may regard it as socially correct to have such a tax, many of us believe that it is unjust, undemocratic, and disgraceful to do so.

Frankly, there should be little question about the poll tax as a revenue measure, though the argument has a hollow ring. Let us keep it for that purpose, if we must. Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Indiana do so. But let us eliminate it as a voting requirement!

The poll tax does not keep Negroes from voting. Though this belief is the unspoken major premise of many defenders of the tax, we Southerners know that "white supremacy" still prevails in the non-poll-tax Southern states, North Carolina, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Florida. Georgia's former governor, Eugene Talmadge, has seen through this ruse, and, knowing that the "white primary" still obtains, has come out for repeal of the poll tax in Georgia.

Is the tax needed for the support of schools in our communities? Mississippi has emphasized that argument. All right, let us keep the tax and improve the state's schools. North Carolina did that 25 years ago. The poll tax still supports education in that state but is no longer a prerequisite for voting.

Basically, the poll tax does disfranchise. It is a small amount, but among lower-income groups in the South, the masses of Southerners, the marginal utility of each $1.00, $1.50, or $2.00 of a poll tax is too great to permit its use for anything other than food, clothing, shelter, or riotous escape. We must eliminate the poll tax as a prerequisite of citizenship rights in these eight Southern states in order that we may later eliminate the relative poverty that for millions of Southerners makes its payment such a strain toward decency.

-- The Southern Frontier, January, 1945

3-13-45 PKS

Copy sent to
Dr. Arthur B. Moehlman
Editor Nation's Schools
Ann Arbor, Mich.

ORIGIN

The Southern Regional Council, which began its existence as a formally organized body in February, 1944, is the product of many factors, but primarily it is the outgrowth of two parent movements. One of these was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The other was the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond series of conferences.

In 1919, during the dark days of racial conflict and Ku Kluxism which followed World War I, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was born. It represented a new idea in race relations--the idea that white people and Negroes should come together and strive to reach a "meeting of minds" on their mutual problems. This idea spread until there were scores of interracial committees operating in the South and elsewhere.

In 1939 the Commission leaders, feeling that the educational program which it started out to do had become thoroughly established, and recognizing the need for new blood and new ideas, began to explore the possibility of broadening the scope of the organization and improving its techniques. In October, 1940, the Commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on Southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the Commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South. Accordingly, an evaluative study of the Commission was made and a plan for expansion was drawn up. In the meantime, the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond conferences matured to a similar purpose.

On October 20, 1942 a group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, North Carolina, and participated in what has become known as the Durham Conference. This conference was an outstanding event in the history of the South. It was a product of the rising tide of racial friction, and it was also in a sense a product of both the successes and the failures of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. These Negro leaders expressed their purpose as follows:

> We are proposing to set forth in certain "Articles of Cooperation" just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the post-war South and nation. Instead of letting the demagogues guess what we want, we are proposing to make our wants and aspirations a matter of record, so clear that he who runs may read. We are hoping in this way to challenge the constructive cooperation of that element of the white South who express themselves as desirous of a New Deal for the Negroes of the South.

On April 8, 1943 a group of Southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement which had been issued by the Durham Conference. They agreed that "...The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect."

The third conference was held on June 16, 1943 in Richmond when a collaboration committee, composed of representatives from the Durham and Atlanta conferences, met to work out further details. A continuing committee of white and Negro delegates came together in Atlanta on August 4, 1943 to draw up specific plans for implementing the Durham statement. They passed a resolution urging the South "..to pool its

efforts and set up a strong, unified, Southern Regional Council, constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups....".

The Southern Regional Council was chartered on January 6, 1944 by the State of Georgia as a corporation "for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South....to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region...". It represents the forward-looking conscience and efforts of liberal Southerners to give democracy a chance in the South. It is bi-racial, but is not exclusively a "race relations" organization.

STRUCTURE

The Southern Regional Council is a membership corporation. Membership is open to any person who endorses the purposes of the organization and pays dues of $1.00 a year. Voting members reside in the Council's area; which includes the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Persons living elsewhere may become associate members. At the annual meetings, the members determine program and policy and elect new members and directors. The Board of Directors, composed of 60 members plus officers, holds two regular meetings each year. The Board has an Executive Committee which meets bi-monthly, and five standing committees. The Executive Staff is elected by the Board and is directly responsible to it.

FUNCTIONS

The Council believes that sound information, honest discussion, and cooperation, rather than agitation, are the best methods for promoting social progress. Its functions are : (1) reserach and survey to find the facts and to determine the possibilities of constructive action; (2) educational work through its own publications and through the press, radio, exhibits, conferences, and personal contacts; (3) cooperation with other agencies which have liberal and humanitarian aims; (4) consultative services to private or public agencies; and (5) formulation of constructive plans and proposals for "the South that could be."

Southern Regional Council Press Release 3-29-45

Released to A.P.
— Life & Time
— A.N.P.
— Local papers, incl. at. Daily World
— Chamber of Commerce

CONFERENCE ON SOUTH'S POST WAR ECONOMY

The Southern Regional Council will sponsor a conference on "The South's Post War Economy" in Atlanta on April 11-12 according to an announcement made here today by Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director of the Council. "The purpose of this conference," said Mr. Johnson, "is to focus the attention of Southern leaders on the South's economic problems and potentials. In keeping with the Council's policy of promoting a more intelligent interest in economic, social, and racial problems in the South, we are bringing together a group of authorities on economic affairs to speak at the conference."

The conference will be held at the Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta, opening at 10:30 A.M. on April 11, continuing through afternoon and evening sessions, and closing on the afternoon of April 12.

Speakers for the conference will be: Judge Edgar Watkins of Atlanta; Mr. Roger Stevens, Chief of the Industrial Plants Division, Smaller War Plants Corporation; Mr. A. F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor; Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Adviser, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Mr. Wilford White, Acting Chief of the Division of Small Business, U. S. Department of Commerce; Mr. Coleman Woodbury, Assistant Administrator, National Housing Agency; Dr. M. T. Van Hecke, Chairman of the Regional War Labor Board, Atlanta; and Professor Glenn Rainey, the Georgia School of Technology.

"Attendance from outside Atlanta will be limited to a small number of specially invited persons," Mr. Johnson stated, "but the meetings are open to the general public in the Atlanta area."

add Moffry

FOR RELEASE APRIL 8, 1945
Southern Regional Council
Report on Conference on
"South's Postwar Economy"

Postwar problems of the South--particularly in the crucial fields of agriculture, labor, and small business--will be publicly thrashed out under the leadership of outstanding authorities in those fields here Wednesday and Thursday of this week at the Biltmore Hotel in a "Conference on the South's Postwar Economy," sponsored by the Southern Regional Council.

Such men as Atlanta's own Judge Edgar Watkins, a leading authority on the freight-rate controversy; A. F. Hinrichs, acting U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics; and Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Advisor in the U. S. Department of Agriculture, will give their slants on the South's postwar situation and answer questions from the audience.

The Atlanta public is invited free of charge.

Mr. Hinrichs's and Dr. Ezekiel's talks are scheduled in that order Wednesday night, beginning at 8 o'clock, while Judge Watkins will speak Thursday morning at 10:30 o'clock.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director of the Council and former professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina, says the purpose of the conference is "to focus the attention of Southern leaders on the South's economic problems and potentials."

"In keeping with the Council's policy of promoting a more intelligent interest in economic, social and racial problems in the South we are bringing together a group of authorities on economic affairs, to speak at the conference."

Beginning Wednesday morning, sessions will continue through Wednesday afternoon and evening and Thursday morning before closing with Thursday afternoon's meeting, which will include a discussion of "Political Factors and Economic Progress" by Professor Glenn Rainey of Georgia Tech.

Dr. Johnson will open the conference Wednesday with a statement of purpose, followed by an address by Roger Stevens, "How Southern Government-Owned War Plants Can Aid Small Business." Mr. Stevens is Chief of the Industrial Plants Division of the Smaller War Plants Corporation.

Wednesday afternoon, Dr. August Maffry, a native Missourian who is chief of the Commerce Department's International Trade Unit, will discuss "Postwar Foreign Trade and the South". Dr. Maffry's specialty is determining what essential commodities other countries need from the U.S .

Dr. Wilford White, a resident of Austin, Texas and a well-known authority on chain stores, who is acting chief of the division of small business in the U. S. Department of Commerce, will speak on "Southern Industry and Postwar Markets,", also on Wednesday afternoon.

Dr. Hinrich's subject Wednesday night will be "Impact of the War on Southern Labor," while Dr. Ezekiel has chosen "Southern Postwar Agriculture." Mr. E. B. Schultz, Chairman of the Personnel Relations Staff of TVA will preside over this session.

Dr. Ezekiel, a native of Richmond, Virginia, and a veteran of World War I, is well known in the fields of statistics and economics, having been economic adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture since March 1933. He is listed in Who's Who as having "pioneered in methods of price forecasting."

C. F. Palmer, former coordinator of defense housing for the Office of Emergency Management and a pioneer in slum clearence in the South, will preside Thursday morning, when Judge Watkins will speak on "Freight Rates and Southern Industrial Growth," and Coleman Woodbury, assistant administrator of the National Housing Agency, will discuss "The South's Postwar Housing Problem."

M. T. Van Hecke, chairman of the Fourth Regional War Labor Board, will preside in the closing session Thursday afternoon.

The Southern Regional Council, organized in January, 1944, has members in 13 states. Financed by contributions of philanthropic foundations and by gifts from individuals, it has both white and Negro members but is described as "not exclusively a 'race relations' organization." Its president is Howard W. Odum, Georgia born author and sociologist, now at the University of North Carolina.

NEWS RELEASE
Southern Regional Council
For Release April 10, 1945

Southern industry, labor, and agriculture each will have a turn in the public eye Wednesday as discussions get under way in the two-day "Conference on the South's Postwar Economy," sponsored here at the Biltmore Hotel by the Southern Regional Council.

Wednesday night's program will present A. F. Hinrichs, Acting U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, in "Impact of the War on Southern Labor," at 8 O'clock; and immediately following, Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Adviser to the U. S. Department of Agriculture, on "Southern Postwar Agriculture."

E. B. Schultz, chief of the personnel relations staff of the TVA will preside ~~Thursday~~ Wednesday night.

All sessions are open to the public, and questions from the floor following the addresses are expected to play an important part in the conference.

The conference begins Wednesday morning at 10:30 o'clock, with Dr. Guy B. Johnson, executive director of the council and former professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina, presenting a statement of purpose and Roger Stevens, chief of the industrial plants division of the Smaller War Plants Corporation, following with an address titled, "How Southern Government-Owned Plants Can Aid Small Business."

"Postwar Foreign Trade in the South," and "Foreign Industry and Postwar Markets," will absorb the attention of the conference Wednesday afternoon, beginning at 2:30 o'clock, with Dr. Johnson presiding. The respective speakers will be Dr. August Maffry, chief of the International Trade Unit of the Department of Commerce, and Dr. Wilford White, Acting chief of the

Division of Small Business in the same governmental department.

Two Atlantans, Judge Edgar Watkins and Professor Glenn Rainey of Georgia Tech, will take major parts in Thursday's morning and afternoon sessions.

Judge Watkins, an authority on the freight rate controversy, will discuss that problem in the light of the South's industrial growth Thursday morning at 10:30 o'clock, with Coleman Woodbury, assistant administrator of the National Housing Agency, following on "The South's Postwar Housing Problem."

Prof. Rainey's subject in the closing session Thursday afternoon will be "Politics and Economic Progress." Lawrence Drake, research specialist for the Southern Regional Council, will bring the conference to a close with a discussion of "What Next?"--the practical implications of the problems raised during the conference.

C. F. Palmer, coordinator of defense housing for the Office of Emergency Management and a pioneer in slum clearence in Atlanta and the South, will preside Thursday morning, and Dr. M. T. Van Hecke, chairman of the Fourth Regional War Labor Board, will preside Thursday afternoon.

The Southern Regional Council, organized in January, 1944, according to Dr. Johnson "represents the efforts of liberal Southerners to promote a more democratic and prosperous South."

Financed by grants from philanthropic foundations and by contributions of members and other individuals, the Council has members of both races in 13 states, but is described as "not exclusively a 'race relations' organization."

"In fact," explains Dr. Johnson, "we feel there should be less talk about race relations and more effort to remove the basic conditions, such as illiteracy, poor health, low income, and unfair suffrage practices which are retarding the social and economic progress of the South."

TO; ANP, Daily World,
Journal and Guide

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
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CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

July 10, 1945

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SRC NEWS **Immediate Release**

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL JOINS SRC STAFF

Atlanta, Ga.--. The Southern Regional Council has announced that Dr. George S. Mitchell, formerly Director of CIO-PAC for the southeastern region, has accepted a position on the staff of the Council. Dr. Mitchell will be Director of Veterans Services. According to Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, the Council is initiating a special program ~~marking~~ looking toward the protection of the rights of Negro veterans in the administration of the GI Bill of Rights.

Dr. Mitchell is a native of Virginia and was educated at the University of Delaware, University of Richmond, Johns Hopkins University, and Oxford University, England. He taught economics at Columbia University for several years, after which he became connected with the federal government. He was special assistant in the office of the Secretary of the Interior and was later assistant administrator of Farm Security. In 1944 he resigned from Farm Security to become southeastern Director of PAC. He recently resigned from PAC and has already taken up his duties with the Southern Regional Council.

* * * * * *

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL PROTESTS SENATOR EASTLAND'S ATTACK ON NEGRO SOLDIERS

Atlanta, Ga. --. Following Senator Eastland's intemperate remarks concerning the record of Negro soldiers in the present war, Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director of Veterans Services for the Council, sent the following telegram to the Secretary of War:

> "This Council, composed of Southerners of both races, deplores the remarks of Senator Eastland of Mississippi in the Senate chamber on June 29 as reported in the Congressional Record, Page 7102 and following, abusive of the courage and conduct of Negro soldiers in the European theatre. We should appreciate a statement with regard to the charges made by the senator."

No formal reply has been received up to the present according to Dr. Johnson, but Robert P. Patterson, Undersecretary of War, has issued a public statement which has been interpreted as a rebuke to Senator Eastland.

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

To— A.P. -7-11-45

SRC NEWS **Immediate Release**

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL JOINS SRC STAFF

The Southern Regional Council has announced that Dr. George S. Mitchell, formerly Director of CIO-PAC for the southeastern region, has accepted a position on the staff of the Council as Director of Veterans Services. According to Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, the Council is developing a special program centered around veterans problems and the prevention of racial misunderstanding after the war.

Dr. Mitchell is a native of Virginia and was educated at the University of Delaware, University of Richmond, Johns Hopkins University, and Oxford University, England. He taught economics at Columbia University for several years, after which he became connected with the federal government. He was special assistant in the office of the Secretary of the Interior and was later assistant administrator of Farm Security. In 1944 he resigned from Farm Security to become southeastern director of PAC. He recently resigned from PAC and has already taken up his duties with the Southern Regional Council.

Commenting on the new program which the Council is undertaking, Mr. Johnson said: "If history repeats itself, we can expect an increase of racial tension after the war. Much of this tension will center around veterans and their struggle for a fair break in jobs and in GI benefits. One of the best ways to counteract this trend is to develop an informed public opinion which will see the practical value of fair play toward all veterans regardless of their race or color. There is as much need for wise planning and action in these matters as there is in planning for new factories and new highways in the reconversion period."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 31, 1945

TO THE EDITOR:

We take pleasure in calling your attention to SRC Pamphlet No. 4 entitled Economic Value of the Negro to the South, a copy of which is enclosed.

In case you publish any news item or editorial comment on this pamphlet in the columns of your paper, we should like very much to have a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Guy B. Johnson

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosure

Press Releases

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Atlanta, August 31--------Dr. Thomas Parran, surgeon-general of the United States, will speak here September 13 at a conference sponsored by Georgia church, civic, labor and welfare groups to study problems of rural health in the state, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, conference chairman, announced today.

"No one can deny that Georgia's rural health problems call for study and action," said Mrs. Tilly, secretary of Christian social relations for Methodist women of the Southeast. "The proportion of rejections for military service among Georgia inductees, as well as the vital statistics, make this plain."

"We hope this conference will help to bring the problems forcibly to the attention of the people of Georgia and develop support for a health program that will fill the state's needs."

Organizations sponsoring the conference are the American Legion, Georgia Council of Church Women, Georgia League of Women Voters, Y.W.C.A., Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers, Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs, Southern Regional Council, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Georgia State Industrial Union Council (CIO), Georgia Federation of Labor, Georgia Conference on Social Welfare, Georgia Tuberculosis Association, Committee for Georgia of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Georgia Cancer Society, Georgia Council of Negro Women, Georgia Chapter of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Georgia Education Association, Youth Division of the Georgia Citizens Council, Georgia Teachers Association, Council of Home Demonstration Agents.

(RW-8-31-45)

Telegram sent for ANP NNPA Galvins

1945

Atlanta, Nov. 15 ———The Southern Regional Council today announced an intensified program to enlist a mass membership of Southerners to cooperate in action to raise the South to the highest levels of its possibilities for the benefit of all citizens and the removal of racial discrimination as Paul D. Williams, Richmond, Va., businessman assumed the presidency of the organization.

The more than 100 members from all parts of the South present at the Council's second annual meeting here yesterday at Atlanta University voted approval of a campaign to extend the group's membership and intensify its publication program to lay the facts about the South and proposals for constructive action before all Southerners on a South-wide, state and community basis.

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, associate executive director of the Council, revealed at yesterday's session that the Council had completed a detailed survey of the operations and effects of segregation practices in transportation facilities in Atlanta. Dr. Reid said the study, the first of its kind, drew a thorough picture of the results of the so-called "separate but equal" laws, which he described as far from equal in practice. He said that the analysis should serve as a basis for action to seek equalization of such facilities as provided by law.

The Council praised the report, which Dr. Reid said was made with the research assistance of "pioneer youth," and voted that similar surveys be made by the Council in other Southern cities, as resources are made available, and later be extended to the study of the effects of segregation in public health and education, to serve as a basis for Council action.

Mr. Williams, elected to succeed Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina, is vice-president of Mentzer-Bush Co., book publishers. Vice-president of the National Council of Catholic Men, he was instrumental in organizing the Catholic Committee of the South. This month Mr. Williams received the 1945 James J. Hoey Award for Interracial Justice for his contributions to the betterment of race relations.

Dr. Odum will remain active in the Council as a member of the Board of Directors.

The Council voted in a resolution to urge President Truman and Senator Alben W. Barkley (D-Ky) and "all elected representatives in Congress to prove to the people of this country and the world that democracy can work in this country by holding HR7 before the senate until the senate has had a chance to vote upon it." HR7 would abolish the poll tax as a requisite for voting for federal officers.

The resolution stated that "there is now no question about the desire of congress to pass the bill," which has already passed the house of representatives, "but merely one of whether democracy in this country will be frustrated by a filibuster."

In other resolutions the Council praised the decision of Judge T. Hoyt Davis in Macon, Ga., federal district court which ruled that Negroes are entitled to vote in the Democratic primary, and urged "that no attempts be made by responsible officials to circumvent this decision and continue to deny Negroes the right to vote in primary elections;" supported legislation to "equalize educational opportunity throughout the nation" and urged that safeguards be established to guarantee the benefits of such a program to all persons "without regard to race, color, or creed"; voted support of legislation to promote fair employment practices, full employment and a minimum wage of 65 cents per hour.

Commander Frank Spencer, Savannah, Ga., was elected a vice-president of the Council to succeed Dr. Homer P. Rainey, former president of the University of Texas. Vice-presidents reelected were P. B. Young, Norfolk, Va., and Carter Wesley, Houston, Texas.

Also reelected were the following executive officers: Dr. Guy B. Johnson, executive director; and Miss Emily H. Clay, secretary-treasurer. Mrs. Ines B. Tillison was elected assistant secretary-treasurer. Leonard Haas, Atlanta attorney and member of the executive committee, was reelected counsel for the organization.

(RW - 11-15-45)

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

For immediate release

Atlanta, March 23 -- "The South is a strategic area" in the Nation's approach to the high-level production and employment "necessary to keep the economic mechanism functioning," writes Rupert B. Vance in a new study of the South published here today by the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

The entire Nation has a stake in the South's development, says Dr. Vance, adding that "we need a realization on the part of the Nation and the South that high standards of living, increased income and higher wages are necessary to balance our production-consumption budget at a higher level. Economic progress in the South is essential to further national progress..."

Pointing out Leon Henderson's statement that for the South to attain a normal American standard of living would create a market worth ten billion dollars a year to the Nation, Dr. Vance says that "The Nation and the South need to agree that the region can do the greatest possible service by increasing its income and expanding its markets."

The 32-page, illustrated pamphlet, "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation," is a broad, enlightened study of the South's economic problems and the resources which, properly developed, could give the region a standard of living in line with that of the rest of the Nation.

Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia, in an introduction to the pamphlet, says that the study "is of utmost value to an understanding of the problems of the section, which must be solved if the Nation's economy is to develop to the interest of all Americans.... Every Southerner and every American should read it."

"In 1940 the eleven states of the Southeast contained over 28,250,000 people-- 21.5 percent of the population of the continental United States," Dr. Vance writes. "With more than one-fifth of the Nation's people the region comprised 17.4 percent of the Nation's area and was estimated to contain 11.5 percent of its accumulated wealth. Together with the Southwest, the Southern Region accounted for 28.9 percent of the Nation's people, 36.3 percent of its area and an estimated 16.7 percent of its wealth."

In separate chapters on agriculture, industry, education and population growth -- the Southeast, "seedbed of the Nation," provided more than 30 percent of the Nation's total population increase in the 1930's -- Dr. Vance analyzes the South's poverty as a problem to be solved not only for the sake of the region, but for the good of the Nation as a whole.

Despite its emphasis on the South's problems, the study is not pessimistic.

Dr. Vance points out that the demands of war accelerated the South's already developing trend toward industrialization and forced much of Southern agriculture into lines that need to be followed if the region is to progress.

"In the future development of the South agriculture will continue to play a dominant role," he states. "Expansion in food production and livestock is still the basic need of our agriculture..." The South could use one million more milk cows, 2,250,000 more hogs, 23,000,000 more hens for egg production and 2,500,000 more beef cattle to supply an adequate diet for its farm population alone, Dr. Vance says.

But the facts about Southern farming are "in some respects most encouraging," he says, "for it shows that the war carried us in the direction we need to take."

Industrial employment, however, will in Dr. Vance's judgment offer the main relief of "pressure on the land" -- for "it may be that too many people depend on the land for a livelihood." The problems and prospects for industrial development in the South are directly related to the farmer's future. Here again the handicap of low income is a factor. The Southeast's average industrial wage in 1939 was only $760, "less than two-thirds of the national average and only 58 percent of the average wage in the Middle States and Far West."

"The rise in the level of wages in the South has not kept pace with the region's increased value of output and number of workers... Over a period of twenty years the average worker in the Southeast has turned out a product valued at two-thirds to three-fourths of the national average, has added somewhat less to the value of materials by manufacturing them, and has received still less in average wage."

The solution to the South's "surplus" of manpower, Dr. Vance says, lies not only in greater industrialization but in the development of a "more complex economy." "It is the complexity and diversity of a rich economy that the more backward states need, and the development of manufacturing appears the first logical step to the development of such an economy."

Pointing out that low wages and a "one-crop system of industry are characteristic of the opening phases of industrialization," Dr. Vance says this condition should be accepted "only as a transitional phase." He adds that when the South has increased its purchasing power "through increasing its productive powers, the Nation too will benefit."

The low status of the South's education has a two-way bearing on the South's economic position, Dr. Vance implies, pointing out that the region's low income is a main cause of educational deficiencies and that better education is needed to develop future trained workers for the complex economy the region needs for its progress.

"None of this discussion," he writes, "should imply that the South is not continuing its movement toward industrialization. It may suggest, however, that the means will differ somewhat from those once advocated. Artificial inducements... in the form of free factory sites, tax exemption and outright subsidy have not proved their worth.... They were not needed in the war program and it is doubtful if they will long continue."

"Much controversy can be avoided in the future development of the South by the realization that the region has to make no drastic choices on the all-or-none basis. We do not have to choose all-out-migration, all-out-industrialization, nor even all-out-diversification to the exclusion of staple crops. The principle to be served is one of balance...."

Dr. Vance is Kenan Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina. A native of Arkansas, he has written several works on the South, including "Human Factors in Cotton Culture," "Human Geography of the South", and "The South's Place in the Nation." "Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation" is based on his new book, "All These People," recently published by the University of North Carolina Press.

(Warwick 3-22-46)

No. 28 -
SRC News Releases
1944-45

(1944-45)

Good News Releases from SRC
Clips Could be Obtained
from library microfilm,
maybe

7-27-46
Statement for AP on Georgia Lynching,
By Guy B. Johnson, Exec. Director, Southern Regional Council

The killing of four Negroes in Walton County was the most inhuman, coldblooded murder that has happened in the South in many, many years. I hope and believe that local, state, and federal investigators will do everything in their power to bring the killers to justice. If they fail, the name of Georgia will be ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ blackened even worse than it already is, and lynchers will feel that they have the green light.

Governor Arnall is to be commended for offering a large reward. The Southern Regional Council offers a reward of $500 to any person who gives information leading to the arrest and conviction of the guilty parties. We hope that other agencies and individuals will join with us and help to make the total amount of reward money so large that someone who was in the gang of killers will decide to talk.

This statement quoted in full on radio news
11 P.m. Sat. 7/27/46.
GBJ

Copy sent to P.A.Y. by BJ

GEORGIA LYNCHING STORY

ATLANTA, July 27,1946.— The most horrible lynching that has happened in many years took place late last Thursday afternoon near Monroe, Georgia. Two Negro men and their wives were shot down by a band of twenty to thirty white men. Monroe, the county seat of Walton County, lies only about forty miles east of Atlanta.

Here is the story in brief. Roger Malcolm, 27 year old Negro who worked on the farm of Barney Hester, white, had a quarrel with his wife on July 14. Malcolm was drinking and was threatening his wife when Hester tried to intervene. In the scuffle Hester was stabbed. He was taken to the hospital, where is recovering. Malcolm was taken to the jail at Monroe. His wife then went to stay with her sister, Mrs. George Dorsey, who, with her mother and husband, worked on another farm some distance away belonging to a white man, Loy Harrison.

Harrison took Roger Malcolm's wife and the Dorseys to Monroe in his car last Thursday to see about bailing Malcolm out. He arranged bond of $600, and after doing some shopping started home with the two Negro couples in his car. His farm is in Oconee County just across the Appalachee River, which marks the county line. As he approached the bridge over the river on the country road, he noticed that a car was blocking the bridge at the other end. Armed men came forward and told him to stop. Other cars, which had been concealed beside the road, drove in and blocked the road behind him.

The leader of the band said, "We want Roger," and started to pull Dorsey out of the car. The white men said, "That's not Roger." The leader said, "Shut up and keep out of this. We ought to shoot you. We'll take both of the men." Malcolm and Dorsey were then taken out of the car, their

Four persons, three of them innocent of any crime and one of them charged with a minor stabbing which was probably not intentional, lay dead in the weeds. One of the men, George Dorsey, had been recently discharged from the army after serving his country five years.

hands tied, and led off to one side of the road. Harrison ~~was~~ held at and the two Negro women were at gun's point. Suddenly one of the women recognized a member of the gang and screamed his name. The man said, "Wait a minute. She's recognized me. We'd better take the women, too." Whereupon the women were taken from the car and lined up with their husbands.

Volley after volley from rifles, shotguns, and pistols was fired into the bodies of the helpless Negroes. One of the most brutal lynchings in the nation's history was over.

The frightened white man, Harrison, was asked whether he recognized anyone in the mob. He replied that he did not. The leader said, "All right, you can go now," and led his men to their cars. They drove across the river into Oconee County. Harrison turned around and drove back two miles to the nearest telephone where he called the sheriff. An inquest was held shortly after dark, and the riddled bodies were taken to a funeral home. The coroner decided that the two men and their wives had "come to their deaths at the hands of parties unknown." The only witness, other than the lynchers, was Loy Harrison, and he insists that he did not recognize any of the men. The men wore no masks.

Negroes and the better element of whites in Walton County are horrified at this brutal and cold-blooded murder. Many of them say that this is "just what you might expect now that Talmadge is going to be governor again." A reliable informant states that Talmadge is a good friend of the Hesters and that he visited them at Monroe shortly after Barney Hester was stabbed.

Local officers, as well as the Georgia Bureau of Investigation and the FBI, appear to be making a thorough investigation. They are already convinced that the lynching was carefully planned. While there is so far no evidence that Loy Harrison connived with the lynchers, it seems clear that the killers were well organized and knew exactly what to do as soon as they got word

that Malcolm Dorsey had been released on bond.

Was this the work of the Ku Klux Klan? That question remains to be answered. However, many people agree that it was certainly a Klan-like affair and that this is exactly the way the Klan may be expected to operate rather than in the old-style hood-and-sheet manner.

Governor Ellis Arnall, during whose administration no lynchings had taken place in Georgia until now, today publicly condemned this vicious lynching and announced that the state is offering a reward of $10,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the lynchers.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, said today in Atlanta: "This is the most atrocious crime that has happened in Georgia in many years. Unless the murderers are brought to justice, the name of Georgia will be still further blackened all over the world, and lynchers will feel that they have the green light." He added that the Southern Regional Council sent an investigator to Monroe as soon as it learned of the lynching and that the Council is offering a reward of $500.

At Butler, Georgia, Macio Snipes was shot to death after a minor altercation with a white man. The coroner ruled that the white man shot in self-defense. By coincidence, Snipes was the only Negro who voted in his district in the July 17 primary. Many people believe that the shooting was "arranged" as a "lesson" to Negroes who try to vote. It was learned here that the Southern Regional Council is looking into this killing.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
News Release to AP
Release Date: August 1, 1946

The Southern Regional Council has increased from $500.00 to $1000.00 the amount of the reward which it has offered to anyone giving information leading to the arrest and conviction of one or more of the men involved in the Walton County lynchings, it was announced today by Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director of the Council.

Commenting on the trend of lynchings in Georgia, Mr. Johnson said that until last week's atrocity in Walton County which took the lives of four Negroes, Georgia had made consideralbe progress toward the elimination of lynching. "From 1882 through 1930," he said, "Georgia had 508 lynchings, or an average of 10.3 per year. From 1931 through 1945, Georgia had 19 lynchings or an average of 1.3 per year. In six of the past fifteen years, there were no lynchings at all in Georgia."

Commenting on a recent statement by Mr. Eugene Talmadge , Mr. Johnson said, "It is encouraging to see that Mr. Talmadge considers mob violence regrettable wherever it occurs, and that he believes such atrocities will be at a minimum while he is governor. It is unfortunate, however, that Mr. Talmadge did not check up on the records before stating that during his three terms as governor of Georgia there was not a lynching in the state. The records show five lynchings during his first term, eight during his second term, and one during his third term, making a total of 14."

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

News Release to AP

Release date

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8/3/46

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 16, 1946

Editor:

The special September issue of our publication, New South, a copy of which is enclosed, discusses a problem of great importance to the future of Southern agriculture and of the South at large.

We hope that you will find "Machines in the Cotton Fields" by Dr. Arthur Raper of sufficient interest to be mentioned in your news or editorial columns. Please feel free to make use of any part of the text as you see fit.

For your information, we enclose also a copy of the news story released to wire services for use in papers of Sunday, October 13.

We would appreciate it if you would send us clippings or tearsheets of any stories or editorials you may publish on this pamphlet.

Sincerely,

Ray Warwick

Ray Warwick
Director of Public
Relations

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Atlanta, ----"The coming of the mechanical cotton picker threatens the South with several million 'displaced persons' of its own in the next five to ten years, "Guy B. Johnson, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, said today as he announced that the Council has urged Southern governors to call a conference to study the problem "before it is upon us."

"The mechanical cotton picker and the flame-thrower are forcing an agricultural revolution on the South, "Johnson said. "In many ways it will bring a great advance toward the better farming methods the South needs so badly, but the problem of displaced workers promises to be serious--even if the industrialization of our region continues to develop and provide new jobs. We should face and prepare for this great population shift now, and not wait until we are in the middle of it."

"I am sure you will agree with us that the mechanization of cotton farming in the south is a process of tremendous importance, "Johnson stated in a letter to governors of 13 southern states. "The social and economic effects of mechanization will soon begin to make themselves felt and it seems important to explore these effects and to work out methods of dealing with them intelligently. May we earnestly urge that you as a member of the Southern Governor's Conference consider the advisability of calling a special cotton states conference on the subject of the mechanization of cotton."

Johnson's statement came as the Council released the September issue of its monthly publication, New South, devoted entirely to a study titled "Machines in the Cotton Fields" by Arthur Raper, social science analyst of the U. S. Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Agricultural Economics, which estimates that

1,600,000 farm workers will have left southern farms between 1940 and 1956 as hand labor gives way to mechanized farming. This total is for actual farm workers and does not include their families.

Raper's study, a 34-page, illustrated pamphlet, points out that it has been estimated that "the labor needed to produce the cotton in the plains of Texas and Oklahoma, where mechanization has made greatest headway so far, will be reduced 59 percent by 1950 by the further use of mechanical strippers." Analysts of the Mississippi State College Agricultural Experiment Station suggest "55 to 65 percent displacement of farm families in the 10 all-Delta counties of Yazoo-Mississippi area as a conservative estimate if there is a widespread adoption of the mechanical picker."

"Indications are that much cotton may soon be harvested by mechanical pickers cheaper than it could be picked by hand, "Raper writes. "The detailed figures vary somewhat, but it now at last seems to be agreed that the mechanical picker is a practical reality. The groundwork has already begun for a giant plant at Memphis where one mechanical picker will be manufactured by mass production methods. Two other pickers, too, may go into production soon."

Showing the relation between the increased use of farm tractors and decrease in the number of farm operators in recent years, the study then projects into the future the probable effects of greater mechanization on southern farms. For example, the decrease in the number of farm operators in the West South Central States (Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas), where mechanization has progressed most rapidly, was 12.6 percent between 1930 and 1940 and 7.9 percent between 1940 and 1945.... "all studies indicate that one or more families are replaced by each additional tractor..."

Raper's analysis is not alarmist, however, for he points out that the

changes brought to southern farming by mechanization will mean not merely a reduction in farm operators but, on the side of progress, an over-all increase in the size of farms -- which if planned wisely can provide improved and more profitable farming methods and a higher standard of living for those people who remain on the farms.

"The greater mechanization of cotton production which now appears within reach," Raper writes, "means that the amount of cotton grown per family will increase, and that the cotton-growing families that use machinery can afford better houses, more home conveniences, more adequate medical care, and that the organizations and agencies which farm families maintain can be more adequately financed."

But with these opportunities, he says, come serious problems as well. "The people who remain on the land face many changes and the problem of adjusting to those changes." Southerners are reminded, in a series of photographs, of the South's basic needs: better schools and more vocational training; more and better health facilities and better housing; more soil conservation; more livestock; more farm machinery for non-cotton crops as well as for cotton; more good home gardens and more home food preservation for better diet; more local industries to provide employment and more complete electric power services for rural areas.

"Even if these actions are carried out there is still the problem of what is to happen to the people who leave the farms and how they can be prepared for the change, " Raper concludes. "Where will the people who leave the southern farms go? And what will they do?... How can we work out plans to make this transition with as little hurt as possible to the displaced people, to the South, and to the Nation?"

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(rw-10-16-46)

Statement by George S. Mitchell to Associated Press, June 5, 1950.

We have not yet seen the decisions, but from preliminary accounts the Supreme Court has again made it perfectly clear that unequal facilities are illegal. It remains the South's duty to provide equality. The right way to do that will be for our institutions of higher learning to give a welcome to qualified Negroes who seek admittance.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
(Fleming Wa. 7963)

For Immediate Release

ATLANTA, Nov. 8 - Southerners of both races, meeting here today, urged that Negroes in the South have representation on policy-making bodies which govern public services.

The statement was adopted at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, an interracial organization whose members include educators, church people, editors, labor and business men from thirteen Southern states.

Releasing the statement, Council President Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., declared: "This is the course for the South to follow. We are facing a crisis today because of our failure to admit Negroes to partnership in our public life. By doing so now, the South can tap new resources of ability and statesmanship and open up an era of common citizenship."

The Council particularly recommended Negro representation on school boards, elective and appointive. It termed the many school equalization suits filed in Federal courts recently "the fruits of bad faith."

"There is every reason to believe," the statement said, "that the Negro plaintiffs, like the defendants, would prefer a less expensive and more cooperative method of reaching agreement. The best way to achieve that is for Negroes to have a voice in the policy making which determines the quality of education their children are to receive."

The Council maintained that only by such representation could equality be attained in day-to-day administration of school systems. "True equality," it declared, "is not static arithmetic. It is a running matter."

#

(Full text of statement attached.)

SRC News

May 18, 1953

Mr. John Popham
NEW YORK TIMES
c/o CHATTANOOGA TIMES
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Johnny:

That was a grand story that you sent us the clip on from the CHATTANOOGA TIMES. I also saw the NEW YORK TIMES version. Though tying it in with the Clement story cut it considerably, that was certainly the way to handle it, and does us a lot of good. We couldn't hope for better.

Again, many thanks, and do come to see us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

P. S. By the way, I spent a day helping out NEWSWEEK's Southern man, Bill Emerson. He is a great admirer of your work and hopes to meet you soon. If you see an Atlanta trip coming up, let me know, and I'll arrange a lunch or something.

HCF:ec

"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS
NORTH CAROLINA

September 12, 1955

TO THE EDITOR:

They fished the body of the little Negro boy out of the Tallahatchie River.

He had, it is said (by whom, no one knows), made "ugly remarks" to a white woman. And so, without warrant, arrest, trial, jury, conviction or legal sentence, he is kidnapped and slain and his body dumped into the river. It is doubtful that he had committed any crime. If any, the punishment could not have exceeded thirty days. But they fished his body out of the Tallahatchie.

How many thousands of white men have made "ugly remarks" to Negro women- and still breathe the free air and walk upon the green grass under the blue sky.

The lips upon which turtles have nibbled speak to the capitals of Jackson, Columbia, Atlanta, Baton Rouge and Raleigh.

Hear me, you Governors.

I was your fellow citizen. I lived with you under the same flag and constitution. I had, in theory and on paper, all the rights you enjoy. But I didn't have them in practice and in fact. I am dead and you live.

I charge you, you Governors, with a part of the guilt for my death. Oh, no, you didn't lay hands upon me or pull the trigger. You were in your comfortable offices or homes or elsewhere when my skull was shattered and the red stream mixed with grey spurted from the wound.

But you had planted and nurtured an idea, a belief. Beliefs are the things which cause men to act. Beliefs of illiterate and brutal men may move them to murder. Sow an evil belief deeply enough and widely enough and the harvest of foul deeds is assured. You gave the benediction and prestige of your office to an idea - an idea which came to fruition along the mud flats of the Tallahatchie.

What is that idea?

It has two prongs. One is that men of one race are somehow superior to men of another race. A German named Adolph Hitler was possessed by that idea. Thousands of men of my race and of yours gave their lives to destroy that idea-came to their deaths on honorable battlefields, not in river slime.

The other prong is that it may be respectable and right to evade the law. Since May 17, 1954, you or your predecessors have preached that doctrine to your people. On that day a court of white men, interpreting a constitution written by white men, decreed that my people have a certain right under that constitution, a constitution you are sworn to uphold. You are equally sworn to uphold all rights of all people living under that constitution. But you have spat upon my rights.

You have devoted all of your cunning and guile to thwarting the law. You have taught your people that they may select the laws by which they will abide and flout those they do not select. The law you chose to flout had to do with school attendance. The law two Mississippians chose to flout had to do with trial by jury and punishment for crime. Surely their right of selection is as good as yours.

The same constitution guaranteed the right of trial by jury and attendance upon a school of my choice. Can you complain if you choose to deny the one and some of your constituents choose to deny the other?

Some of you rail against the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan doesn't take you seriously. You are its best allies. Because, in essence, you and the Klan preach the same doctrine.

If you will look closely, you Governors, you will see more than a thread of connection between what you say and what two Mississippians did.

Beliefs may be the prelude to murder. Think upon that, my Governors, before you next use air waves or printer's ink to spread your poison.

M. A. Wright

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FILE COPY - News Release folder

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 20, 1955

Dear Board Member:

October 19th the Attorney General of Georgia, one Eugene Cook, made a speech to the Georgia Peace Officers Association. It was mainly a misinformed blast at the NAACP. In addition, it had in it the paragraphs attached. These were answered by press releases, as also attached.

As the Board meets November 9th, we thought this material should be in your hands ahead of time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - excerpts from Attorney General Cook's speech
press releases from:
Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation
The Southern Regional Council

The NAACP is being aided and abetted in its agitation by three "front" organizations on the Southern scene -- the Southern Conference Education Fund; the Southern Regional Council; and the SRC's affiliate, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Southern Conference Education Fund and the Southern Regional Council are both dominated by individuals who, like the officials of the NAACP, have long records of affinity for and participation in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling, left-wing and subversive organizations and activities. Sworn testimony taken by both House and Senate Committees has placed known Communists in both organizations and the Southern Conference Fund may soon be designated a subversive organization.

The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation is a perfect example of an organization formed for the purpose of exploiting the names, reputations and services of well-intentioned do-gooders. It is composed of some of Georgia' most distinguished clergymen and most prominent civic and social leaders who have been duped into doing the bidding of the more sinister elements manipulating the Southern Regional Council.

Investigations are currently being made of all three organizations -- the results of which will greatly embarrass those good citizens who unwittingly have become involved in their activities. I urge all such persons to take immediate steps to disassociate themselves from these groups and to disavow their programs and their leaders before they, their friends and their congregations are exposed to the anguish and embarrassment which exposure of these groups will necessarily mean.

Excerpts from Attorney General Cook's
Speech before the Georgia Peace
Officers Association, October 19, 1955

GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
63 AUBURN AVENUE

For the Attorney General to label the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation a "front" organization is not only ridiculous, but it is a libel on those Georgia leaders he labels as "dupes" and on Georgia officials as well.

True, the Georgia Committee is composed of "some of Georgia's most distinguished clergymen and most prominent civic and social leaders." And it is these same leaders who make up the board of directors and the executive committee of the group. It is these same leaders who plan and direct the policy and program of the Georgia Committee and are sincerely trying to help solve a difficult Southern problem.

The Georgia Committee has a history dating back to 1919. If, as the Attorney General claims, an investigation is being made of the Georgia Committee, why should it come at this time? The answer is obvious when one stops to consider the fact that there are some irresponsible people today who claim the Supreme Court of the United States is under the influence of Communists. Who could better claim the label of subversive -- those who seek to uphold the supreme law of the land or those who seek to circumvent it? The Attorney General is seeking to delay the solution and impugning the motives of those who seek to help work out a solution.

On a monument to the British soldiers who died on King's Mountain, S. C., is this inscription, "They came 3000 miles to keep the past on the throne." There are still those who fight to keep the past on the throne.

The Georgia Committee will welcome any investigation by <u>responsible</u> people. It has nothing to hide.

Guy H. Wells
Executive Director

Any charges that the Southern Regional Council has Communist connections or is influenced by Communist ideas are poppycock. The Southern Regional Council is made up of reasonable, tolerant, and forward-looking citizens who wish to see the states in the South do a sober, responsible job of accomodating themselves to the changes in the world around us. As to investigations, they are perfectly welcome. We have nothing to hide. All that will result will be red faces for those who set on the investigators.

The Southern Regional Council is made up of some eighty people, who are members of its Board of Directors. Some of them are white and some are Negro. All of them are distinguished for their active and thoughtful careers within the South. What a tragedy for a state attorney general, sworn to uphold the law, to attack one of the few efforts which proceeds within the South to deal truthfully and in mutual respect with the problems which the region confronts! Watch the birdie. Who is proposing conduct subversive of the Constitution and courts of our land?

IN ANSWER TO ATTORNEY EUGENE COOK'S SPEECH OF OCTOBER 19.1955 .
FOR THE GEORGIA PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE

HCF

RECEIVED MAR 10 1956

FRANK A. ERNST, PRESIDENT
CHARLES E. MOORE, JR., TREASURER
R. D. CURTIS, ASSISTANT TREASURER
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CHARLES F. RUSSELL, VICE-PRES. TIDEWATER

RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

111 NORTH FIFTH STREET
TELEPHONE 3-7491

VERBON E. KEMP, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
WILLIAM H. W. ANDERSON, PUBLIC RELATIONS
PHILIP I. FLOURNOY, PHOTOGRAPHER
MARSHALL A. GARBER, COMMUNICATIONS
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WALTER GLADDING, MEMBER RELATIONS
G. KENNETH GOODE, BUS. MGR., THE COMMONWEALTH
GEORGE W. JENNINGS, RESEARCH
WILLIAM S. LACY, JR., EDITOR, THE COMMONWEALTH
M. D. NEWMAN, AGRICULTURE
CHRIS H. WHITEMAN, INDUSTRIAL SERVICE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
P. O. BOX 61
HOPEWELL, VIRGINIA

March 8, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We concur in the concern expressed in your letter of February 29 and deplore the strife and difficulties that have arisen over the integration question.

We are inclined to agree with your thought that this question must be settled community by community without disturbing outside influences each according to the peculiar conditions existing.

In Virginia, we consider that the problem is being considered with reasonable calmness and dispassion. The consideration is much along the lines of the thought of your letter. As an indication, there is the admittance of Negroes to the colleges and universities of the state without untoward incident. We trust that the passage of time will bring about equivalent reasonableness in other sections of our Southland.

Sincerely,

F. D. Ernst

President.

Newspaper Release
CC

March 6, 1956

Mr. A. R. Suritz
Barry's, Inc.
101 East Main Street
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Suritz:

Here is the full release.

I do hope that business people will move in that spirit.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Secretary

GSM:mef

Encl.

RECEIVED MAR 6 1956

PHONE 4244

BARRY'S, Inc.

ROCK HILL'S OLDEST CREDIT JEWELERS
101 EAST MAIN STREET
ROCK HILL, S. C.

March 5,1956

Dr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell;

Mayor J. Emmett Jerome called my attention to an item in to-day's Greenville(S.C.) News. Jerome joins me in congratulating the Council on this excellent release relating to letters sent to chambers of commerce in the region.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

A.R.Suritz

HCF

RECEIVED MAR 3 1956

March 2, 1956

Mr. R. Graham Dozier, President
North Carolina Assn. of Chamber of
Commerce Executives
c/o Chamber of Commerce
Rocky Mount, North Carolina

Dear Graham:

The enclosed letter from the Southern Regional Council, Inc. was addressed to me as president of NCACCE.

Since you now hold that office, I am forwarding this to you.

Very sincerely yours,

FRED LINTON
Executive Vice President

FL/msp
Enclosure
cc: George S. Mitchell

FILE COPY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Walnut 7963

FOR RELEASE: AM Newspapers
Sunday, November 4, 1956

Atlanta, Georgia - - The Southern Regional Council said today that at least 1,239,500 Negroes are registered to vote in the 11 Southern states.

This represents an estimated increase of 210,000 since 1952.

The estimates were made in a preliminary release of a detailed study of the Negro vote in the South being made by the Council, an interracial organization of Southerners working in the field of human relations. A full analysis of the findings will be released later.

Texas led the region in the number of Negroes registered -- 214,000; Georgia was next with 163,825. Louisiana, with 161,410, followed and also showed the greatest gain 41,410 -- over 1952.

The Council emphasized that in most instances the figures are estimates, based on county-by-county reports, on checks of voting officials, registration records, or on interviews with informed observers.

The most incomplete figures came from Mississippi, where the latest estimate of Negro registrants was made in 1954, when 20,000 were listed. The concensus of observers was that at best the number has not increased; some felt the figure remained constant and others that there had been a drop to as few as 8,000. (The 1954 figure was used in computing the current 11 state total.)

(MORE)

While the Negro vote in the South has grown steadily since 1944 and the outlawing of the "white primary," the percentage of Negroes of voting age registered remains comparatively low.

This was due, field reports to the Council indicated, to four major factors:

1. Discriminatory practices against potential Negro registrants - - for example, unusually severe literacy and constitutional interpretation tests and difficulty in securing registration certificates.

2. Lack of political consciousness and apathy, demonstrated by the fact that in some cities where registration was comparatively easy the number of Negroes registered remained low.

3. Dependency of many Negroes on members of the white community and the resultant fear of incurring economic pressures.

4. Violence and threats, still reported in some areas, although generally replaced by more subtle forms of intimidation.

Estimates by states:

ALABAMA: 52,000 Negroes registered, an increase since 1952 of 26,776. Negroes represent 30 per cent of the voting age population and six per cent of the total registration.

ARKANSAS: 69,677 Negroes registered, an increase since 1952 of 8,264. Negroes represent 21 per cent of the total population of voting age and 12 per cent of the total registration.

FLORIDA: 149,786 Negroes registered, an increase of 28,886 since 1952. Negroes represent 20 per cent of the voting age population and nine per cent of the total registration.

(MORE)

GEORGIA: 163,825 Negroes registered, an increase of 18,990 since 1952. Negroes represent 29 per cent of the total population of voting age (18 and over in Georgia) and 12 per cent of the total registration.

LOUISIANA: 161,400 Negroes registered, an increase of 41,410 since 1952. Negroes represent 30 per cent of the total population of voting age and 18 per cent of the total registration.

MISSISSIPPI: 19,975 Negroes registered in 1954, approximately the same number as in 1952; registration for 1956 unavailable. Negroes make up 41 per cent of the total population of voting age.

NORTH CAROLINA: 135,000 Negroes registered, an increase of 35,000 since 1952. Negroes represent 24 per cent of the total population of voting age and seven per cent of the total registration.

SOUTH CAROLINA: 100,790 Negroes registered, showing little change from 1952. Negroes represent 34 per cent of the total population of voting age and 16 per cent of the total registration.

TENNESSEE: 90,000 Negroes registered, an increase of 5,000 over 1952. Negroes represent 16 per cent of the total population of voting age and 15 per cent of the total registration.

TEXAS: 214,000 Negroes registered, an increase of 32,084 over 1952. Negroes represent 12 per cent of the total population of voting age and eight per cent of the total registration.

VIRGINIA: 83,098 Negroes registered, an increase of 13,772 over 1952. Negroes represent 21 per cent of the total population of voting age and nine per cent of the total registration.

* * * * * * *

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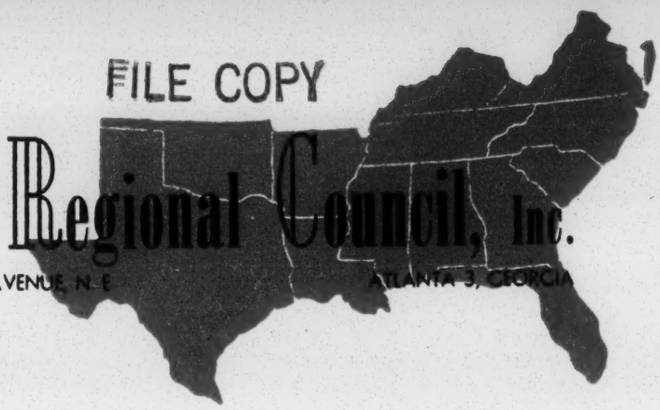

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

mailed to Hans Roger on 12/9/56

SUMMARY OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, BUS RULING

[Note to Editors: Within a few days a District Federal Court is expected to transmit a ruling by the U. S. Supreme Court forbidding segregation of passengers on Montgomery buses. As of this date, spokesmen for the Negro boycotters say that Negroes will resume riding the buses - on an unsegregrated basis - as soon as the Court order is effective. City Commissioners, on the other hand, insist that they will use their police powers to continue to enforce segregated seating. Unless there is a change in this situation, Montgomery will be in the headlines again as an area of interracial dispute and tension. If this should be the case the following chronological summary of events may be of assistance to you in backgrounding the story.]

Regulations for city bus seating in Montgomery, Alabama, require separate reserved sections of the buses for white and Negro persons. White persons sit at the front, Negroes at the rear of the buses in designated seats. Negroes often were forced to stand on buses when seats were vacant in the white section of the bus.

On December 1, 1955, Mrs. Rosa Parks, a Negro seamstress, was arrested on a Montgomery bus when she took an empty seat in the white section of the bus and later refused to relinquish it to a white passenger.

Following the initial protest, Negro leaders, through the newly organized Montgomery Improvement Association, asked the company for three concessions, at the same time emphasizing that the movement was not an attempt to break down segregation on the buses. Negroes petitioned for (1) more courteous treatment from bus operators (the group claimed that Negroes had suffered innumerable indignities from bus operators and white patrons over a period of many years), (2) seating on a "first come, first serve" basis with Negroes seating from the rear and whites seating from the front (seating now is by "reserved seat" sections), and (3) employment of Negro drivers on predominantly Negro lines as driver vacancies occur.

The bus company officials answered (1) no recent reports of discourtesies had been received, (2) failure to provide reserved sections for the races would

not fulfill legal "separate but equal" requirements of the state (Negroes claim that other Alabama cities operate the transit system on a first come, first serve basis), and (3) the company would not hire Negro drivers within the next ten years or more.

On December 17, the city commissioners appointed a committee to advise them on the bus situation. The committee was composed of eight Negroes and ten whites. Six of the Negroes were chosen by the protest group. The selection of one of the other Negroes was bitterly opposed by the bus protest group. White members of the committee included the president of the bus company and Luther Ingalls, organizer of the Montgomery White Citizens' Council. Negotiations failed when white members of the commission refused to consider abandoning the reserved seat sections and allowing service on a "first come, first serve" basis. Instead, the compromise offered the Negroes was a plan by which the first ten seats on each bus would be reserved for whites only and the ten seats nearest the rear of the buses for Negroes. If the reserved seat sections were filled, then the few remaining seats between the reserved sections could be occupied.

On January 21, when hope for a settlement appeared dim, the city commission announced that, after a conference with Negro ministers, a plan for ending the boycott had been reached. Protest leaders denied taking part in the meeting and it was revealed that only three Negro ministers had conferred with the commission Two of these ministers claimed they were asked to attend the meeting with the understanding they were to discuss the opening of an insurance company. The plan for ending the boycott was to have been the addition of all-Negro buses during the rush hour.

On January 24, Mayor W. A. Gayle issued a statement: "We have pussyfooted around on this boycott long enough and it is time to be frank and honest.... The Negro leaders have proved they are not interested in ending the boycott but rather in prolonging it so that they may stir up racial strife. The Negro leaders have proved that they will say one thing to a white man and another to a Negro about the boycott...[They] have forced the boycott into a campaign between whether the social fabric of our community will continue to exist or will be destroyed by a group of Negro radicals who have split asunder the fine relationships which have existed between Negro and white people for generations.... The white people are firm in their convictions that they do not care whether the Negroes ever ride a city bus again if it means that the social fabric of our community is destroyed so that Negroes will start riding the bus again." He called on white citizens to refrain from carrying their domestic employees to and from work in their cars.

The same day it was announced that the mayor and a city commissioner had become members of White Citizens' Council. The other two commissioners had joined the organization previously.

On January 26, Dr. M. L. King, the boycott leader, was arrested for going thirty-five miles an hour in a twenty-five mile speed zone.

On January 27, Dr. King's home was bombed, causing minor damage.

On January 29, a dynamite cap was exploded in the front yard of Negro E. D. Nixon, a leader in the protest.

On February 1, five Montgomery Negroes filed suit in the U. S. District Court asking that state and local segregation laws pertaining to transportation be declared unconstitutional.

On February 21, more than 100 Negroes were indicted on charges of violating Alabama's boycott laws.

On March 22, Dr. King was convicted on a charge of violating the boycott law. He was fined $500 plus $500 for court costs. The conviction was appealed.

On April 23, the U. S. Supreme Court remanded a Circuit Court ruling concerning bus segregation in S. C. The Montgomery City Lines, Inc., announced it would end segregation on buses in the city, but Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers said he would order the arrest of any passenger or bus driver involved in race mixing.

On June 5, a three-judge federal court declared Alabama and Montgomery laws requiring separate seating of the races unconstitutional. The Montgomery Board of Commissioners and Alabama's attorney general appealed the decision to the U. S. Supreme Court.

On November 13, the U. S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled Alabama and Montgomery bus segregation laws unconstitutional.

* * *

December 7, 1956

News releases

FILE COPY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Jackson 1-1821

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL
TO LEAVE POST AS DIRECTOR
OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

FOR RELEASE: Sunday, December 16, 1956

Atlanta, Georgia - - Dr. George S. Mitchell will leave the post of executive director of the Southern Regional Council in January, it was announced today by the Council's president, Marion A. Wright.

Dr. Mitchell, director of the Southwide interracial organization since 1947, said he plans to resume study in his original field of economics. He and Mrs. Mitchell will sail for Scotland this spring.

Mr. Wright said: "It is with deep regret that we accept Dr. Mitchell's resignation. He has made an invaluable contribution to the work of the Southern Regional Council and the progress of the entire South in this challenging period."

Dr. Mitchell will be succeeded by Harold C. Fleming, assistant director of the Council and a staff member for nine years. Fleming is a native Atlantan, a graduate of Harvard University, and a veteran of World War II. He has directed the information and publications program of the Southern Regional Council since 1947.

"We are gratified," said Mr. Wright, "that the Council has an able and qualified successor in Mr. Fleming."

"The Council will continue to work by the same high standards that marked Dr. Mitchell's staff leadership. Its role, as an organization of responsible white and Negro Southerners, is needed today more than ever."

A native Virginian, Dr. Mitchell is the son of the late Dr. Samuel Chiles Mitchell, once president of the University of South Carolina and a widely

(MORE)

known professor of history at the University of Richmond.

Dr. George Mitchell became associated with the Council in 1945 as director of veterans services. He received his B. A. at the University of Richmond, his Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins University, and was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University. In 1953 he received the annual award of the Catholic Committee of the South for "his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

He is the author of Textile Unionism in the South and co-author of The Industrial Revolution in the South and Black Workers and the New Unions.

Other posts held by Dr. Mitchell have included instructor of economics, Columbia University, 1929-35; special assistant, office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1934-35; director Labor Relations, Resettlement Administration, 1935; Assistant Administrator, Farm Security Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1939-43; U. S. Foreign Economic Administration, 1943-44; Southeastern Regional Director, CIO Political Action Committee, 1944-45.

* * * * * * * *

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
JAckson 2-7963

FILE COPY

For Release: Monday A.M. Newspapers, January 7, 1957

ATLANTA, GA. - A spot survey by the Southern Regional Council disclosed that 21 Southern cities have ended compulsory segregation on local buses without difficulty.

The cities are: Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Fort Smith, and Hot Springs, Arkansas; Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham, and Winston Salem, North Carolina; Knoxville, Tennessee; San Antonio, Corpus Christi and Dallas, Texas; and Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, Petersburg, Charlottesville, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, and Roanoke, Virginia.

In every case the desegregation took place without court action - usually by a change of policy on the part of the transit company involved. The changes caused no incidents of violence or organized protest.

The experience of these twenty-one cities contrasted sharply with recent developments in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Tallahassee. There, nonsegregated seating on local buses has been met by both official resistance and sporadic violence by lawless elements.

In most of the cities checked, the SRC found that many passengers continued to follow the customary pattern of separate seating. But passengers are free to sit where they wish, and some degree of mixed seating is found in each of the cities reported.

In most cases, desegregation of local buses dates back to April, 1956, when the Supreme Court dismissed an appeal from the U.S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals which held the Columbia, S.C., bus segregation ordinance unconstitutional (S.C. Electric & Gas Co. vs. Sarah Mae Flemming). Although the ruling directly applied

only to Columbia, a number of transit companies operating elsewhere voluntarily revised their regulations.

Following is a brief city-by-city account of present bus practices:

Little Rock, Ark.: The bus system has been desegregated, with Negroes frequently sitting at the front of the buses.

Pine Bluff, Ark.: Negroes sit in all sections of the buses.

Fort Smith, Ark.: Segregation signs are no longer on the buses, but generally Negroes seat from the rear.

Hot Springs, Ark.: Although segregation is not enforced, Negroes tend to sit together at the rear of the buses. The situation is similar to that in Fort Smith.

Charlotte, N.C.: Integrated seating has been more in evidence since the ruling in the Flemming case, but separate seating was not strictly enforced prior to that time. Mixed seating is found on all routes.

Greensboro, N.C.: Mixed seating is in evidence on all routes though many Negroes continue to sit toward the rear of the buses.

Durham, N.C.: Similar to the situation in Greensboro.

Winston Salem, N.C.: All bus routes have been desegregated, in practice as well as in policy.

Knoxville, Tenn.: Segregation was ended by the bus company following the Flemming decision. All bus routes now have mixed seating.

San Antonio, Texas: The transit system has been desegregated for more than a year.

Corpus Christi, Texas: The same as San Antonio.

Dallas, Texas: Bus drivers do not enforce segregation though most Negroes sit toward the rear of the buses.

Richmond, Va.: On April 24, 1956, the Virginia Transit Company announced

it would no longer enforce bus segregation laws. Most Negroes continue in the customary segregated seating pattern.

Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Newport News, Va.: Bus desegregation became effective shortly after the Flemming decision was announced. Some customary segregation remains.

Charlottesville, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, and Roanoke, Va.: Desegregation is now in effect on the buses of these cities. Mixed seating is regarded as normal, though some Negroes continue to sit at the rear of the bus.

January 14, 1957

Mrs. Jimmy Hill
c/o Mrs. Emory Hill
3607 Seminary Avenue
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Renee:

I hope you still work for the good man Ed Murrow. I have no machine that catches television, but four, five, or six of my most trustworthy and scrupulously-judging friends have told me what your man did on Clinton, Tennessee, was a double honey.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

1/4/56

At the request of Harry Alston - mail copies of the release about the "See it Now" program to:

Mr. Furman L. Templeton, Baltimore Urban League
2404 Pennsylvania Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

Mr. Charles F. Steele
Louisville Urban League
608 West Walnut Street
Suite 509
Louisville, Kentucky

Note:
Organizational and individual address cards made for each of these 1/4/56
EAB

Mr. J. A. McDaniel
Memphis Urban League
546 Beale Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Mrs. Cernoria Johnson
Oklahoma City Urban League
215 North Walnut Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Mr. Wiley A. Hall
Richmond Urban League
900 St. James Street
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. H. Daniel Lang
Miami Urban League
395 N. W. First Street
Miami, Florida

done
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Mr. Arthur Allen
Tampa Urban League
1615 Lamar Avenue
Tampa, Florida

Mr. J. Harvey Kerns, New Orleans Urban League
504 Carondelet St.
New Orleans, Louisiana

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FILE COPY

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 28, 1956

MEMORANDUM

"SEE IT NOW," BY EDWARD R. MURROW, CBS TELEVISION NETWORK, WILL ORIGINATE PROGRAM "CLINTON AND THE LAW -- A STUDY IN DESEGREGATION" AT 5:00 P.M., JANUARY 6, 1957.

(Note: Some television stations will carry delayed showings of the film. For instance, Atlanta's WAGA (CBS) has scheduled the film at 2:00 p.m., January 13, 1957.)

FILM CONTENT:

The film pinpoints both the constructive and destructive elements in the Clinton, Tennessee, school desegregation controversy. Scenes include Parent-Teacher Association meetings; a joint meeting of the Clinton Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce; an interview with Federal Judge Robert Taylor; a lengthy interview with John Kasper; an interview with James B. Meredith, defeated White Citizens' Council-backed candidate for mayor; the Clinton ballad on John Kasper; Clinton students returning to school on December 10; Clinton school scenes including the reading of the federal injunction to the students by the Anderson County Attorney; the sermon of the Reverend Paul Turner on the Sunday following the attack on him by pro-segregationists; an interview with Jerry Shattuck, president of Clinton High School Student Council; and other incidents.

SUGGESTIONS:

(1) Alert persons in your area that the film is scheduled.
(2) Telephone the local CBS television outlet to determine if the film is to be shown in your area and, if so, when.
(3) If film is shown, ask your friends to telephone and/or write constructive comments to the local station and to CBS officials.

The film is expected to be an important contribution in depicting the efforts of law-abiding Southerners as opposed to the lawless elements in the desegregation struggle. Constructive comment will encourage television officials to consider additional programs along this line.

List of cities attached.

List of cities scheduling film:

Atlanta (Jan. 13)
Baltimore
Dallas
Galveston - Houston
Greensboro
Louisville
Memphis
Nashville
Norfolk
Oklahoma City
Richmond
San Antonio
Shreveport
Augusta
Baton Rouge
Columbia
Columbus
El Paso
Florence
Johnson City
Knoxville
Macon
Mobile
Montgomery
Roanoke

CBS Affiliates undecided on showing program:
(A phone call might help)

Birmingham WBRC
Charlotte WBTV
Miami WTVJ
Tampa WTVT
Anderson WAIM - TV
Austin KTBC - TV
Beaumont KFDM - TV
Charleston WCSC - TV
Chattanooga WDEF - TV
Corpus Christi KVDO - TV
Harlingen KGBT - TV
Lubbock KDUB - TV
Monroe KNOE - TV
New Orleans WDSU - WJMR
Odessa KOSA - TV
Orlando WDBO - TV
Raleigh WNAO - TV
Savannah WTOC

January 14, 1957

Chaplain T. D. Kelly
Ferrum Junior College
Ferrum, Virginia

Dear Mr. Kelly:

In regard to your inquiry of the 10th concerning the basis for our bus desegregation information, we are enclosing our press release on this subject. The information therein was originally collected from our files, newspaper reports, and from members of our state affiliates. An individual in each of the potential cities confirmed the existance of bus desegregation. This check caused us to drop several cities where newspapers had listed desegregation. No doubt we missed a number of Southern cities, and since the time of our survey, Chattanooga has been added to the list.

If we can be of any further help, please call on us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Information Services

PA:mm

Enclosure

CONFERENCE ON CHRISTIAN FAITH AND HUMAN RELATIONS

PRESS RELEASES

The Church Moves In

CRITICISM and legislation are the radical social surgery that sometimes comes from the outside. But healing must always come from within. That is why a meeting projected for April 23-25 in Nashville is one of the most promising developments in all the worrisome history of integration efforts in the south. There and then will meet a Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations to "seek not agitation but education." The assembly will bring together white and Negro churchmen from all over the south "in a deeper search for God's love and wisdom," in the hope of evolving "from our common faith a plan and strategy on how to face and solve the practical problems of integration in the face of stubborn opposition." The conference is sponsored by the Tennessee Council of Churches along with seventy religious leaders from throughout the south. Those who will lecture to and lead the various sessions are absolutely top drawer: the list of their names is a Who's Who of the whole southern church. Seminars and workshops will develop "the implications of Christian faith for responsible citizenship, the teaching of the Bible on segregation and the evolution of Christian strategies and tactics in the elimination of segregation." External pressures of law and of public opinion may not be yet be lifted. But it is on such meetings and leaders as this that most hope for real reconciliation must be pinned. Meanwhile all Christians will rejoice in the imagination and resourcefulness of leaders who are creative and courageous enough to put the church back in the lead. All praise to the sponsors. All prayers for their success.

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

March 20, 1957

CLERICS IN SOUTH TO STUDY TENSION

300 to Discuss Problems of Desegregation—3-Day Talks Begin Tuesday

Special to The New York Times.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., April 20 —Southern church leaders will meet here Tuesday to discuss what religious organizations can do about tensions resulting from desegregation.

The three-day conference is being sponsored by eighty-five Southern religious leaders. Sessions will be held at Scarritt College and at the Vanderbilt University Divinity School. About 300 churchmen are expected to attend.

Dr. Everett Tilson, chairman of the planning committee, said the assembly would be attended by "Christians who are united in both a commitment to Christ and a search for the specific meaning of Christian loyalty in common life."

Dr. Tilson is Associate Professor of Biblical Theology at Vanderbilt.

"The conference sprang from the deep concern of some Southern church leaders that the Christian church should speak a constructive, healing and reconciling word at a time when the South is being severely tested by the tensions growing out of the United States Supreme Court decisions regarding racial segregation," he said.

"We come together as Christians for prayer, study and discussion in order to discover how religious faith impels us to act amid the present confusions."

The conference will open with a worship service Tuesday evening. It will be led by Dr. A. L. Currie, pastor of Westminster Presbyterian Church here. A greeting from President Eisenhower will be read.

Included on the program are a series of seminars on "nonviolent approaches to racial tension, the churches and the public school issue" and other subjects.

A special report on "what the churches in the South are doing about race relations" will be presented by Dr. Herman Long of Nashville, director of the race relations department, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Church.

The New York Times

April 21, 1957

The Nashville Banner
April 22, 1957

300 Christian Leaders To Discuss Racial Tensions

The Christian approach to current racial tensions will be the subject for discussion and prayer by 300 church leaders who will meet here Tuesday through Thursday.

Sponsored by 85 Southern religious leaders, the conference will be attended by representatives of every Southern state who are, according to Dr. Everett Tilson, "Christians who are united in both a commitment to Christ and a search for the specific meaning of Christian loyalty in our common life."

Dr. Tilson, associate professor of biblical theology at Vanderbilt University Divinity School, is chairman of the planning committee.

General sessions of the meeting will be held at Wightman Chapel, Scarritt College, and a Stockham Chapel, Vanderbilt Divinity School.

South Faces Test

"The conference," Dr. Tilson declared, "sprang from the deep concern of some Southern church leaders that the Christian Church should speak a constructive, healing and reconciling word in a time when the South is being severely tested by the tensions growing out of the U. S. Supreme Court decisions regarding racial segregation."

"We come together as Christians, he continued, "for prayer, study and discussion in order to discover how religious faith impels us to act amid the present confusions."

Opening the conference on Tuesday evening will be a worship service led by Dr. A. L. Currie, pastor, Westminster Presbyterian Church. Greetings from President Eisenhower will be read and speakers will include the Rev. Blake Smith, pastor of University Baptist Church, Austin, Texas, and Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

Seminar Series

The Wednesday morning worship service will be led by the Rev. Raymond T. Ferris, rector, Christ Church Episcopal.

The first of a series of seminars on non-violent approaches to racial tension, the churches and the public school issue and other subjects will be held on Wednesday morning. These sessions will be co-ordinated by Dr. William Van Til, professor of education at Peabody College.

THE REV. T. B. COWAN

Communion Leader

DR. MARTIN L. KING, JR.

The Montgomery Story

Other seminar leaders will include Dr. A. C. Miller, executive secretary of the Southern Baptist Convention's Christian Life and Work Commission; the Rev. Robert McCan, pastor, First Baptist Church, Clarksville; Mrs. John T. McCall, vice-president of the Tennessee Council of Churches; Dr. Preston Valien, chairman of the social science department, Fisk University, Whitworth Stokes, Nashville attorney, and Dr. Gideon Fryer, director of research, University of Tennessee School of Social Work.

Dr. Long To Report

Presenting a special report on "What the Churches in the South Are Doing About Race Relations" will be Dr. Herman Long, director department of race relations, Board of Home Missions, Congregational-Christian Churches.

Col. Francis Pickens Miller, religious and civic leader, Charlottesville, Va., will speak at the Wednesday evening session following the conference banquet at the Methodist Board of Education Building.

The Thursday morning session will include addresses by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., pastor, Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Ala.; and Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, dean, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist Univertity, Dallas. Leading the opening worship service will be Dr. James W. Henley, pastor, West End Methodist Church, Nashville.

Closes Thursday

The conference will close Thursday at noon with a service of holy communion led by the Rev. T. B. Cowan, pastor of Union Church, Berea, Ky.

Directors of the meeting include: The Rev. Clyde Flannery, pastor of Brookemeade Congregational Church, Nashville, chairman of the program committee; the Rev. C. T. Baker, Jr., executive secretary of the Tennessee Council of Churches, promotion committee chairman; Dr. Roger Shinn, Vanderbilt Divinity School, chairman of the policy committee; Dr. Langdon Gilkey, Vanderbilt Divinity School, treasurer; Dr. James Glass, Vanderbilt Divinity School, entertainment committee chairman, and the Rev. Howard Kester, Black Mountain, N. C., executixe secretary of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen executive secretary.

The Nashville Banner
April 24, 1957

Race Relations Institute Opens Conference Here

By BILL SURBER

The Rev. Blake Smith, white pastor of integrated University Baptist Church, Austin, Texas, says the issue of race relations "has become the strategic battleground of Christ's encounter with the world.

"Either we shall give a Christian answer (on race relations issues) or receive a cynical response from the world."

Dr. Benjamin Mays, Negro president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, says, "if it (solving race relations issues) cannot be done in America, it cannot be done anywhere.

Worship Same God

"We speak the same language. We worship the same God . . . I have seen slow, but good, progress . . . and I have faith that it (solving race relations issues) will be done in my native South."

The Rev. Mr. Smith and Dr. Mays were speakers for the opening session Tuesday night of the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations. Sponsored locally by the Tennessee Council of Churches, Nashville, and regionally by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Black Mountain, N. C. The conference also has the sponsorship of 85 individual Southern religious leaders.

The conference will continue through Thursday morning, with general sessions at Wightman Chapel, Scarritt College, and Stockham Chapel, Vanderbilt Divinity School.

"The tragedy of the South is the lack of conviction to action," Dr. Mays said. "We know. We see. We have knowledge, but we lack the spiritual insight and moral courage to act on the light that we have."

"And I am not pleading for Negroes. It doesn't matter what happens to Negroes. Certainly it doesn't matter what happens to me.

"What does matter is this: can Christianity and democracy function effectively in an area of racial discrimination?"

Alive Question

"This (race relations) is the most alive question in the world today . . . It would have been wonderful if I could have told my Arab friend (an Arab who questioned him on American segregation), 'yes, we have segregation in America, but this is in secular life. When it comes to the house of God, we are all alike.'

—Staff Photo by Bill Goodman

The Rev. Blake Smith, pastor of University Baptist Church, Austin, Texas, and Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, discuss the program of the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations, being held in University Center. Both were opening speakers.

"Wouldn't it have been wonderful if the church had led the Supreme Court? Or wouldn't it have been wonderful if the church had followed the Supreme Court?

"The churches didn't lead, and they didn't follow. One of the most tragic situations in the South today is the church's ministry (in race relations)."

Constant Problem

A Negro, said Dr. Mays, is so constantly confronted with the problem of segregation that he wants often to get away from it, to think of something else:

"You can't walk down the street without meeting it. You can't pay your taxes without meeting it. You can't worship God without meeting it; so once in a while we like to get away."

But on trips abroad, Dr. Mays said, he was most often questioned on American segregation. He told of having been invited in India to address a school of "untouchable" boys, whose teacher introduced him with an elaborate description of how segregation worked in America.

'Untouchable'

"After the introduction the teacher introduced me as 'one of America's untouchables.' I know I was segregated, but it hadn't dawned on me that I was 'untouchable.' Then I thought it over and realized that the man at least had been partly right," Dr. Mays said.

"As long as we cling to the Federal Constitution," Dr. Mays concluded, "As long as we keep the Supreme Court, as long as we preach the gospel . . . the conscience of America and the South will be so deeply stimulated that I have faith to believe that it (solving race relations issues) will be done in my native South."

The Rev. Mr. Smith said three efforts to improve race relations are needed on the part of Christians. "We must be penitent and repentant," he said, "before God . . . We must be witnesses and overcome the efforts of many to pervert the Scriptures and the message of the gospel . . . And we must maintain large contacts with one another, like this conference."

(Continued on page 4)

Christian Issue

"This is a Christian issue . . . Faith declares the total love of God. It embraces all men, good and bad. It is totally indifferent to race and to the social structures that separate men . . . God loves totally and rightly . . . Mankind is engaged in an inescapable solidarity. This unity is not something that ought to be. It is something that is."

A telegram of greeting from President Eisenhower told the conference, "I am sure you will arrive at constructive approaches to the problems of our day."

The initial session was held at Scarritt.

The Nashville Banner
April 24, 1957

Bible Use In Segregation Views Cited

By VIRGINIA BIVIN

Use of the Bible in search of light on the problem of segregation was discussed here this morning by Dr. Everett Tilson, associate professor of Biblical Theology, Vanderbilt Divinity School.

Dr. Tilson was one of today's featured speakers at the three-day Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations being held at the University Center under auspices of the Tennessee Council of Churches and the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and various individual sponsors.

In discussing the Bible in connection with the problem of segregation, Dr. Tilson outlined five points:

1. "The Bible treats the character of the choosing God, not the career of the chosen people, as the norm of ethical conduct."

2. "The Bible views history, not as a theatrical performance to which we can only contribute an audience, but as an arena of the action of the sovereign Lord of 'life, death, and destiny', whose reign whether in grace or judgment, hinges on our response to His call, but who, regardless of our response, reigns forever and ever."

3. "The Bible reckons God's special favor, not as a privilege to parade, but as a responsibility to serve."

4. "The Bible hails the hope of heaven, not as an excuse for the denial of justice on earth, but as another reason for the practice of justice on earth. And justice, as viewed in the Bible, does not end with the demand that we do as we are done by. It also means . . . to refuse to claim for oneself what he is unwilling to grant unto others."

5. "The Bible sees men as equals, not in native capacity, not in physical development, not in cultural progress, not in social poise, not in political know-how, not in spiritual maturity, but in more fundamental and basic respect. Men are equal in their dependence on God for their place in creation . . . for their membership in the covenant . . . for their anticipation of the final consummation." They are totally dependent on God for all three, he pointed out.

Seminars Held

Following this address, seminars were held on "Non-Violent Approaches to Racial Tension," "Opening of Churches to All," "The Church and the Public School Issue," and "The Church and Community Relations."

In the seminar on "Opening Churches to All," Dr. Charles McCoy, professor of Religion, University of Florida, posed the problem that "Churches as groups stand for integrated church in an integrated society and yet they face some problems that churches are in the main segregated. This is where the problem arises. How do we move from a segregated status to where all churches are really open to any who wish to worship God?

"There are already a number of integrated churches throughout the South. The question is how did they arrive at this state? Perhaps because they have faced up to the problem and made up their minds to have integrated congregations," Dr. McCoy said.

Scheduled as speakers this afternoon were Dr. Herman Long, director, Department of Race Relations, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches, and the Rev. Das Kelley Barnett, The Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest.

Tonight's speaker will be Col. Francis Pickens Miller of Charlottesville, Va. Col. Miller formerly served with the intelligence division of SHAEF under Gen. Eisenhower during World War II in the European Theater. Col. Miller is a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches and among many other activities is commissioner to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.

The conference concludes Thursday.

The Nashville Tennessean
April 24, 1957

Aid Integration, Churches Urged

By JAMES CARTY
Religious News Editor

The church is in the most favorable position of any organization in America to eliminate segregation, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Negro president of Morehouse college, Atlanta, said here last night.

Another speaker, Dr. Blake Smith, warned that unless the church does solve the race relations problem, God could reject Christians. Dr. Smith, a white man, is pastor of the inter-racial University Baptist church of Austin, Texas.

They spoke at the opening meeting of a three-day conference on Christian faith and human relations at Scarritt college.

Approximately 300 Southern church leaders are attending sessions. Co-sponsors are the Tennessee council of churches, Fellowship of Southern churchmen, and 85 individual religious leaders.

President Sends Wire

A telegram of best wishes from President Eisenhower to the conference said. "It is important that new plans and effective programs be considered if we are to make service of God and neighbor meaningful in our generation."

The united effort of the conference should provide strength, insight and mutual support for improving Christian human relations, said one participant. He is the Rev. Otis E. Kirby, Methodist district superintendent from Decatur, Ala.

Dr. A. L. Currie, pastor of Westminster Presbyterian church, said, "Man's relation with his fellow man is a theological question, not a social question. This is a question which must be settled in the sight of God and by His children.

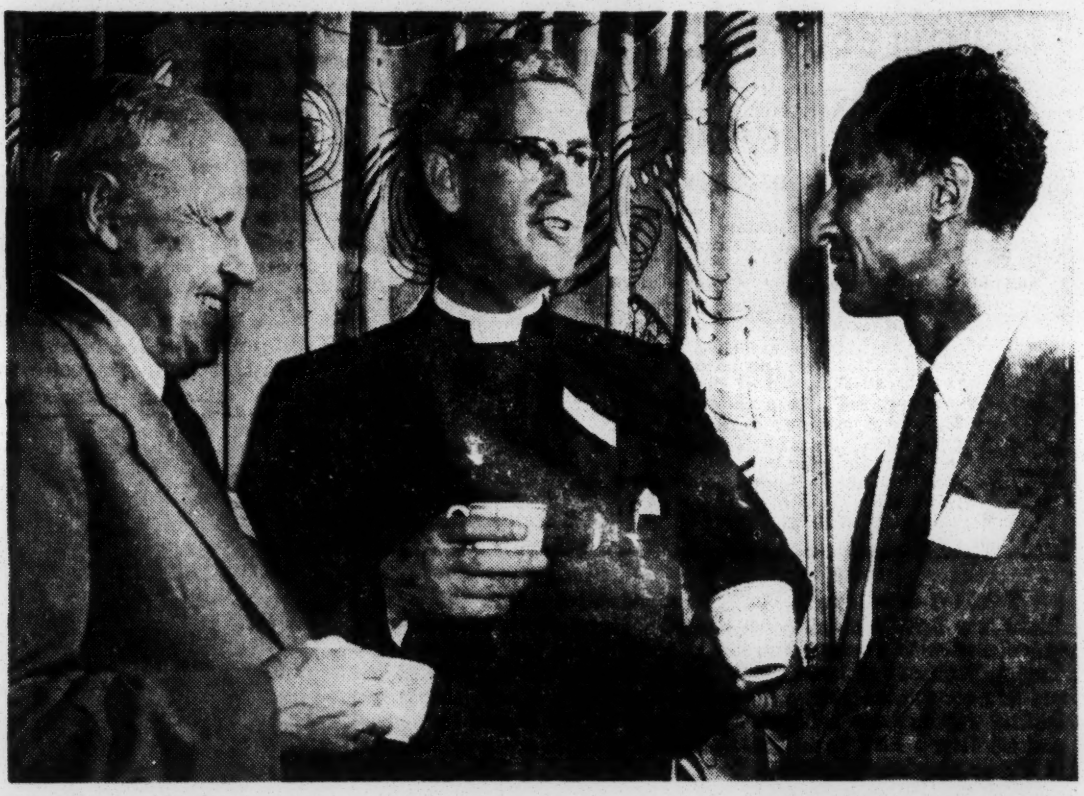
"To us belongs the high responsibility of solving it." Only when people follow the way of Christ, Dr. Currie said, will they find peace and rest.

Elimination of segregation in the church will strengthen and extend her missionary program and also political democracy around the world, Dr. Mays said.

"If democracy cannot work in

(Continued on page 5)

Leaders Gather for Scarritt Meeting



—Staff photos by Joe Rudis

A clergymen and two educators discuss race relations during the registration period for a conference on Christian faith and human relations. They are, from left, Dr. Tracy Strous, faculty member of Morehouse college; the Very Rev. Roger Blanchard, dean of St. John's Cathedral, Jacksonville, Fla., and the Rev. Murray Branch, religion teacher at Morehouse.

Aid Integration, Churches Urged

the United States," Dr. Mays said, "I am quite convinced that it cannot work anywhere."

Several Conditions Listed

Dr. Mays listed several conditions favorable for a functioning democracy in the United States.

They were: "Negroes and white people speak the same language, they worship the same God, they follow the same Christ, and they fight for the same flag.

"There are no unsurmountable language barriers between the two races in America, no unsurmountable religious barriers and no unsurmountable cultural barriers."

Open Door Policy Urged

"It is too bad that our churches had to wait for the Supreme court to lead the way," Dr. Mays said. "Still most of them do not follow the desegregation policy.

"And until the local church can declare an open door worship policy to all who embrace that particular faith, it is not in a position to criticize segregation anywhere in the secular order. It is this point where the minister's and the church people's hands are tied."

The Rev. Otis E. Kirby, in an interview, said, "I have a deep conviction of the need for improving race relations. I think it must be done on an interdenominational basis.

"I want to learn how to handle, to take hold of the situation, to learn things that would help rather than hurt human relations."

No Tensions in Decatur

Kirby said Decatur had no strong racial tensions. He said this calm resulted partly from the fact that ministers of the different faiths hold bi-racial meetings, discuss ways of avoiding extreme approaches, and then exert their influence to prevent radicalism in the community.

Other participants, in talking informally as they registered yesterday afternoon at Wesley hall at Vanderbilt university commented on the value of the conference in sharing ideas.

Henry T. Ware, executive of the Blue Ridge assembly, the YMCA conference training center in North Carolina, said, "I have confidence the leaders attending here will devise ways and means of making progress within the framework of intelligent good will."

Ware, native of Mississippi, said, "For many years, we have discussed the race issue as an academic question. Now it is a reality and must be dealt with realistically in terms of Christian faith and processes."

The Nashville Tennessean
April 25, 1957

Integrated Farm Defies Fear, Hate

Followers Will Die Rather Than Sacrifice Principles, Leader Says

The president of an embattled community of integrated families in Georgia said here yesterday he and his followers will die rather than sacrifice their principles of "Christian brotherhood."

"We feel that we are partly responsible for the fear and hate that has gripped the souls of the people around us," Norman R. Long, 32, told a seminar during the conference on Christian faith and human relations.

"We feel we must stay to help them and try to break through the barrier with the redemptive love of God."

Mutual Climate Urged

It was agreed by those taking part in the discussion on non-violent approaches to racial tension that Negro and white churchmen should seek first to establish a "climate" of mutual confidence locally in which they can discuss their problems.

When this is done, they agreed, then the more serious problems of integration can be rolled out into the open and aired.

These " open channels of communication," the group concurred, are essential to the non-violent movement. Dr. Langdon B. Gilkey, professor of theology at Vanderbilt Divinity school, was discussion leader.

The discussion was held in the seminar room of the Methodist Board of Evangelism building.

Long is president of Koinonia Farms Inc., near Americus, Ga., an organization he described as a "communal Christian group which has been operating in Georgia 15 years."

He said it has been "integrated in reality" for five years and now contains 60 persons, three-fourths of whom are white.

"In the last year," he said, "We have been under virtual seige.

"We have had every type of violence you can think of—buildings have been bombed and we have been shot at with rifles, machine-guns and shotguns. There has also been an economic boycott in which we cannot buy or sell anywhere in the local area.

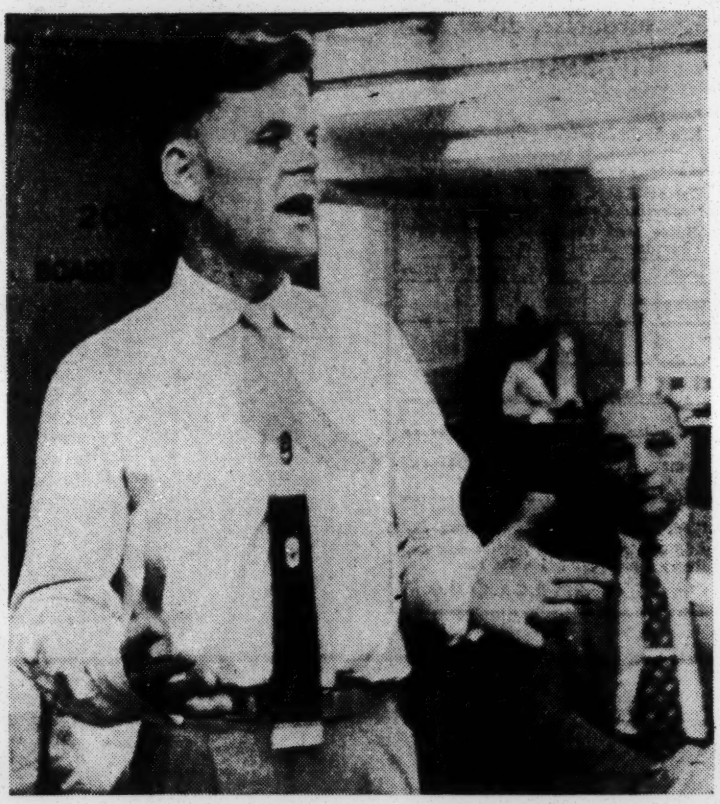
Unable To Find Gas

"When I left (to attend the conference) we had been unable to find any butane gas to heat the houses.

"Our insurance has been canceled. Even Lloyd's of London will not insure us."

As to their "approach" to the problem, he said, "We have just been taking it. We have taken whatever came and stayed on."

'. . . As a Christian'



—Staff photo by Jimmy Holt

Norman R. Long tells a seminar of Christian and Negro churchmen they should not regard racial equality as a social change "but as a Christian . . . concerned with Christian brotherhood."

J. Metz Rollins Jr., 30, of Tallahassee, Fla., Presbyterian minister, related his experiences in the Florida capital during the non-violent struggle by Negroes for integrated seating on city busses.

"The Negro ministers have taken the lead in the struggle," he said. "We have been called carpet-baggers, newcomers, agitators."

The Nashville Tennessean
April 25, 1957

Interracial Talks Urged for Parents

By WALLACE WESTFELDT

A Nashville church leader suggested yesterday that clergymen arrange preliminary conferences between white and Negro parents to help ease the way for peaceful desegregation of schools here.

The Rev. C. Thomas Baker, executive secretary of the Nashville Association of Churches, told a seminar on "The Church and the Public School Issue" that this is one way churches can work toward peaceful desegregation. The seminar was part of the Christian faith and human relations conference being held here currently.

Baker, who also is executive secretary of the Tennessee Council of Churches, suggested the plan as a means for the church to become directly involved in the action of making desegregation peaceful.

Plan Outlined

Here is the way Baker's plan would work:

(Continued on page 7)

The association of churches would produce a map of the city which would clearly indicate the school districts in which desegregation will take place and the white and Negro churches serving each district.

The ministers of the white and Negro churches would then select a couple from their congregation—parents of children who will attend desegregated classes—and bring them together for discussion about their children attending school together.

"This way," he said, "they would have the common tie through church membership. We have no plan beyond this, but if this works out as we want it to these people will be getting together before next September."

W. A. Bass, superintendent of city schools, and J. E. Moss, county school superintendent, could not be reached for comment.

One of Many Plans

Baker's suggestion was one of many offered at the three-hour discussion of the church and the school segregation issue. Under the leadership of Dr. Harold B. Drummond, professor of elementary education at Peabody college, the group devoted the first hour and a half to discussing the problem in general terms.

After lunch, however, and at the suggestion of a seminar member from New Orleans, the group discussed specific means in which the church can help make desegregation smooth, as well as means for the church to work for better relations between whites and Negroes.

Suggestions

Here are some of the suggestions that were offered in reply to the question:

A member suggested that churches may, as did one in Texas, bring together public school teachers who are church members to "discuss their Christian religion in terms of their occupation, to think about how they carry on their Christian religion as public cshool teachers."

Another suggested that churches may do as churches in St. Louis did and hold "a series of institutes during Brotherhood week in the city high schools."

A third member suggested bringing together a community's white and Negro ministers as the first step prior to any organized church action.

The Nashville Tennessean . . . April 25, 1957

Performance To Determine Negro's Place: Virginian

By BILL SURBER

Virginia statesman and church leader Col. Francis Pickens Miller says that in the long run American society will accord to Negroes the place they deserved "based on quality of performance."

The Rev. Das Kelley Barnett, associate professor of Christian social ethics, Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, has called for long-range interdenominational strategy and cooperation to eliminate segregation in churches.

Both men were speakers late Wednesday before the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations, held in University Center under sponsorship of 85 Southern religious leaders, the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Black Mountain, N. C., and the Tennessee Council of Churches, Nashville.

Speaking in Wightman Chapel, Scarritt College, Colonel Miller addressed these remarks to Negro delegates attending the integrated meeting:

"In the long run you have everything on your side. You have world opinion on your side. You have the law of the land on your side. You have Christian conscience on your side.

"You are entering a new period in which you will stand on your own two feet, and I know that you are glad of it.

"You will continue to work for your rights, and you have every right to do so. Nonetheless, it is a fact that the thing that will give you acceptance in American society is not status but quality of performance—being good doctors, good lawyers, good teachers, good citizens."

—Staff Photo by Bill Terry

Dr. A. C. Miller, executive secretary, Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention; Col. Francis Pickens Miller, Virginia statesman and church leader; and the Rev. Raymond T. Ferris, rector of Chirst Church, Episcopal, discuss the Wednesday night program of the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations. Colonel Miller was principal speaker.

Earlier, in an address in Stockham Chapel, Vanderbilt Divinity School, the Rev. Mr. Barnett said:

(Continued on page 8)

"Christian churches ought to formulate at the institutional level a long-range strategy" to break through segregation barriers. "This calls for interdenominational cooperation. By this I do not mean that it has to be some great, world church, but simply joining together to face a common problem.

" . . . There should be a definite, intelligent, workable strategy . . .

"From psychology have we not learned how attitudes can be changed? This is not to manipulate. That would be going off on a diagonal. But is there not an art of Christian persuasion?"

"Why did we change?" he said, addressing his remarks to white ministers of Southern background. "Those of us like myself, white Southern born and bred. We who once saw no contradiction between Jim Crow and Jesus Christ—why did we change? Why are we here? Education played a part. Social science helped. But above all we saw the teachings of the Bible in a new light . . .

"Moreover, we had an opportunity to meet with Negroes, to break bread. And when we did he was no longer an 'invisible man' but the brother for whom Christ died."

Primitive Ignorance

Colonel Miller, headquarters officer under General Eisenhower in World War II and World Council of Churches and Presbyterian leader, called upon whites "to provide wider, wiser leadership for community and for politics . . . If the wrong man is in a powerful place he can change the whole atmosphere of a great area."

"There are areas," Colonel Miller continued, "where it appears to me that morons and nitwits have become the pace-setters of public opinion. These men represent nothing but primitive ignorance. They are a disgrace to white civilization.

"The hour has come for Christian men to challenge this type of leadership. The day calls for intelligence, reason, tolerance, and fair play."

But one thing the day does not call for, Colonel Miller said, is compulsion. "Compulsion does not change men's hearts, and we've got a big job of heart changing to do. We cannot trust to compulsory law to effect the changes that must take place in men's hearts . . .

"The Supreme Court has said that compulsory segregation was contrary to the Constitution. It did not say that the Constitution required compulsory inegration. Further, as I understand the Christian faith, a Christian does not believe in compulsory integration any more than in compulsory segregation.

'No Tricks—No Publicity'

"What he hopes for is a society in which equality of educational opportunity will be open to all children on a basis not of compulsion, but of voluntary selection."

Concerning segregation in churches, Miller said:

"I do not believe that a church is a Christian church that closes its door to any man who sincerely wants to worship there and enjoy its fellowship . . .

"But the men who come there must be sincere on their part . . . no tricks . . . no publicity . . .

"Then, when there is a knock at the door, it is the Lord Himself who is at the door."

The Rev. Mr. Barnett said: "Christian prophets have spoken in the South. God has not been without a witness . . . There is a gap between word and deed. There is a gap between pronouncement of the church and practice. There is a gap between the minister and the layman . . . Unless the churches act, our pronouncements will extend hell's pavement of good intentions."

"In the South the churches are segregated," he continued. "State universities admit Negroes; Christian colleges turn them away. On the rolls of the White Citizens Council are the names of many Christian laymen, even Sunday school teachers."

There are two great questions of the day, the Rev. Mr. Barnett said: "How can we translate pronouncements to practice? How can we make the Christian ethic the force of society?"

The engrossment of Americans in the comforts of modern civilization present a problem to action. the Rev. Mr. Barnett said:

"The trend of the times does not support the call of the gospel . . . Men work long hours to earn money to buy gadgets to impress people whom they despise . . .

"It is hard to get a man pulled away from his TV set, out of his fin-tailed car, and away from keeping up with the Joneses long enough to embark on a moral crusade."

But there are forces, he said, working toward change. He mentioned equal wages in industry, integrated armed forces, and trends in novels and drama which he said are awakening the sensitivity, particularly of the young, to race issues.

'Why Did We Change?'

Dr. Barnett said, "We who once saw no contradiction between Jim Crow and Jesus Christ—why did we change? Why are we here? Education played a part. Social science helped.

"But above all we saw the teachings of the Bible in a new light. We came under a type of Christian influence that convinced but did not coerce.

"Moreover, we had an opportunity to meet with Negroes, to break bread. And when we did he was

(Continued on page 9)

Race Group Told Time To Choose: Christ, Jim Crow

Southerner Can Be Led, Not Pushed, Conference Hears

By JAMES CARTY
Religious News Editor

The time has come when church people must choose between Jesus Christ or Jim Crow, Dr. James K. Barnett, Episcopal seminary professor from Austin, Texas, said here yesterday.

Dr. Barnett, associate professor of Christian ethics at Episcopal seminary of the Southwest, made the principal address yesterday afternoon at a southwide conference on Christian faith and human relations. The three-day conference is the first southwide, interracial, interdenominational meeting on race relations since the Supreme court decision.

"The Southerner can be led but not driven to see that his ultimate loyalty is not to Jim Crow, but to Jesus Christ," Dr. Barnett said at Wesley hall, Vanderbilt university.

"Must Match Word"

Dr. Barnett said:

"We must match the word with the act in Christian human relations. Unless the churches act, our pronouncements will extend hell's pavement of good intentions."

Dr. Herman Long of Nashville reported ways some churches are choosing Christ in preference to Jim Crow. Dr. Long directs the race relations department for the home missions board of Congregational-Christian churches.

Col. Francis Pickens Miller, noted layman of Presbyterian church, U. S. and civic leader from Charlottesville, Va., said the church must do more—must directly challenge irresponsible leaders. He spoke at Wightman chapel, Scarritt college.

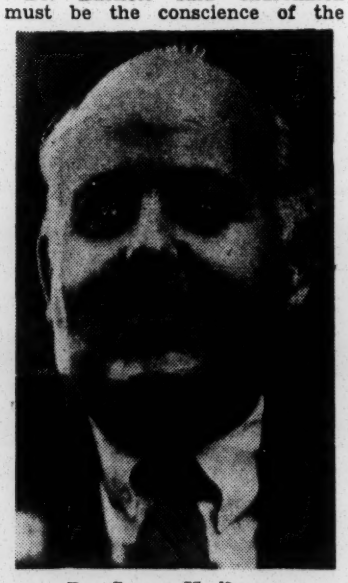
These leaders spoke during the second of a three-day conference being attended by approximately 300 Southern church leaders. Cosponsors are Tennessee council of churches, Fellowship of Southern churchmen and 85 individual religious leaders.

—Staff photo by Jimmy Holt

An interracial seminar group, meeting at the Methodist board of evangelism, listens as a participant describes ways of desegregating churches. Seated, from left, front, are the Rev. H. M. White, pastor of Gordon Memorial Methodist church, Nashville; the Rev. L. Nelson, pastor of El Canaan Baptist church, Ripley, Tenn.; the Rev. Harold Keeler, student at Vanderbilt university divinity school; the Rev. Cecil Culverhouse, pastor of West Nashville Presbyterian church and president of interracial Nashville ministerial alliance; Mrs. Culverhouse, and Dr. W. D. Weatherford, vice chairman of trustees at Berea college, Ky. The group also heard talks on easing school integration.

no longer an 'invisible man'—but the brother for whom Christ died."

Dr. Barnett said churchmen must be the conscience of the



Dr. James K. Barnett
"We saw the teachings . . ."

South, a sane guide of a transition that must come during desegregation.

Many ministers, he said, must be provided in-service training in community leadership. A pilot attempt at such training, he added, will take place during August in Dallas.

"The witness of the churches to their own constituents and the impact of Christian social action will be greatly enhanced by the growth of interdenominational co-operation. This co-operation at the level of social action ought to include the spokesmen of Judaism and the Roman Catholic church."

Dr. Long said the most widespread and general change since the 1954 supreme court decision has "involved the formation of interracial ministerial associations. Associations in 20 communities have taken this important step, including such strategic cities as Richmond, Va., Little Rock, Ark., Charlotte and Asheville, N. C., Knoxville, Nashville, Shelby and Cleveland counties, Tennessee."

"They have in part kept the individual minister from being entirely isolated and left to the complete control either of his local parish or his church organization."

Dr. Long estimated there are approximately 160 racially inclusive Southern churches.

'Conservative Confrontation'

"The most conservative confrontation of the racial question has been shown in the actions and policies of organized Protestant church bodies in the South," he said.

Texas Theologian Raps South's Race 'Defenses'

White Southerners were roundly scored here today in a satirical address which included an apparent thrust at the FBI for attempting to investigate the NAACP.

Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, dean of Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, and son of the late Dr. J. L. Cuninggim, president of Scarritt College, satirized white Southerners with 13 points which pulled peal after peal of laughter from a mixed audience.

Dr. Cuninggim spoke this morning at the three-day Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations concluding today at University Center.

The speaker following Dr. Cuninggim was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Ala., the Negro minister who led the now-famous boycott of buses in Montgomery last year. Dr. King's topic was "The Role of the Church in Facing the Nation's Chief Moral Dilemma."

The Nashville Banner
April 25, 1957

(Continued on page 10)

King Speaks Here

—Staff Photo by Jack Gunter

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., pastor of Dexter Ave. Baptist Church, Montgomery, Ala., minister who started the now-famous bus boycott in Montgomery last year, with Howard Kester, executive secretary of The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Black Mountain, N. C., and of the Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations. Dr. King addressed the three-day session at University Center today.

Reply to President

Also this morning, the conference authorized its planning committee headed by Dr. Everett Tilson, associate professor of Biblical theology, Vanderbilt Divinity School, to send an appropriate reply to President Eisenhower thanking him for his message of greeting and "restating our hope that the President will use the prestige of his name and office to lend support and leadership to the many Southerners earnestly striving to expand justice and good will."

Prior to Dr. Cuninggim's address, various seminar reports were given, including one on "The Church and Community Relations" discussing whether newspaper and other publicity should be given to activities of churches working in integration.

The seminar reporter stated that "If you work quietly and get into effect what you want before the community knows, then when it is an established fact, they won't complain too much." On the other hand, some felt you should "voice loudly" what you are doing but many felt that "newspaper sensationalism" usually was destructive to furthering of integration.

Howard Kester, executive secretary of The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, Black Mountain, N. C., organization sponsoring the Conference, together with Tennessee Council of Churches and various individuals, pointed out that the church in the South is in a critical period of its history and expressed appreciation for money given for this Conference by churches and individuals "who believed this sort of thing could happen in the South."

Dr. Cuninggim said "The South is the best laboratory I know to test Christianity and democracy . . . The stone of racial discord seems to block our access to the living Christ. We of the South know the peculiar potency of the question — 'Who will roll away the stone?' The way is open. The patch is not blocked except for those who think so—'Looking up they saw the stone was rolled away.'

Lists 'Defenses'

The Perkins School of Theology dean said "The problems we as Southerners face are so crucial, we must not talk off the top of our hat . . .

"As white Christians of the South, we would escape the cutting edge if we could." He then listed "defenses" of "white Southerners presumably Christian" and said "we have become convinced of their absurdity.

He quoted 13 ("the unlucky number") of "defenses" and answered each with a snap-back that brought peals of laughter from the mixed audience.

1. "The situation is easier elsewhere."

"So what?"

People Not Ready

2. "Our people are not ready."

"What do we do, just wait?"

3. "The Negroes are not ready."

"Maybe not, but when and where can we enter the vicious circle that the Negro is not ready for first-class citizenship. . ."

4. "The Negroes don't want desegregation."

"If so, that's their argument but it's strange how few are making it."

5. "The Negroes lack our standards in health, morality and marital fidelity."

"Get to work on it, then."

6. "What will it lead to?"

"You notice I avoided using the Ku Klux Klan terminology 'You don't want a Negro marrying your daughter.' I didn't phrase it that way. I have respect for your integrity and my daughter's judgment. It might lead to a chance for integrity for the Negro."

'Leave Us Alone'

7. 'Leave us alone."—to the Northerners.

"We've been left alone a long time. . ."

8. "You've got your problems, too, in the North."

"There's not a Yankee that doesn't share in our damnation."

9. "We believe in State's Rights."

"If it were not for State's Rights, would you do the decent thing?"

10. and 11. "We've got a state law," and "Supreme Court used pressure."

"We've got one where I come from but it hasn't kept us from doing what our courage called for . . . We've got a Federal law now."

12. "NAACP is suspect and subversive."

"The FBI has been trying to prove it but, if so, the FBI must be in on it because they can't prove it."

13. "We love the Negroes."

"We do—and I love my dog!"

'Dragging Our Feet

These "defenses in their stark poverty" are pretexts we use for dragging our feet. But there is good news in the Southern picture. Most of us are getting tired of seeing ministers and laymen react as Southerners first and Christians second . . . We know our own guilt . . . Southerners have a troubled conscience and anxious insecurity . . . But there is now repentance as well as a sense of guilt."

Dr. King, in discussing "The Role of the Church in Facing

(Continued on page 11)

the Nation's Chief Moral Dilemma," described the country's main moral dilemma as its failure "to make of our nation a brotherhood."

Dr. King said "Racial segregation is a blatant denial of the unity which we have in Christ. . . . The Supreme Court was eminently correct in saying the separate facilities are inherently unequal."

Baptist Ministers

The Baptist minister said, "The task of conquering segregation is an escapable must confronting the Christian churches. The churches are called upon to recognize the urgent necessity of taking a forthright stand on this crucial issue."

He listed various things "the church can do in making brotherhood a reality.

1. "The church should try to get to the ideational roots of race hate."

2. ". . . The church can help by showing that the continual outcry of intermarriage is a tragic distortion of the real issue. It can show that the Negro's primary aim is to be the white man's brother, and not his brother-in-law."

3. The church can "keep men's minds and visions centered on God."

4. The church can "take the lead in strong Christian social action. . . . Most of the major denominations practice segregation in local churches, in church schools and other church institutions. . . . So the church has an internal problem that it must cure."

5. "The church must take an active stand against the injustices that Negroes confront in city and county courts of many southern towns."

Communication Channels

6. It must "keep channels of communication open between the Negroes and white community."

7. The church must move into the economic sphere with its influence because of "blatant inequalities . . . in the economic order."

Dr. King said "it is my profound hope that more leadership will come from the moderates in the white South" . . . in this tense period of transition." He said "leadership from the white South today all too often stems from the close-minded reactionaries."

The Baptist minister said "the nation is looking to the white ministers of the South for much of this leadership . . . It is also necessary to stress the urgent need for strong, sincere and dedicated leadership from the Negro community.

Win Friendship

"The Negro leader must stress the fact that the aim of the Negro should never be to defeat or humiliate the white man but to win his friendship and understanding . . .

"As we struggle for freedom in America it may be necessary to boycott at times. But we must remember as we boycott that a boycott is not an end within itself . . ."

Dr. King said "the salvation of the world lies in the hands of the maladjusted" who do not adjust themselves "to the evils of segregation" and the like.

He said "the challenge to you is to be maladjusted—as maladjusted as Jesus who dared to dream of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men . . ."

Aid Race Rights, President Asked

Eisenhower Failure To Address Session Disappoints Churchmen

By JAMES CARTY
Religious News Editor

Three hundred church leaders from every southern state voted here yesterday morning to ask once more for President Eisenhower to exert leadership in expanding racial good will and justice.

They voted during the final session of a three-day conference on Christian faith and human relations. Co-sponsors were the Tennessee Council of Churches, Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, and 85 individual religious leaders.

The vote came amid widespread disappointment and some criticism by conference participants of President Eisenhower's failure to accept an invitation to address the conference or send it a strong statement on race relations. Instead he sent what conference members called "vague, general greetings."

The President wired the following telegram, which was read at the opening conference session Monday night:

"Please give my greetings to those attending the conference on Christian faith and human relations, and my congratulations to its sponsoring body.

"Coming together, united in one faith and seeking the common welfare, I am sure you will arrive at a constructive approach to the problems of our day. It is important that new plans and effective programs be considered if we are to make the service of God and neighbor meaningful in our generation. Best wishes for the success of your conference."

Previously, Bernard M. Shanley, a secretary to Eisenhower, wrote conference officials that the President's "heavy, official schedule" prevented his making a speech before the group here this week.

But delegates pointed out that Eisenhower spent the week playing golf in Augusta, Ga.

The group, yesterday in Wightman chapel at Scarritt college, voted to "prepare an appropriate and tactful reply, thanking Eisenhower for his message." There were only two dissenters.

Conference participants laughed loudly when the word tactful was read in the resolution.

The resolution was introduced by the Rev. Clyde C. Flannery. A program committee member for the conference, he is pastor of Brookmeade Congregational church, Nashville, and former president of Southern Union college, Wadley, Ala.

Flannery told the conference

(Continued on page 12)

Conference Worshipers Take Communion at Scarritt

Staff photo by Bill Preston

White and Negro worshipers, participating in a conference on Christian faith and human relations, take Holy Communion together at Wightman chapel, Scarritt college. Presiding at the Lord's Supper are the Rev. Clyde C. Flannery, left, white minister of Brookmeade Congregational church, Nashville, and Dr. Murray Branch, right, Negro professor of social ethics at Morehouse college, Atlanta.

that Eisenhower previously had been invited to speak and the leaders hoped he would follow through and make a statement on human relations to the South.

"A great many of you have spoken to members of the planning committee about sending a reply from the conference to the message from President Eisenhower."

Many Disappointed

Flannery, in an interview after the conference, also said many conference participants told him they were disappointed that the President failed to send a forthright statement on race relations.

Dr. Everett Tilson, chairman of the conference planning committee, originally had written on behalf of the group to Eisenhower Feb. 2. Dr. Tilson is associate professor of Biblical theology at Vanderbilt university divinity school.

The letter said "It would be especially helpful, we think, for you as President, to lift before our people the goal of full equality of opportunity in the kind of religious setting which our conference would provide. The propitious moment has now come, we feel, for leaders in government to lend their voices and offices in support of the southern churchmen."

Follows Negro Appeal

The letter, offering a channel of communication through Southern religious leaders, came after a Negro group, the Southern Leaders conference, appealed to Eisenhower to speak in the South. The group of prominent Negro clergymen—70 meeting Jan. 11 in Atlanta and 100 meeting Feb. 14 in New Orleans — appealed to Eisenhower to make a speech in a major southern city and calling for law and order.

The Southern Leaders conference sent the invitation to Eisenhower Jan. 18 and was told that his schedule was too heavy.

Then the planning committee for the interracial conference, which was to meet here this week, offered the Nashville meeting as a chance for Eisenhower to speak.

Shanley wrote then that, "Much as the President would like to accept this cordial and appealing invitation, he finds that he will be unable to do so. He has asked me to explain that he has such a heavy official schedule outlined the next several months, he just could not plan to come to Nashville for this conference.

"More important, he will not have available to him the time he feels necessary for the preparation of an address such as he would want to give before this important group."

The conference yesterday heard addresses by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., leader of the bus boycott at Montgomery, Ala., and pastor of Drexel Avenue Baptist church, Montgomery, and Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, dean of Perkins school of theology at Southern Methodist university. There also were reports on four seminars held Wednesday.

Must Seek Channels Open

Dr. King said the church "must seek to keep channels of communication open between the Negro and white community.

"Men hate each other because they fear each other; they fear each other because they don't know each other; they don't know each other because they are separated from each other. And only by keeping the channels of communication open can we know each other.

"In the area of social action the church must take an active stand against the injustices that Negroes confront in city and county courts

(Continued on page 13)

of many southern towns.

"Another area in which the influence of the church is much needed but little felt is that of the economic order. As guardian of the moral and spiritual life of the community the church cannot look with indifference upon this glaring evil.

"Unfortunately the leadership from the white South today all too often stems from the close-minded reactionaries . . . (who constitute) a numerical minority. God grant that the white moderates of the South will rise up courageously without fear and take over the leadership of the South in this tense period of transition."

Dr. King said moderates are silent today because of fear of social, political and economic reprisals.

The Nashville Tennessean
April 28, 1957

President Asked To Come South

By WALLACE WESTFELDT

President Eisenhower was asked yesterday to come South and "add a personal word of encouragement" to churchmen working "to establish a more democratic order" in their communities.

The request was contained in a telegram to the President from the recently concluded Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations. It was signed by Everett Tilson, chairman of the conference. Tilson is associate professor of Biblical theology at the Vanderbilt university Divinity school.

The message was addressed to the President at Augusta, Ga., where he has been vacationing since Easter.

It reads:

"Dear Mr. President:

"This is to acknowledge with gratitude and appreciation your message to the conference on Christian faith and human relations. We were disappointed that you were unable to address the conference in person. It is still our hope that your official duties will permit you to come South in the near future to add a personal word of encouragement to the increasing number of consecrated Southern churchmen working to establish a more democratic order.

"The three hundred churchmen from 12 Southern states who participated in the conference directed the planning committee to restate our hope that you will continue to use the prestige of your name and office to lend support and leadership to those earnestly striving to expand justice and goodwill. In many instances where men are attempting to implement their Christian faith and Democratic duty they are persecuted and harrassed, often without sympathy or support from constituted authority.

"This conference was encouraging testimony to the growing resolution of responsible Southerners effectively to witness to the religious and political heritage of freemen.

"Signed: Everett Tilson, Chairman."

The message to Eisenhower was the result of what was described as widespread disappointment among the conference members over the failure of the President to speak before them and the nature of the message he sent to the meeting indorsing its purposes.

Flannery Resolution

The decision to send the message to the President was taken at a general meeting Thursday morning.

Only two dissenting votes were cast in the voice vote on a resolution by the Rev. Clyde C. Flannery, of Brookmeade Congregational church.

President Eisenhower was asked to address the conference by Tilson on Feb. 2. The letter read, in part, "It would be especially helpful, we think, for you, as President, to lift before our people the goal of full equality of opportunity in the kind of religious setting which our conference would provide. The propitious moment has now come, we feel, for leaders in government to lend their voices and offices in support of the southern churchmen."

Conference leaders received a reply from presidential secretary Bernard M. Shanley that read, in part: "Much as the President would like to accept the cordial and appealing invitation, he finds that he will be unable to do so. He has asked me to explain that he has such a heavy official schedule outlined the next several months, he just could not plan to come to Nashville for this conference.

"More important, he will not have available to him the time he feels necessary for the preparation of an address such as he would want to give before this important group."

The President's message to the conference, read to the conferees at their first meeting last Tuesday night, was received in silence.

It read: "Please give my greetings to those attending the conference on Christian faith and human relations, and my congratulations to the sponsoring body.

"Coming together, united in one faith and seeking the common welfare, I am sure you will arrive at a constructive approach to the problems of our day. It is important that new plans and effective programs be considered if we are to make the service of God and neighbor meaningful in our generation. Best wishes for the success of your conference."

The three day conference, was sponsored by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, the Tennessee Council of Churches and 85 officers individual religious leaders.

Nashville Sponsors Listed

Among the Nashville sponsors of the conference were:

The Rev. C. Thomas Baker

(Continued on page 14)

executive secretary of the Tennessee Council of Churches; The Rev. Cevil Culverhouse, president of the Nashville Ministers' association; The Rev. Raymond T. Ferris Christ Church Episcopal; Dr. John W. Rustin, Belmont Methodist church; Dr. A. C. Miller, executive secretary, Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist convention; The Rev. Glenn Gothard, Dr. James Thomas and the Rev. Walter Vernonof of the Methodist church's General Board of Education; the Rev. James Glasse, Dr. Langdon Gilkey, Dr. Kendrick Grobel, and Dr. Roger Shinn, all of the Vanderbilt university Divinity school.

Approximately 4500 invitations were sent out to southern clergymen and laymen.

Seven prominent southern clergymen addressed the conference.

They are: Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse college, Atlanta; Dr. Everett Tilson, associate professor of Biblical theology at Vanderbilt university Divinity school; The Rev. Das Kelley Barnett, professor of Christian ethics and moral theology at the Episcopal seminary of the Southwest, Austin, Texas; Col. Francis Pickens Miller, Presbyterian lay leader from Charlottesville, Va.; Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim, dean of the Perkins school of Theology, Southern Methodist university, Dallas, Texas, and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., leader of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott and pastor of a Baptist church there.

Excerpts from some of the speeches:

Dr. Cuninggim, son of the late Dr. Jesse Lee Cuninggim who was president of Scarritt college for 22 years, told the conference members, "Your very presence here, the very existence of the conference, indicates the conviction of Christians all across the South, as well as, of course, in other parts of the country, that there are affirmations that can be made and ways of advance that can be mapped.

"Here in the South are days of stress," he said. "Here in the South also are persons of faith to testify to it. The South today is the best laboratory I know anywhere for testing both Christianity and Democracy.

"The problems we as southerners face," he said, "are so crucial, we must not talk off the top of our hat . . .

Says Christian Must

Cuninggim then said that among other things, the white Christian southerner must know the "shallowness of our defenses (against desegregation)."

He then listed 13 segregation "defenses" such as people in the South are not ready, Negroes are not ready, Negroes lack white standards of health, morality and marital fidelity, fear of intermarriage, states' rights, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is "suspect."

Cuninggim gave a brief answer to each. To the statement that white southerners are not ready for desegregation, he said, "Maybe not; but what are we doing to make them more so? Do we just wait? 'Sit down, O men of God; have done with greater things!"

To the question "what will it lead to," he said "You will note. I hope, that I have not phrased this question in its Ku Klux Klan form, 'You don't want a nigger marrying your daughter, do you?' What will it lead to? It might lead to a chance for the integrity of the Negro too."

"How Awkward"

To the statement that the NAACP is suspect, Cuninggim said "How awkward that the FBI can't prove it. Or maybe the bureau is in on the conspiracy too?"

"There they are!" he said. "In all their stark poverty, there are the pretexts we use for dragging our feet. But the truth is breaking upon us, and we begin to see these shibboleths for what they are. There is good news in this sorry picture, I submit, and the good news is that most of us are tired of seeing ministers and laymen reast as Southerners first and Christians second. . ."

Col. Miller, member of the council Presbyterian Synod of Virginia and a former member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, sharply criticized the white political leadership in the South.

Referring to a recent school segregation hearing before the Virginia house of delegates, Miller said the first person to testify was a Presbyterian minister who started his statement with the words "As Jesus said. . . .

"Before he could continue," said Miller, "he was interrupted by one of the delegates who said 'Don't tell us about what Jesus said now. We can hear that later. . .'

"That's the trouble with so many of the politicians," he said. "They say they're too busy to hear what Jesus said!"

RECEIVED MAY 27 1957

CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

PHONE
REctor 2-5417

News Service

20 Vesey St.
N.Y.C.

(The following news story was sent out this week by the N.C.W.C. - National Catholic News Service - to all Catholic newspapers and magazines throughout the country).

NCWC NEWS SERVICE (Domestic) 5/20/57

N.Y.SCHOOL BOARD TOLD
INTEGRATION DEPENDS ON
GOOD COMMUNITY RELATIONS (N.C.W.C. NEWS SERVICE)

NEW YORK, May 16 -- Integration of the New York City school system can best be brought about by improving school and community relations.

This is the gist of a 21-page report submitted by the Board of Education's Commission on Integration. The report was compiled by the Sub-Commission on Community Relations and Information.

One of the six sub-commissions, the Community Relations and Information group, was headed by George K. Hunton, secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York.

In its report, which was adopted unanimously by the Commission on Integration and will be taken up by the Board of Education on June 6, the six-man sub-commission made the following recommendations:

--A centralized community relations unit, manned by Board of Education employees, should be established to promote good human relations among all ethnic and religious groups in all areas of the city to help make the school integration program more meaningful to the community.

--Two or more pilot neighborhood councils should be set up, under the guidance of the Commission on Intergroup Relations, to cope with community problems and serve as models for similar projects elsewhere.

--Public Information should be disseminated from a unit within the Board of Education. This unit would make information available to the press, radio and television relating to policy determination and administration of the Board. Also, a central speakers' bureau would pre-

vide persons who could bring this information to smaller groups.

Accompanying these recommendations were suggestions for their implementation and a section delineating the scope of the sub-commission's area of study.

The program outlined in the report seeks to promote greater understanding among racial, religious and ethnic groups in the city.

Also, it would create a climate of opinion in the community that would not only encourage school integration, but bolster residential integration.

The sub-commission pointed out that in the present residential pattern in the city a "wall of separation is built of diverse factors, such as prejudicial attitudes, living patterns, ignorance and thoughtlessness."

"This pattern is the fundamental cause of the 'de facto' segregated school" the report stressed.

Members of the sub-commission called it impractical and unrealistic to attempt to integrate the schools without also considering the residential segregation.

In its report, the sub-commission took exception to the "mistaken notion that minority group members moving into a neighborhood automatically depress property values and cause neighborhood standards to fall."

Actually, the report notes, it is when the majority within the area begin looking for new housing elsewhere that the neighborhood deteriorates.

"Neighborhoods actually deteriorate if the people living in them lose pride in their neighborhoods", it said.

"It is our belief that, if all of the resources of a neighborhood were marshaled, the neighborhood could be maintained on the highest level. This would call for the cooperative efforts of community ~~maintenance~~

residents, including local priests, rabbis, ministers and representatives from business labor, and civic life, etc."

"The primary objective is to make it possible for all elements in the local population to come together and work out solutions to their neighborhood problems."

In its conclusions, the sub-commission said that experience has shown the most effective community programs are those carried out "in" local communities "by" leaders of the communities.

"Integration can be the cause and likewise the result of good inter-group relations", concluded the sub-commission.

* * * * * *

RECEIVED JUN 8 1957

JOHN HAY WHITNEY FOUNDATION
630 Fifth Avenue
New York 20, New York

Thomas J. Rosenberg -- PLaza 9-4811

FOR RELEASE: Monday, June 10, 1957

EIGHTH ANNUAL JOHN HAY WHITNEY FOUNDATION OPPORTUNITY FELLOWSHIPS - AWARDED TO 51 PERSONS IN 20 STATES, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, THE CAROLINE ISLANDS, GUAM, HAWAII AND PUERTO RICO

Fifty-one Opportunity Fellowships totaling $100,000 will be shared by thirty-six men and fifteen women this year, the John Hay Whitney Foundation announced today.

The Fellowships are designed to give opportunity for advanced study to young Americans of exceptional promise who, because of racial or cultural background, region of residence, or other artificial barriers, might not be able to attain their full development or make their most complete contributions to society.

Grants are available in all fields of formal graduate or professional training, the fine arts, music, and creative writing.

Included among the winners are Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Spanish-Americans, residents of the Appalachian Mountain region and of U.S. Territories, American Indians, Chinese-Americans and Japanese-Americans.

During the eight years the program has been in operation, 398 awards have been made to people residing in 42 states, the District of Columbia, Alaska, American Samoa, the Canal Zone, the Caroline Islands, Guam, Hawaii, the Marshall Islands, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

Fellows for the coming academic year will begin or continue their training in 25 colleges and universities. Others will study privately

or travel abroad in Scandinavia, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Africa.

A central purpose of the Opportunity Fellowship program is to open doors as broadly as possible to talent in America in this period of national manpower shortage. Frequently the Fellowships have provided a source of inspiration and leadership to groups and in areas where higher educational attainment is considerably below the national average.

The program's Committee of Award is composed of:
Miss Rosemary Park, President of Connecticut College; Huntington Cairns, Secretary, National Gallery of Art; Rene d'Harnoncourt, Director of the Museum of Modern Art; Martin D. Jenkins, President of Morgan State College; Kenneth Macgowan, Professor Emeritus of Theater Arts, University of California, Los Angeles; D'Arcy McNickle, Director, American Indian Development. Selection of Fellows in music, creative writing and the fine arts is facilitated by juries composed of authorities in these fields.

Applications for next year's awards must be submitted to the John Hay Whitney Foundation no later than November 30, 1957.

The full list of winners follows:

OPPORTUNITY FELLOWS

ARIZONA

Mr. Mario Suarez, of 263 South Vine Street, Tucson, Arizona, graduate of The University of Arizona, to spend a year in creative writing.

ARKANSAS

Mr. William L. Vault, of 2012 Commerce Street, Little Rock, Arkansas, graduate of Talladega College, Alabama, to begin advanced training in physics and mathematics either at Wisconsin or the California Institute of Technology.

CALIFORNIA

Miss Shirley M. Carter, of 12803 South Stanford Avenue, Los Angeles, California, graduate of Los Angeles State College, to continue voice study privately and at the Juilliard School of Music.

Mr. Joseph S. Eubanks, Jr., of 2031 - 19th Avenue, Oakland, California, graduate of San Francisco State College, to study voice in New York City.

Mr. Herman E. Gallegos, of 14050 Lieb Court, San Jose, California, graduate of San Jose State College, to complete his Master of Social Work degree at the University of California, Berkeley.

Miss Ruth D. McPherson, of the Philippine Islands, now residing at 11408 San Pablo Avenue, El Cerrito, California, graduate of Arellano University, Manila, to continue study toward the Ph.D. degree in international relations at the University of California, Berkeley.

Miss Manabu Shibuya, of 1805 Rose Street, Berkeley, California, graduate of Sanford University, to begin training toward the Master of Social

(More)

CALIFORNIA (Cont'd)

Work degree at the University of California, Berkeley.

Miss Utako V. Shiraishi, of 815 Esperanza Street, Los Angeles, California, graduate of the University of Redlands, to complete study for the Master of Social Work degree at the New York School of Social Work.

COLORADO

Mr. Joe I. Lucero, of Box 434, La Jara, Colorado, graduate of Adams State College, Alamosa, Colorado, to continue study toward the M.D. degree at the University of Colorado School of Medicine.

GEORGIA

Mr. Louis Rivers, Jr., of 544 East Gaston Street, Savannah, Georgia, graduate of Savannah State College, and New York University, to spend a year in creative writing in the New York City area.

ILLINOIS

Mr. Edgar H. Twine, of 6242 Rhodes Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, graduate of the University of Illinois, to complete the L.L.B. degree at the same institution.

MARYLAND

Mrs. Elaine C. Davis, of 1913 Gwynns Falls Parkway, Baltimore, Maryland, graduate of Morgan State College and the University of Maryland School of Law, to complete her Ph.D. degree at The Johns Hopkins University.

MISSISSIPPI

Mr. N. F. Davis, of Route 3, Box 376, West Point, Mississippi, graduate of Lincoln University and Washington University, St. Louis, to

MISSISSIPPI (Cont'd)

continue study toward the Ph.D. degree in economics at Indiana University.

Mr. Willie White, of P. O. Box 215, Brooklyn, Mississippi, graduate of Dillard University and the University of Chicago, to complete the Ph.D. degree in philosophy at the latter institution.

MISSOURI

Mr. Felix A. Jacques, of 5116A Greer Street, St. Louis, Missouri, graduate of the State University of Iowa, to complete the Ph.D. degree in biology at St. Louis University.

NEW JERSEY

Mr. Clifford E. Jackson, of 154 - 16th Avenue, Paterson, New Jersey, to spend a year of research in fine art aboard.

NEW YORK

Mr. William de Valentine, of 2038 Pacific Street, Brooklyn, New York, graduate of Los Angeles State College, to spend a year of vocal training in Austria and Germany.

Mr. Elmer Dickey, of 943 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York, New York, graduate of Boston University, to study voice privately in New York City.

Mr. Frank O. Gatell, of 43-30 - 46th Street, Long Island City, New York, graduate of the City College of New York, to continue his study toward the Ph.D. degree in history at Harvard University.

Mr. Kenneth E. Marshall, of 426 Herkimer Street, Brooklyn, New York, graduate of New York University, to complete the Master of Social Work degree at the New York School of Social Work.

(More)

NEW YORK (Cont'd)

Mrs. Mary Williamson Murphy, of 2160 Madison Avenue, New York, New York graduate of Mount Holyoke College, to continue study in American literature toward the Ph.D. degree at Columbia University.

Mr. Boris I. Rogosin, of Odessa, USSR, now residing at 72 Pitt Street New York, New York, to continue study toward the Ph.D. degree in history at Harvard University.

Mr. Anthony Santiago, of 45 West 87th Street, New York, New York, graduate of the City College of New York, to begin work toward the Master of Social Work degree at Hunter College.

Miss Thelma D. Trotty, of 704 Comstock Avenue, Syracuse, New York, graduate of Syracuse University, to spend a year in Scandinavia participating in the Scandinavian American Foundation Seminar for Cultural Studies, toward the Master of Social Work degree.

NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. Moses N. DeLaney, of H-5 Washington Terrace, Raleigh, North Carolina, graduate of Morehouse College and the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, to complete his studies toward the Ph.D. degree in philosophy at Drew University.

Miss Helen D. Maynor, of Box 74, Pembroke, North Carolina, graduate of Berea College, Kentucky, to begin work toward the Master's degree in political science at Columbia University.

Mr. James D. Monteith, of Box 266, Sylva, North Carolina, graduate of the University of North Carolina, to begin the study of law at Harvard University.

NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. Lionel de Montigny, of 1702 - 11th Avenue, North Grand Forks, North Dakota, graduate of the University of North Dakota, to begin Medical

(More)

NORTH DAKOTA (Cont'd)

training at the same institution.

OREGON

Mr. Philip D. Holliman, of 1422 N.E. Williams Court, Portland, Oregon, graduate of the University of Portland, to complete his Master of Social Work degree at the University of Wisconsin.

PENNSYLVANIA

Miss Barbara D. Chase, of 1603 Annin Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, graduate of the Tyler School of Fine Arts, Temple University, to study and travel in Italy.

Mr. Martin L. Kilson, Jr., of 27 North Street, Ambler, Pennsylvania, graduate of Lincoln University, to complete the Ph.D. degree in political science at Harvard University.

Dr. Lonnie Mac Donald, Jr., of 1127 West Eighth Street, Chester, Pennsylvania, graduate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, to complete his residency in psychiatry at Yale University.

TENNESSEE

Mr. William H. Baker, of 111 Fonville Street, Martin, Tennessee, graduate of Lincoln Memorial College and the University of Tennessee, to complete his Ph.D. degree in economics at the University of Alabama.

Mr. C. Eric Lincoln, of 588 South Orleans Street, Memphis, Tennessee, graduate of Fisk University, to continue study toward the Ph.D. degree in philosophy at Boston University.

TENNESSEE (Cont'd)

Mr. Harold M. Rose, of P. O. Box 27, Mount Pleasant, Tennessee, graduate of Tennessee State College and Ohio State University, to complete his Ph.D. degree in geography at the latter institution.

TEXAS

Mr. Charles M. Barbosa, of 119 Hazel Avenue, San Antonio, Texas, graduate of St. Mary's University, to continue work toward the Doctor of Education degree at Teachers College, New York, New York.

Mrs. Gloria L. Hobbs, of 2202 Isabella Street, Houston, Texas, graduate of Hunter College and Columbia University, to continue her study of Romance languages at the University of Texas.

Mrs. Jeanette E. Lockley, of 2601 Birmingham Avenue, Dallas, Texas, graduate of Wiley College and Texas Southern University, to work toward her Ph.D. degree in mathematics at the University of Texas.

UTAH

Mr. Joseph N. Uemura, of 1826 Stratford Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah, graduate of the University of Denver, to complete the Ph.D. degree in philosophy at Columbia University.

WASHINGTON

Mr. James A. Hirabayashi, of 935 - 16th Avenue, Seattle, Washington, graduate of the University of Washington, to complete the Ph.D. degree in anthropology at Harvard University.

Mr. Frank S. Okada, of 604 Sixth Avenue South, Seattle, Washington, graduate of the University of Washington, to study painting in New York City under Kenzo Okada.

(More)

WISCONSIN

Mrs. May S. Hornback, of Poynette, Wisconsin, graduate of the University of Wisconsin to complete the Master's program in nursing education at Western Reserve University.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mrs. Marilyn B. Thornton, of 44 You Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., to study dramatics in France.

CAROLINE ISLANDS

Mr. Bethwel Henry, of Kolonia, Ponape, Caroline Islands, to continue his training in public administration and education at the University of Hawaii.

Mr. David Ramarui, of Palau, Western Caroline Islands, to complete study in education and the social sciences at the University of Hawaii.

GUAM

Mr. Gerardo R. Salas, of P. O. Box 568, Agana, Guam, graduate of Doane College, to begin the study of law at the University of Chicago.

HAWAII

Miss Doris C. Ching, of 1130 - 21st Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii, graduate of the University of Hawaii, to continue work toward the Doctor of Education degree at Harvard University.

Mr. George Miyasaki, of P. O. Box 274, Honokaa, Hawaii, graduate of California College of Arts and Crafts, to continue study and experimentation in lithography at the same institution.

Mr. Bob T. Ochikubo, of P. O. Box 183, Pearl City, Oahu, Hawaii, to study and paint in New York City.

(More)

PUERTO RICO

Mr. Manuel M. Denis, of 422 Los Pinos Street, Hato Rey, Puerto Rico, graduate of the University of Puerto Rico, to continue work in the field of political science toward the Ph.D. degree at the University of Chicago.

Miss Elia Hidalgo, of 70 Georgetti Street, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, to continue study in psychology toward the Ph.D. degree at Boston University.

* * * * * * *

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 90 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

CLARK HOWELL, Publisher

RALPH McGILL, Editor

Established June 16, 1868

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RALPH

McGILL

The Face Of the South

There is an old proverb: "Oh, great and wise, be ill at ease when your words and deeds please the mob."

There was a picture of a smiling Gov. Orval Faubus, of Arkansas. Neatly dressed and flawlessly barbered, he was accepting a federal contempt citation in the school issue from an impeccably clad and proper federal marshal.

There were other pictures. They revealed that the Nashville demonstrators, some of whom provided the criminals who dynamited a $500,000 school to ruins, in a typical answer of a mob, were neither smiling nor neat. Most of them, indeed, were not from Nashville. They looked, in their posed pictures, as if they had been dressed for the part by some movie director with extras hired to portray a mob.

The same generalization would describe the demonstrators as depicted by photographs taken in Little Rock and Alabama.

Looking at them, one feels pity and compassion, knowing them to be the pawns of agitators and ignorance. But one feels strongly that they must not be allowed to become the face of the South.

Law-Abiding

In both Little Rock and Nashville, the citizens, white and colored, went about their business as usual. The stores had white and Negro customers. Traffic moved in the streets. One could not assume these peaceable white citizens approved of the Supreme Court decision. But they are American citizens and are law-abiding.

We saw demonstrated that mobs of from 500 to 1,000 out of a population of several hundred thousand have provided the headlines of violence. The great body of citizens, whatever their discontent, have lived by law.

Too often neat and impeccable men, occupying high, sound ground, withdrawing carefully from violence and, indeed, denouncing it, nonetheless have reason to be ill at ease. Their words and deeds have pleased the mob.

The South has suffered an irreparable blow.

All the sympathy, all the respectable attention focused on the problem by the Southern Senate leadership in the civil rights debate, now has been blown down by the dynamite, the violence and the demonstrations of the mobs.

This Senate leadership succeeded, to a great extent, in persuading the nation their region would take a legal approach; that life and property and human rights were safe.

The men who mutilated an admittedly innocent Negro in Alabama merely to impress their fellow Klansmen, the dynamiters who blew down a $500,000 school building when the South needs more schools, not less; the disorder and violence of utterance in Little Rock—all these have become the face of the South.

And yet, the total number of those who have demonstrated and dynamited, is less than 2,500.

Truth

People do not like to be told the truth. Too much of the comment today is on the narrow basis of whether one is "for or against segregation." That is not at all the basic issue before us. The fact is that millions of Southerners who strongly support segregation and who would do all that is possible to retain it, are not willing to tear down the government with violence and anarchy. Another truth too often is concealed from the Southern people, who are as decent and law-abiding as any other. The rest of the nation is not sympathetic with, and does not approve of, the defiant and violent positions taken.

There are yet legal steps to be taken. They will be highly technical.

They have begun in Little Rock.

In Nashville, the local police are able to handle the 500-odd demonstrators. They have moved against the agitator John Kasper, who has been throwing raw meat to the mobs.

In Alabama, Ku Klux Klansmen are under arrest.

When the due processes of law are exhausted the decision must be accepted as law. As a civilized, Christian people we cannot live by the rule of dynamite.

Editors, governors, commentators, ministers—all those who speak out—will do well to remember the old text: "Be ill at ease when your words and deeds please the mob."

The face of the South must not be that of the mob.

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., with offices in Atlanta, Georgia, is the direct successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation founded in 1919. SRC was formed in 1944 as a result of a series of conferences by white and Negro Southern leadership concerned with strengthening the organizational effort toward a more just and equitable society.

In 1936 the major program effort of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was directed toward general purpose conferences with clergymen, church lay-leadership, editors and educators. The purpose of these conferences was to bring about good will and understanding between the races within the separate-but-equal framework. Much activity was also directed to combatting lynching and other types of violence against Negroes. Small groups of status people visited key governmental officials and other opinion-makers to further these goals. Published materials were aimed at fostering good will and understanding based on the religious concepts of brotherhood. The Commission, though interracial, tended to work for Negroes in attaining a better break from public authorities, law enforcement agencies, before the courts, and from employers. Each Southern state had a local chapter of the Commission and their programs were directed toward local implementation of this program.

In 1957 the Southern Regional Council was engaged in the current struggle for full recognition of civil rights and civil liberties in the South. Some years before the May 17, 1954 school decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Council had declared that segregation was unjust and must be abandoned as public policy. Since that time the Council has worked not for fair treatment under the separate-but-equal concept, but rather for full citizenship for all Southerners. SRC no longer worked for Negroes; rather it worked with Negroes and white Southerners for a more democratic society.

In 1957 the Southern Regional Council's major program efforts may be listed under seven headings:

1. Information Services. SRC's monthly publication New South through original articles and reprints gives information and interpretation of trends in Southern human relations. Through fact finding, an extensive clipping service, and information files SRC serves the press, national magazines, radio and television as a source of facts and analysis.

2. State Organizations. Ten autonomous state organizations work in close cooperation with SRC which aids them in program development, informational services, and through financial assistance.

3. Consultant Service Program. SRC offers the services of skilled social scientists and agency staff members to state organizations, local human relations groups, colleges, and public officials. Consultants serve as advisors and resource persons, not as speakers.

4. Interagency Cooperative Effort. SRC works with other Southern and national agencies having Southern staff concerned with human relations problems and desegregation. The agencies meet quarterly to discuss strategy and plan useful cooperation.

5. Organized Labor. SRC has a full-time Labor Consultant who attends labor institutes, confers with labor leaders on problems of race and unionism, and serves as resource person to labor union staff members.

6. Church Women. SRC works closely with the Fellowship of the Concerned, a body of Southern church women of the various faiths and denominations. Mrs. M.E. Tilly serves the group in planning meetings, developing programs, and maintaining fruitful communications.

7. Foreign Visitors. A steady stream of opinion-makers from Asia, Africa and Europe visit SRC's office. They come seeking factual information and objective, meaningful interpretation of the changing patterns in the South.

From this brief summary it can be seen that SRC has professionalized its approach in the field of human relations, that the efforts are more and more focussed on key people and gate-keepers, and that the goals have been lifted to a democratic society in which all citizens may participate on equal terms.

February 10, 1958

August 20, 1958

The attached release sent to the following:

Associated Press

United Press International

Christian Science Monitor - Dallas, Tex.

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta Journal

Associated Negro Press

Atlanta Daily World

Journal and Guide

READ BY PHONE TO FOLLOWING:

Claude Sitton - NY Times

Bob Baker - Washington Post

John Popham - Chatt. Times

Sent also to: Gordon Tiffany
Comm. on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

File Copy

NEWS RELEASE FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
August 20, 1958
Phone: Jackson 2-8764

[Following is the text of a statement released today by the Southern Regional Council, through its headquarters in Atlanta. The Council is a long-established organization of professional, business, labor, and religious leaders in twelve Southern states; its declared aim is "equal opportunity for all the South's people."]

The prepared statement made by President Eisenhower at his news conference on Wednesday will be welcomed by all Southerners concerned with the maintenance of public order and respect for law. The Southern Regional Council commends him and the language of his announcement. It will bring sobering truth to the defiant elements in some states. The President has told them that there will be no ambiguity in executive leadership and that the laws of the land will be enforced.

When the Supreme Court in 1954 handed down the desegregation decisions it declared the constitutional rights of all persons. The Court wisely delegated the enforcement of its decision to the judges of the District Courts, and authorized them to use their experienced judgment in approving or disapproving plans which would be developed by school authorities in the localities. The country, and the South in particular, owe great thanks to the District judges, who have exercised this heavy responsibility with patience, understanding and courage. It is clearly not true that the courts are forcing the South to move with revolutionary speed. In Arkansas, Tennessee, Virginia and elsewhere, the judges have shown willingness to permit temperate,

planned developments; they have encouraged and supported local initiative.

But the President made clear, as the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit did on Monday, that violence, intimidation and public disorder will not be allowed to set aside the law.

We commend the President also for his reminder that, "Each state owes to its inhabitants, to its sister states and to the union the obligation to suppress unlawful forces." All Southerners are united in hoping that there will not again be armed troops guarding our school buildings. But let us make sure that the events which led to the sending of those troops will not again occur. That is the responsibility of state and local officials, and of public opinion within the South. The President's statement will be greeted with the usual angry protests from some. We think that now, if ever, is the time for moderate Southerners of both races who do not share this contempt for law and for human rights to express their agreement with the President's calm insistence on legality.

* END *

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
October 31, 1958
JAckson 2-8764

Sunday, Nov. 2, 1958

Atlanta, Ga. - The number of Negro voters in the South remained constant in the past two years despite increased racial controversy, the Southern Regional Council reported today.

Currently, there are an estimated 1,266,488 Negroes on voting rolls in eleven Southern states, compared to 1,238,000 reported by the SRC in 1956. The latest figures, representing 25 per cent of Negroes of voting age, are contained in a preliminary report of a Council survey following up its study of 1956.

Figures from six states came from official sources; in the others, the totals are estimates of veteran capitol news correspondents, who consulted with state officials and political workers.

The new total, which indicates that Negro voters held their own, and even showed a slight increase, came in the wake of newspaper surveys which show that in the country as a whole the number of eligible voters has dropped in the past two years.

This figure represents "something of an achievement" in the face of the disinterest prevalent nationwide at the time of off-year elections and in view of recent trends in the region, the SRC said.

"The intervening two years since the earlier SRC survey was made have brought increased racial tensions in the South, passage of the first federal civil rights legislation since Reconstruction, a long list of federal court decisions to speed the Negro toward full legal equality and new state laws to delay change in racial patterns."

In some states the number of Negro registrants rose appreciably between 1956 and 1958 but these gains were largely offset by sharp drops in other states due to purges and statewide re-registration.

In Arkansas, Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, where official figures show a decline in Negro registration, the number of qualified white voters also dropped. The lower registration of both races in South Carolina was attributable mainly to the total re-registration this year, as is required every 10 years in the state.

Registration increased among both white and Negro citizens in North Carolina and Virginia.

In Louisiana, the white registration increased while Negro registration fell from 161,410 to 130,000 in the past two years, due in large measure to widespread purges in several parishes. Pro-segregation groups in that state have made a concerted effort to strike Negro voters from the rolls.

"In certain areas," the SRC said, "it undoubtedly has become more difficult for Negroes to register, because of new voting restrictions and stricter applications of the old requirements. In some sections where political leaders have fanned racial prejudices, Negroes are even more hesitant about attempting to register than they were two years ago. But, in many parts of the South, lack of political consciousness remains the greatest barrier.

"Leaders of both races long have contended that if all bars to Negro voting were removed tomorrow, there still would not be a great rush to the polls. This is not expected until Negroes have been able to raise their economic and educational levels, their leadership has been broadened and they have reached a position where their political participation promises more tangible results. Neither the new civil rights legislation nor the federal agencies created by it promise any quick or dramatic improvement in Negro suffrage. Even where registration boards are cooperative, a gradual process of political education obviously will be required."

But, the Council emphasized, "all this should not obscure the fact that the trend is upward and that the long-range prospect in the South is for a Negro registration comparable to the white."

News Release - 4.
October 31, 1958

The Southern Regional Council is an interracial organization of religious, educational, labor, business, and professional leaders in 12 Southern States.

State-by-state totals:

	Negro Registration 1958	Negro Percentage of Total Registration
(1)		
Alabama	60,000	6.9
Arkansas	64,023	11.4
Florida	144,810	9.1
Georgia	158,051	12.4
Louisiana	130,000	13.7
Mississippi	35,000	6.8
North Carolina	150,000	7.5
South Carolina	57,978	10.8
Tennessee	185,000	13.2
Texas	150,000	6.8
Virginia	131,626	14.1
Totals:	1,266,488	10.9

(1) (The totals are official for Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia, although in Louisiana, where reports were missing from three parishes, these were interpolated, on the basis of 1956 figures. Reports from the other states are estimates.)

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
November 14, 1958
JAckson 2-8764

Monday, Nov. 17, 1958
A. M. PAPERS

Atlanta, Ga. - Following demolition of a school in Osage, West Virginia, by an "expertly rigged dynamite bomb," the Directors of the Southern Regional Council have called for "an all out effort by law enforcement officers against this upsurge of violence which has grown steadily worse in the past three years."

In its annual meeting in Atlanta, the Council directors, representing both races, pointed out that there have been approximately 50 bombings or attempted bombings in less than three years in Southern states. "It is shocking," the Council said, "that out of this number, court conviction has been secured in only one case." (This case involved three members of a Ku Klux Klan klavern in Charlotte, N. C., who were convicted on a charge of plotting to plant a homemade bomb at a Negro school.)

And although state law enforcement officers in four Southern states have recently taken steps to make it difficult for terrorists to acquire explosives for their handiwork, Council members pointed out that the spread of bombings and bomb threats, coupled with the lack of convictions, emphasizes the need for more vigorous law enforcement in all Southern states.

The Council commended the announcement by four states - Florida, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama - that they are moving toward stricter control of explosive materials and urged other states to follow this lead.

News Release - 2
November 14, 1958

A partial listing of laws in this field in Southern states, garnered from press reports, follows:

FLORIDA - A special law enforcement division has been created to combat dynamiters. Licenses are required for the possession and use of explosives. It is a felony to use, keep, possess or distribute explosives with intent to cause harm and a license is required to transport explosives.

TENNESSEE - It is now a felony to possess or transport explosives except by specific authority of the state fire marshal. The fire marshal sets regulations for keeping, storing, manufacture, sale, and transportation of dynamite.

ALABAMA - Control of explosives here is also vested in the state fire marshal. Six months ago, after the state experienced a number of bombings, the state fire marshal ordered all explosive dealers to keep a record for five years of all dynamite or other volatile substances purchased.

GEORGIA - The state fire marshal also regulates matters dealing with explosives. Laws regulating the sale, possession, storage, and transportation of explosives are on the books; but until the bombing of the Atlanta Jewish Temple, these laws were not strictly enforced. The state fire marshal has since warned dealers they face prosecution "to the fullest extent" if they fail to abide by state regulations.

VIRGINIA - Localities are given authority to regulate explosives. Most have ordinances dealing with safe storage and handling of explosives but nothing restricting their sale.

SOUTH CAROLINA - Sellers are required by law to keep records on amount of explosives sold and to whom. Reason for the purchase must be given and the state regulates how explosives shall be transported.

NORTH CAROLINA - Reports in writings are kept by dealers on purchases of explosives, use planned, and date sold.

LOUISIANA - The public safety department requires a permit to transport explosives in a motor vehicle. Ownership or possession of explosives "with the intent to commit a crime" is prohibited; but there are no regulations dealing with the sale or purchase of explosives.

News Release - 3
November 14, 1958

The 37 directors present at the meeting came from 12 Southern states - Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Officers of the Council are James McBride Dabbs, South Carolina, President; Dr. Albert W. Dent, Louisiana, Vice-President; Paul D. Williams, Virginia, Vice-President; Marion A. Wright, North Carolina, Vice-President.

File News Releases - ~~1964~~ 1959

NEWS RELEASE FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
January 12, 1959
JAckson 2-8764

Atlanta, Ga. - At least 33 Southern cities besides Atlanta have desegregated their city bus systems with only Montgomery experiencing any noteworthy incidents.

In most of these cases, desegregation took place without court action--usually by a change of policy on the part of the transit company. In only three--Montgomery, Ala., Columbia, S. C., and New Orleans, La.--did the action come by court order.

The number 33 represents a gain of 12 cities which have desegregated their bus systems since the Southern Regional Council conducted a spot survey in January, 1957. At that time, the survey revealed at least 21 Southern cities with desegregated seating on buses.

SRC found at that time that most of the cases of desegregation on Southern city buses dated back to April, 1956, when the Supreme Court dismissed an appeal from the U. S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals holding the Columbia, S. C., bus segregation ordinance unconstitutional (S. C. Electric & Gas Co. vs. Sarah Mae Flemming). Although this ruling applied only to Columbia, a number of city transit companies voluntarily desegregated buses.

As in the 1957 survey, SRC found that in most of the cities checked many passengers continued to follow the customary pattern of separate seating. However, passengers are free to sit where they wish, and some degree of desegregated seating is found in each of the cities reported.

The cities are:

Montgomery, Alabama; Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Fort Smith, and Hot Springs, Arkansas; Miami, Miami Beach, Daytona Beach, and Tampa, Florida; New Orleans, Louisiana; Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham, Winston-Salem, and Raleigh, North Carolina; Spartanburg, Columbia, and Charleston, South Carolina; Knoxville, Nashville, and Chattanooga, Tennessee; San Antonio, Corpus Christi, and Dallas, Texas; Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, Petersburg, Charlottesville, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, and Roanoke, Virginia.

INTEGRATION FOES SCORED ON TACTICS

Protestant Leaders in South Fear New 'McCarthyism' in Attacks on Desegregation

APR 6 1959

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., April 5.—Eleven Protestant social action leaders in the South today decried what they called the spread of efforts to identify desegregation with subversion. They asserted that this had led to a "Southern version of McCarthyism."

A statement issued by the group said that such attacks by segregationists had been first directed against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"The disease," the statement continued, "now spreads to new areas: the white Southerner, the educator, the newspaper man, the minister, the business man, or the attorney who tries to work at this sensitive problem.

"The goal is the same: to silence those who do not accept the extremist position on segregation."

The latest example of "this type of wanton attack," the church officials contended, was the maiden Congressional speech of Representative Dale Alford of Little Rock, Ark., an ardent segregationist.

Maligning of Editor Seen

They said that Mr. Alford had sought "to cast aspersions on the good name of Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor of The Arkansas Gazette, and upon the reputation of the Southern Regional Council."

"The speech has a familiar ring," the churchmen said, "the prolonged references to a grave conspiracy and then quick references to Mr. Ashmore and the council. Neither is charged with an improper word or deed; yet the allegation is made that the council was 'founded by a Communist.'

"This allegation is both stale and discredited. No less a Southern conservative than Virginius Dabney, editor of The Richmond Times-Dispatch, has vouched for the honorable origins of the council."

The church officials said they believed that the "time has come for the public to be made aware of the resurgence of McCarthyism in the South.

"If there is in fact a Communist threat in the South, then Dr. Alford and others like him have a responsibility to report their knowledge to the F. B. I.; if not, they have a duty to check their facts.

"Otherwise, they themselves are doing the real service to Communism, which battens on confusion, false charges, and the blind defense of racial injustices in our country."

The statement was issued here through the Rev. Will D. Campbell, associate executive of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. He said the signers had spoken as individuals and not as representatives of their seven denominations.

They included the Right Rev. Henry J. Louttit, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of South Florida; Dr. A. C. Miller, executive secretary of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, and the Rev. Charles Boyles, executive of the National Conference of Methodist Youth.

NEWS RELEASE

FOR MORNING PAPERS
MONDAY, JUNE 15, 1959

Southeastern Office
American Friends Service Committee
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

JA. 2-8764

In the past four years, the South has experienced widespread erosion of individual liberties, a report released today asserted.

It listed 530 specific cases of violence, reprisal and intimidation in the 11 Southern states during the four-year period from January 1, 1955, to January 1, 1959.

The report was issued jointly by the Southeastern Office of the American Friends Service Committee, the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches, and the Southern Regional Council.

The cases were drawn from the general press of the nation and in large part from Southern newspapers. The list was confined to occurrences attributable to the increased racial tensions of the past few years. Crimes which are part of other continuing social and legal problems were not used.

The sponsoring agencies emphasized that while the report dealt only with the angry, violent reactions to the desegregation decisions, another account could be given of patience, responsibility, courage and good will by both whites and Negroes.

However, it was added, "We feel an obligation to call attention to the dangers posed by the record--dangers for

which all of us, through silence or inaction, must share the responsibility."

The record, cited as evidence of the deterioration of law and order in the South since the 1954-55 school desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, includes:

6 Negroes killed;

29 individuals, 11 of them white, shot and wounded in racial incidents;

44 persons beaten;

5 stabbed;

1 Negro emasculated;

30 bombings of houses (in one of these incidents, at Clinton, Tenn., 30 homes were damaged by a single blast); attempted blasting of 5 other homes;

15 homes struck by gunfire and 7 homes stoned;

4 schools bombed, in Jacksonville, Nashville, Chattanooga and Clinton, Tennessee;

2 conspiracies to bomb schools, in Charlotte and Clinton;

7 churches bombed, one of which was for whites; an attempt made to bomb another church;

1 church burned, in Memphis, and another church stoned;

4 synagogues or Jewish centers bombed, in Miami, Nashville, Jacksonville and Atlanta;

3 bombing attempts on Jewish buildings, in Gastonia, N. C., Birmingham, and Charlotte;

1 YWCA building in Chattanooga and an auditorium in Knoxville dynamited;

2 schools burned.

Also, at least 17 towns and cities in the South were threatened in varying degree by mob action.

In all, the violence section of the report listed 225 acts against individual liberties and public peace. Included were the widely publicized incidents involving the appearance of Negroes at formerly white schools and colleges--the stories of Little Rock; the University of Alabama; Hoxie, Ark.; Clinton, Tenn., and Mansfield, Texas. Here, too, the Klan-Indian fight at Maxton, N. C., and the multiple attacks on Koinonia Farm in Georgia were recounted.

The section dealing with reprisals covered 95 cases. It was pointed out that this figure, as well as the overall total of 530 cases, could not tell the whole story, for some of the instances counted as a single item involved hundreds of men and women. For example, listed as one item were the voting purges of Louisiana, where names of thousands of Negroes were removed from registration lists.

Also, city-wide protest movements were counted as units. These include the stories of bus boycott in Montgomery; economic protest movements in Tallahassee; Tuskegee, Ala., and Orangeburg and Rock Hill, S. C.

On a more widespread practice, the report commented:

"Some Southerners since 1954 have elaborated and organized the methods of economic reprisal until a recognizably new and modern instrument has taken form. Most commonly associated with the White Citizens Council, the weapon of reprisal has

deprived Negroes and non-conforming whites of jobs, of credit, of supplies for their businesses."

The 210 instances of intimidation include mail and telephone threats, and at least some of the rash of bomb scares, Klan meetings and cross burnings. They range also from the arrest of Negro ministers in Alabama to police detention of a white Methodist minister who lectured on peaceful means to attain civil rights. Negroes seeking their rights under law and some white persons who have voiced their support of this move for legal equality; churches; ministers, priests and rabbis; Negroes who have bought homes in predominantly white neighborhoods--all were among the victims.

The report said that while there have been men and women across the South who have expressed anger and disapproval over the intimidation, "too many of them since 1954 have acquiesced."

-END-

News Release

NEWS RELEASE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
June 23, 1959
JA. 2-8764

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Senator Herman Talmadge has reportedly attacked the Southern Regional Council, the American Friends Service Committee and the National Council of Churches for a recent joint report on "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis."

The Senator could not have read the report before making his charges. If he had, he would have found that each incident reported was taken from objective newspaper accounts and that arrests and convictions of offenders were also reported. Moreover, cases in which Negroes were the perpetrators of violence against whites were also included.

As the report itself states, these incidents are related by their common origin in the heightened racial tensions of the last five years. The publishing organizations have also reported frequently on positive developments during this period.

The Senator is grossly misinformed if he believes that these organizations engage in "racial agitation." Each of them is known for its temperate, responsible approach to race relations.

It is a great pity that Senator Talmadge is not more concerned about these critical problems of lawlessness, rather than unjustly attacking those who soberly point out the dangers.

- END -

HCF

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:

Sunday, July 26, 1959

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
July 20, 1959
JAckson 2-8764

Atlanta, Ga., - A survey of racial practices in waiting room facilities in 21 leading Southern cities reveals that "facilities in air line terminals are desegregated or rapidly are being desegregated; that facilities in train stations are still largely segregated but are slowly becoming desegregated; and that facilities in bus terminals are almost completely segregated."

The report, released today by the Southern Regional Council, includes Little Rock, Ark.; Jacksonville, Miami, St. Petersburg, and Tampa, Fla.; Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, and Macon, Ga.; Louisville, Ky.; Charlotte, and Greensboro, N. C.; Chattanooga, Knoxville, Memphis, and Nashville, Tenn.; and Norfolk, Portsmouth, Richmond, Roanoke, and Lynchburg, Va.

Racial discrimination in public transportation has existed for more than 75 years, and it was not until November 25, 1955, that any substantial breakdown of train and bus waiting room segregation began. On that date, the Interstate Commerce Commission, which regulates train and bus travel across state lines, ruled that segregation of interstate passengers on trains and buses and in waiting rooms of stations is unlawful. The decision declared, in part:

> "The disadvantages to a traveler who is assigned accommodations or facilities so designed as to imply his inherent inferiority solely because of his race must be regarded under present conditions as unreasonable. He is entitled to be free of annoyances which almost inevitably accompany segregation, even though the rail carriers sincerely try to provide both races with equally convenient and comfortable cars and waiting rooms."

Air traffic is regulated by the Civil Aeronautics Act, which prohibits "undue and unreasonable preference" and "unjust discrimination or undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage."

The survey reveals that practices differ widely from city to city and even in cities within the same states. There are, moreover, the Council reports, inconsistencies in waiting room practices of a single type of carrier in a particular city. These differences and inconsistencies vividly point up the fact that waiting room practices are in the process of change.

"Furthermore," the Council reports, "there is real uncertainty as to just what the situation is in some cities. Indeed, there are cities and terminals which appear to have deliberately left their policies confused and ambiguous."

AIR LINES

All 20 cities (Portsmouth does not have air line service) have non-segregated waiting rooms, and 17 of the cities offer non-segregated service in terminal restaurants, at least to some degree. Rest rooms reportedly are segregated in only four of 19 cities from which information was received.

TRAINS

Seven of the cities surveyed have non-segregated waiting rooms in train terminals. In 10 of the remaining 14 cities, Negro interstate passengers have used the general waiting room. Negroes are allowed to sit in the same restaurant or at the same lunch counter as white travelers

in five of the cities surveyed. Rest rooms in train terminals are non-segregated in eight of the cities.

BUSES

Only two of the 21 cities surveyed have completely non-segregated bus station waiting rooms although Negro interstate passengers are allowed to use the general waiting room in eight other cities. In six of these cities, Negro intrastate passengers infrequently use the "white" waiting room. There were no non-segregated restaurants reported, but limited service, such as snack bars, on a non-segregated basis was reported in three cities. Two cities have non-segregated rest rooms in bus stations.

AIR LINE LIMOUSINES AND TAXIS

The Council survey reveals that in this related field 17 cities offer non-segregated limousine service to and from air line terminals and 13 cities offer non-segregated taxi service.

The Council concludes:

"The surface of the 'cake of custom' is slowly cracking. A Chattanooga observer remarked, 'It would seem that Negroes, aware of conditions, do what they can to break tradition, but many follow custom.' A similar awareness by white persons of the part they must play is necessary before real progress can be made toward the removal of legal and social barriers in interstate travel....

"The Southern Regional Council believes that an awareness of conditions and practices in waiting rooms of the Southern bus, train, and air terminals facilitates the solutions to existing problems and those that may arise in the desegregation of public transportation facilities. Courage, patience, and understanding are needed by all who would see orderly progress in the South."

Daily File

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:

Monday, August 10, 1959

A. M. PAPERS

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
August 5, 1959
JAckson 2-8764

A doubled and possibly tripled cost per pupil will be only one of the many problems faced if the South converts its public schools to a private system in order to avoid desegregation.

So say two Atlanta educators in a report prepared for the Southern Regional Council and released by the Council today.

The pamphlet, IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED...A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL PLAN, was co-authored by Dr. Donald Ross Green, Assistant Professor of Teacher Education at Emory University; and Dr. Warren E. Gauerke, Associate Professor of Teacher Education at Emory.

The pamphlet is chiefly concerned with the proposal to close all public schools and set up a private school "system" by giving tuition grants to all school-age children. Provisions for such a "system" have been enacted into law by Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia and are under consideration in several other states.

Although the authors seriously question the legality of such a proposal, they discuss the practical difficulties involved if such a system withstood legal tests.

For a private school to be legal and avoid entanglements because of "state action," the educators maintain that it must be free of all or almost all of the following elements:

(1) Compulsory attendance laws;

(2) State control of how grants are spent;

(3) State supervision of facilities, curricula, and personnel;

(4) Requirements for accreditation;

(5) Special services from the state;

(6) State assistance by means of textbooks, supplies, and equipment.

The educators point up the difference in current costs of private and public school education by comparing private and public school costs in the Atlanta area. The average yearly cost per pupil is more than twice as great in private schools ($625) as in public schools ($265).

In addition to this expectable increase, the authors maintain that added increased costs to the individual parent could be expected because of:

(1) The loss of federal funds.

(2) The possibility that sectarian school children would be made eligible for grants. (In Georgia, this would add 16,000 school children at a cost of $4,000,000.)

(3) Cost of raising funds to purchase buildings and equipment and the increase costs of the construction of new buildings.

(4) The loss of tax revenue through the dislocation of industry. It is maintained that business leaders are reluctant to locate in areas where there is a threat of closed schools.

(5) The loss of special services, which probably could not survive the switch to a private system. These include special education for atypical children; the textbook program and special library services;

vocational education; adult education; the specially trained science supervisors; visiting teachers; the state and federal financing of graduate education in subject matter for public school teachers; the in-service teacher education program; the Teacher Recruitment Service; and the "very important guidance, counseling, and testing program recently greatly expanded."

(6) The deterioration of legal and supervisory control of expenditures.

(7) The loss of teachers during the change-over. Replacement with equally competent teachers "will require, in this day of rising salaries, higher pay than is currently offered."

"Unfortunately," the educators say, "the financial difficulties the tuition grant proposal creates are only the beginning of the tale."

Among the more serious practical obstacles, they list the deterioration of quality inherent in a private system over and above that caused by financial pressure. The educators say that "contrary to popular opinion, the public schools even now are doing a better job, on the average, than the private schools." They cite Princeton tests to back up this thesis.

A second obstacle would be the loss of variety in the programs offered. Private schools, the authors maintain, typically offer a single program suited to the needs of some children. Public schools programs are varied for college, vocational, and other types of students.

Then, too, private schools face a tough road in the matter of accreditation. The authors say that "the existence of state, regional, and national accrediting agencies is further demonstration of the need to control standards." Rigid requirements are set forth for accreditation, and it normally takes a year or more to obtain it even under the best of circumstances.

Another difficulty listed concerns the fixing of responsibility for school policies. Financial control of a school usually means policy control also, and safeguards now provided by law will be lost, the report maintains.

The professional help of state departments of education, now available to the public schools, could not be called upon to help untangle problems of school organization in the private schools, the authors point out. To do so would jeopardize the legal standing of the schools.

Even if the states closed public schools only as a temporary measure, the educators say, reopening the system would present "a host of practical concerns as well as problems more intangible in nature."

Serious deterioration of the idle school plants, economic waste due to the attrition of students during the period of "no-schools" and consequent small numbers of pupils enrolling in school plants which were designed to house much larger enrollments, re-organizing the school board and electing a superintendent, teacher personnel problems, and the re-establishing of transportation routes are only a few of the tangible problems cited.

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:

Sunday, August 30, 1959

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 2-8764

Atlanta, Ga. -- The strained atmosphere created by resistance to school desegregation has slowed the pace of Negro voter registration in the South, the Southern Regional Council said today.

Negroes in parts of the South now feel they run a greater risk in trying to register than at any time since the outlawing of the white primary in 1944.

However, the Council added, the long run prospect is for "a steady, if gradual, increase in Negro political participation -- along with rising economic and social status."

These are conclusions drawn from the Council's latest survey of Negro suffrage. A full report on the survey entitled "The Negro and the Ballot in the South," by Margaret Price, will be published next week.

The Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners working for improved race relations.

The report contains county-by-county registration figures for seven states: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

Since the Council last surveyed Negro voting in 1956, none of the 11 Southern states has eased its registration laws. Two states -- Virginia and Georgia -- tightened voting requirements. Five states retained the poll tax.

Literacy tests which could be used to limit Negro registration remained in effect in seven.

During this period, purges of Negroes from voting rolls have been widespread in Louisiana. In some areas of the South Negroes trying to register were confronted with threats, slowdowns, evasions and outright refusals.

"The disturbed atmosphere in much of the South, created by resistance to school desegregation, clearly has retarded the normal growth of Negro suffrage. The fear and hostility generated by demagogues has dampened both Negro initiative and white acceptance of Negro political participation," the report says.

The Council found that many Negroes already registered have seen their vote shrink in importance as racists sought to make support by Negro citizens a liability rather than an asset.

In normal times, no serious office-seeker will deliberately antagonize a sizeable segment of voters. This has applied in the South in campaigns of recent years, particularly in cities, when an appeal was made to all voters, Negro as well as white.

However, the report continues: "In many parts of the region, emotionalism surrounding the segregation issue has led to a sharper division of voters along racial lines. Extremists in and out of public office have based their political appeals on racial fears and antagonisms. By accusing their opponents of 'wooing the Negro vote' or

'catering to the NAACP,' they have sought -- with considerable success -- to make support by Negro citizens a liability rather than an asset, because Negro support has proved in a number of instances insufficient to compensate for the resulting loss of white voters. Wherever this process has been effective, every Negro voter has seen his ballot artificially devalued.

"This unhappy state of affairs is not likely to be permanent. If prior experience is any guide, no Southern electorate will remain indefinitely preoccupied with fear of change as the overriding issue in every political conflict. Whenever, soon or late, the segregation-desegregation controversy abates, other more vital issues will come to the fore, and the votes of Negro Southerners will weigh no less heavily than others in the political scales."

Meanwhile, Negroes of voting age in the South are being influenced by two distinct forces. On one side, said the report, are national trends. Congress has passed the first Civil Rights legislation since Reconstruction, setting up a Civil Rights Commission and creating a new Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. Federal courts "have spoken with increasing frequency and clarity on the right of every American to legal equality and justice."

"On the other side," it continued, "stand local custom and resistance to change. In this camp is a vocal, sometimes violent and threatening group of whites. There are also many political candidates who use racism as a

stepping-stone to public office. What these elements lack in national support is offset, at least temporarily, by the fact that they are on the scene. The threat of Main Street often can be more real than the hope of Washington."

Despite the barriers, the number of Negro registrants remained fairly constant in the South as a whole. In mid-1956, at the time of the earlier SRC survey, an estimated 1,238,038 Negroes were registered in the 11 Southern states. At the close of 1958, an estimated 1,303,827 were registered, a gain of 65,789. This apparent gain is somewhat misleading, however, largely because the 1956 estimate of Negro registrants in Tennessee proved low in light of later available information.

In the eight states where SRC was able to obtain reliable figures, the number of Negroes registered in 1958 totaled 1,028,827, as compared to 1,074,672 in 1956, a drop of 45,845.

These eight included Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia, where registration figures all came from official sources. In North Carolina, a statewide estimate was made by the executive secretary of the State Election Board. In Texas, SRC sponsored a county-by-county check, the first of its kind in recent memory.

Of the remaining three states, the latest estimate for Tennessee came from a veteran capitol reporter; for Mississippi, from observers in the state interested in Negro suffrage, and for Alabama, from an estimate made by the Attorney General of the state.

NEGRO REGISTRATION

	1956	1958
Alabama	53,366	70,000
Arkansas	69,677	64,023
Florida	148,703	144,810
Georgia	163,389	161,958
Louisiana	161,410	131,068
Mississippi	20,000	20,000
North Carolina	135,000	150,000
South Carolina	99,890	57,978
Tennessee	90,000	185,000
Texas	214,000	226,818
Virginia	82,603	92,172
	1,238,038	1,303,827

An estimated 25 per cent of the eligible Negroes were registered in the South as a whole in 1956, as compared to 60 per cent of the white citizens of voting age. The 1958 total represented about the same percentage, a little over 25 per cent of the Negroes of voting age.

However, the report pointed out, many areas of the South have a long way to go to achieve even a 25 per cent

registration of Negroes. With some exceptions, Negroes generally continued to have the greatest difficulty in registering in the rural Black Belt counties where the ratio of Negroes to whites is highest.

SRC listed 29 counties in the South where no Negroes are registered. These include one county in Virginia; one in South Carolina; two in Georgia; three in Florida; two in Alabama; one in Tennessee; an estimated 15 in Mississippi; and four in Louisiana. The majority have populations over 50 per cent Negro.

But there are other counties in the South, the report said, where Negroes could register and vote in greater numbers. These are, for the most part, in urban areas -- and there has been a continuing trend toward urbanization of the Negro population.

As for the future, the report said:

"In the long perspective, there is every reason to expect steady, if gradual, increase in Negro political participation -- along with rising economic and social status. However, no abrupt or dramatic rise in the number of Negro registrants seems likely in the foreseeable future. It probably would be unrealistic to expect this in a time of widespread racial tension. Instead, the next big breakthrough in the field of suffrage may well be the revitalization of the existing Negro vote in the South."

The report will also include case studies of three Southern counties -- one in the rural "black belt" of the

Deep South where no Negroes are registered; a northern Louisiana parish, Ouachita, which experienced a wholesale purge of Negroes from voting lists; and a South Carolina coastal county, Beaufort.

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August 25, 1959

NEWS RELEASE
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE:

Sunday, December 6, 1959

The Southern Regional Council today called for an urgent effort to "get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the hands of responsible educators."

The 80-member council of white and Negro Southerners, dedicated to the improvement of race relations, issued a policy statement on the school question from its Atlanta headquarters.

It proposed that Southern communities redefine the problem as "How best to educate all our youth?" rather than how to bar Negroes from white schools.

The Council also expressed opposition to the use of pupil placement as "a political device to evade or thwart desegregation."

It said: "When placement is not guided by professional concern and criteria, but is designed to perpetuate racial separation, its use will only prolong the South's unrest."

The council declared that much of the South's political leadership, while eager for economic progress, has "seceded from reality" on the school issue. "Not for long," it warned "can this contradiction be kept from blighting the South's economic chance, its moral vigor, and its once great capacity to supply statesmen for the country."

In contrast, the council cited more than 200 Southern school districts where desegregation was started voluntarily. It added: "They give witness to the fact that where responsible leaders take the initiative, desegregation can be handled by Southerners without turmoil or court decrees."

THE FULL TEXT OF THE STATEMENT FOLLOWS:

STATEMENT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

What is right for the South to do has become what is practically urgent for the South to do. During the five years since the Supreme Court's decision in the School Segregation Cases, vast transformations have occurred throughout the world. One has only to recall the advent of space explorations; the fearsome developments in military weapons; the incredible industrialization of China; the growing economic and technological power of the Soviet Union; the emergence of African and Asian nationalism; or the formidable increase of the earth's population.

During these same years, the South has straddled the realities of the twentieth century. Its zeal for economic progress has kept pace with the times. But much of its political leadership, in vain adherence to the unconstitutional practice of segregation, has seceded from reality.

Not for long can this contradiction be kept from blighting the South's economic chance, its moral vigor, and the remnants of its once great capacity to supply statesmen for the country. Nor can the damage be kept from invading the self-interest of every Southerner -- the business man whose operations are endangered by the decay of law and order, the worker and consumer whose fortunes depend on the health of the economy, the youth whose education is threatened by interruption. Unless thoughtless resistance to both law and reality can be outgrown, the region will be a liability to the nation and the cause of human freedom which the South has believed itself to love.

Fortunately, there is a growing understanding that school closings, violence, demagoguery, and the products of defiance come with a price tag. The South has moved far in recent years toward reclaiming its economic equality with the rest of the nation; only the ignorant or the self-serving would willingly risk destroying that progress. To avoid that danger, however, realism alone compels us to discard our outworn myths and prejudices and face up to the imperatives of change.

AN URGENT OBJECTIVE is to get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the hands of responsible educators.

Southern communities need to redefine their school problem. Instead of "How can we keep Negroes out?" or "How few can we admit?", they need to consider, "How best can we educate all our youth?" By revising the question, one moves from an emotional to a professional problem, to be solved primarily by educators; and that is as it should be.

For example, we strongly oppose the use of so-called pupil placement as a political device to evade or thwart desegregation. When placement is not guided by professional concern and criteria, but is designed to perpetuate racial separation, its use will only prolong the South's unrest.

In the present climate there can be value in plans, such as that of Louisville, which permit both Negro and white students relatively easy transfer out of assigned schools. But plans which put on the Negro child and parent the total social and psychological burden of achieving desegregation are unjust and patently intended to escape the law. It is indefensible that children should have to run the gauntlet of hostile officials in order to enjoy their rights under law.

THE AMERICAN LEGAL SYSTEM assumes that when the law has been declared in a case, all persons in similar situations will comply, even though not parties to the case. Neither American constitutionalism nor the common law contemplates an endless web of litigation for the spreading of every legal concept. Nor is this the path to rewarding human relations.

Irresponsible political leadership has decreed this ordeal of litigation, and in some states this leadership is so far unwilling or unable to undo the obstruction it has caused. But positive local leadership has been available in certain areas of the South. In six Southern states, more than 200 school districts have initiated desegregation without conflict and without the compulsion of a specific court order. Hesitant and limited though many of these changes have been, they are at least beginnings toward voluntary compliance with the law. They give witness to the fact that where responsible leaders take the initiative, desegregation can be handled by Southerners without turmoil or court decrees.

Those communities which have desegregated, whether voluntarily or through court order, are now free, as they never before have been, to solve the problems of race relations. They can do so by adopting the only approach that has ever had realistic promise -- that is, by treating their Negro citizens as individuals, not as impersonal "problems." Instead of submitting themselves grudgingly to court direction, they can control their destinies by moving on their own initiative to end segregation in good faith.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was conceived sixteen years ago out of the conviction that Southerners themselves must ultimately work out democratic solutions to the South's problems. We cannot -- any more than the rest of the world's people -- control the global pressures which bear in upon us and dictate the inevitability of change. But we can and must be accountable for the way in wiich we respond to these historic forces of our time.

We remain convinced that the South, out of its long experience and abundant kindliness, will someday set an example

for every part of the world where persons of different color live together. The way to begin is with white and Negro citizens planning together school systems that will respect the personality and rights of each student, and to do this as one phase of a general movement to end segregation in all public life.

Thus will we hasten the time when Southerners are distinguished from each other by individuality, not by race, and are bound to each other by a consciousness, not of color, but of common humanity.

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:

Monday, June 6, 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
June 2, 1960
JAckson 2-8764

Eight cities in the South have ended the student sit-in controversy by desegregating lunch counters, and others have made promising starts toward satisfactory solutions.

These cities are those with white and Negro citizens who are "deeply interested in the welfare and peace of the community and willing to work for a just solution to Negro aspirations."

This is the conclusion of a report, TOWARD A SOLUTION OF THE SIT-IN CONTROVERSY, prepared for the Southern Regional Council by Margaret Price. The report was released today along with a detailed account of three Texas cities, LUNCH COUNTER DESEGREGATION IN CORPUS CHRISTI, GALVESTON, AND SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, written for the Council by Dr. Kenneth Morland.

To date, the Price report says, lunch counters have been opened to Negroes in Austin, Corpus Christi, Dallas, San Antonio, and Galveston, Texas; Nashville, Tenn.; and Winston-Salem and Salisbury, North Carolina.

Where settlements have been reached, "there has been little solace for the South's prophets of disaster," the Council reports. On the contrary, the study shows that no store in the South which has opened its lunch counters to Negroes has reported a loss in business.

The report indicated that the methods used to reach agreement have not followed a precise pattern and "thus do not furnish a blueprint available to every community." However, methods "do offer suggestions which might be adaptable to local situations," the Council said.

In several communities, merchants "merely were waiting for someone to take the lead, but no one had bothered to check their attitudes." Fitting this pattern were Dallas, San Antonio, Galveston, and Salisbury, where only slight pressure was required to induce the stores to desegregate and the community to accept the change.

Generally, however, "the best promise of successful settlement has come from a small interracial committee of outstanding citizens who are amenable to change." These committees have included both unofficial committees of civic and/or church leaders and official groups appointed by mayors.

In Winston-Salem, a mayor's committee was successful in effecting a satisfactory solution after a period of conflict, while in San Antonio, Austin, and Salisbury, unofficial committees helped bring about the change. (Detailed reports on Winston-Salem and Nashville are now in preparation and will be released to the public when completed.)

Most of the North Carolina cities involved have interracial committees at work on the problem, the report shows. In Florida, Governor LeRoy Collins has established a state-wide committee and urged the formation of similar local groups. The Council reports that at least 30 Southern cities have established such community groups. Savannah is the only deep South city which has attempted this method of solution, though without success.

The Council predicted a continuation of the protest movement. It said, "The student sit-ins--only one aspect of Negro discontent--have

been too widespread, and indicative of too great impatience for anyone to expect they will disappear as quickly as they began. The movement may die down during summer vacations, but it seems unrealistic to expect that this dramatic movement. . .will die easily before it makes widespread new gains for Negroes in their drive for dignity.

"More and more communities inevitably will be confronted by the sit-in problem. A look at what has been done in some cities may offer other communities guidelines and reassurances."

The Council asserts that an ominous aspect of the sit ins is that "scores of Southern cities. . .are not even making an effort to solve the sit-in dilemma, present or potential."

"Southern white citizens," the report concluded, "will have only themselves to blame if they are faced with a new rash of time and money consuming law suits. They will have only themselves to blame if they permit the extremists to lead them down the path toward hate and violence and economic damage."

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:

Monday Morning, June 27, 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm. 432
Atlanta, Georgia
JAckson 2-8764

ATLANTA--"Southern newspapers are doing a better job in giving their readers the facts about racial events than in revealing their meaning and interpreting the points of view of the people involved."

This is one of the main conclusions reached in a report released today by the Southern Regional Council. The report was written for the Council by Walter Spearman, Professor of Journalism at the University of North Carolina, and Sylvan Meyer, editor of the Gainesville, Georgia, Daily Times.

Spearman's study is an analysis of the reporting of eight selected stories by six representative Southern newspapers plus the New York Times. The other papers were the Atlanta Constitution, Charleston. News and Courier, Louisville Courier-Journal, Memphis Commercial Appeal, Norfolk Journal and Guide, and Raleigh News and Observer.

Meyer's article, on the other hand, is a general review and critique of the role of the Southern press during the past six years.

"Like our readers," Mr. Meyer points out, "most Southern editors and reporters have suffered emotional adjustments to a new legal situation since 1954. Granted that a degree of this adjustment was necessitated by our own failure to find the right words to describe what was happening and our tardiness in achieving professional detachment, Southern newspapermen were

constitutionally unable to view race news as just another story."

Spearman's analysis of the job done by the selected newspapers yielded the following conclusions, among others:

1) "Southern newspapers generally are doing a conscientious thorough, and predominantly fair job of reporting racial news.

2) "The editorial bias of a paper is more likely to be revealed in the use or non-use of certain interpretive or color side stories than in the handling of an important event.

3) "By-line stories of a newspaper's Washington correspondent or of a local reporter sent to cover a nearby racial news event are more likely to show bias than the principal story from the wire services.

4) "Display of Negro news, use of Negro pictures, and attitudes toward Negroes as sources of news vary widely among Southern newspapers.

5) "Southern newspapers are still unaware of the effect some of their racial stories may have on readers in other countries.

6) "Southern newspapers are doing a better job in giving their readers the facts about racial events than in revealing their meaning and interpreting the points of view of the people involved."

Meyer discusses weaknesses of the Southern press in handling racial news under two headings, "errors of ommission" and "errors of commission." One of the latter, according to him, has been the overplay of news about segregationist leaders.

"Whatever its motivations, the press North and South suffered an extended period that can be likened to the one when the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy was in his ascendancy. Reporters seemed almost awed by the stature of names damning the Supreme Court and calling for resistance against encroachments on states' rights. That these big names were at the same time advocating and passing state legislation that usurped the rights of local school boards was rarely observed."

Meyer also deplored the addiction to labels, catch-phrases, and loaded words. "The press fell victim to a special language it helped create. This language was more than inexact, it was misleading. Its loaded words evoked purely emotional responses."

Nevertheless, Meyer argues that, "only newspapers among all the information media operate within a primary responsibility to inform fairly and to cover all the news." He concludes that "the press' sense of responsibility has been especially high when communities in the South go through a transition in their schools."

At the end of his study, Spearman quotes with approval a statement made in 1959 by C. A. McKnight, editor of the Charlotte Observer: "The press North and South is doing a much more authoritative, complete and constructive job of covering the race story than was true" in 1955.

The Southern Regional Council, an interracial organization with headquarters in Atlanta, has as its purpose the improvement of race relations in the South.

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NEWS RELEASE
Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities
P. O. Box 4844
Atlanta, Georgia
Phone: 5241829

FOR RELEASE:
Thursday P. M. Paper
November 17, 1960

Georgia's Schools still are "separate, but unequal."

This statement is borne out in a report released today by the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities.

Meeting in Atlanta, the Conference noted that "one of the most frequent objections to integrated schooling is the claim that Negro students are below the achievement levels of white students."

If this is true, the Conference said, the explanation could be found in the pages of its pamphlet, GEORGIA'S DIVIDED EDUCATION. "As long as Georgia provides inferior facilities for its Negro citizens, it hardly can complain, fairly, that they are less well educated," the group maintained.

The pamphlet is concerned with differences in educational opportunities for white and Negroes in such areas as pupil expenditure, building maintenance, school accreditation, teacher training and salaries, library books, and expenditures in higher education.

The pamphlet is based on reports of local school superintendents for the 1958-59 school year, the latest published reports. Discrepancies in each area are based on the following: state averages; the eight most populous counties; 30 other counties, selected to represent all population levels from small to large in two-unit and four-unit vote counties; and 19 other counties of heavy Negro population, 13 of which has more than 50% Negro population.

In regard to expenditures per pupil based on average daily attendance record, the report showed the state average was $36.64 higher for each white child as compared to that for the Negro pupil. The discrepancy ranged from $29.04 in Sample I, or the eight most populous counties, to a difference of $72.37 in Sample III, counties with a high percentage of Negro population. Expenditure figures include instructional, administrative, transportation, and maintenance and operation.

The Conference noted that discrepancies in purely instructional expenditures are smaller than those which exists in total expenditures, but pointed out the state average in instructional expenditures is $15.22 higher for each white pupil than for the Negro. The difference ranged from a low of $12.08 in Sample II, the 30 counties representing a wide degree of population difference, to $33.95 in Sample III.

The Conference also noted that more money, in proportion to the average daily attendance record, has been spent for construction of Negro than for white schools since the State School Building Authority was established in 1951. However, this was necessary, it said, because the needs of the Negroes were far greater.

And "unless there are adequate allotments for maintenance and operation... the money spent to build the new schools was in a large part wasted," the Conference claims. Its figures show that only 21.2% of the maintenance and operation expenditures for the state go to the Negro schools. This was also the figure spent for Negro schools in Sample I, in Sample II it was 15.7%, and in the counties where the Negro population is highest, 28.5% of the maintenance went to Negro schools.

In school accreditation, Negro schools again fell far below those of whites. In Sample I, only 57.5% of the Negro schools were accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. This compared to 76.6% of the white schools. In other areas, Negro and white schools both fell substantially in respect to accreditation; but Negro schools fell far below those of the white. In Sample II and III, accredited white schools were 43.4% and 41.3% of the total compared to only 16.7% and 11.1% of Negro schools.

"Obviously," the Conference said, "less than half the high schools in Georgia are good enough to meet the Southern Association's modest requirements. And any given Negro pupil has a considerably poorer chance of going to an accredited high school in his district than any given white pupil."

Although Negro teachers averaged higher than white teachers in the number of years of teacher training in Georgia, salary-wise, their average was lower. The average state salary for a Negro teacher was $199.53 lower than the average white, with sample area discrepancy figures ranging from $118.59 to $246.16.

The pamphlet noted discrepancies in other areas of distribution; such as, library books, instructional supplies, textbooks, guidance personnel, and attendance personnel.

The Conference also pointed out the disproportionate provisions made for white as constrasted to those for Negroes in state-wide schools for handicapped and colleges and universities. The state maintains 25 such state-wide schools. Negroes, the report showed, can only attend five of these.

"Discrimination," the Conference said, "is cumulative."

And it concluded, "if Georgia were truly to 'equalize' Negro schools and undo the damage already done by providing Negroes for decades with inferior schools, she would have to provide better schools for the Negro children than for white. Instead, she is still providing them with inferior schools."

PURPOSES OF THE GEORGIA CONFERENCE ON EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

To provide for constant negotiations with public officials in the government and leaders in Public education in an effort to secure adequate education for all of the children of the state, but more particularly for those underprivileged and forgotten children of the minority ethnic group of the state.

To cooperate with any and all agencies interested in maintaining and promoting public education for all without regard to race, creed, or religion.

PURPOSES OF THE GEORGIA CONFERENCE ON EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

To inform the general public of facts regarding the inequities in the educational program in the state, in an effort to arouse wide-spread interest in the promotion of educational opportunities for all the children of Georgia.

To survey the potential opportunities which are apparent, resulting from the moving of industry into the State.

To provide another voice in the appeal for the elimination of discriminatory differentials in the provision of and administration of public education.

To direct attention, through publication and consultation, to those circumstances, concepts and attitudes which limit the maximum development of our Human Resources.

To provide for constant negotiations with public officials in the government and leaders in Public education in an effort to secure adequate education for all of the children of the state, but more particularly for those underprivileged and forgotten children of the minority ethnic group of the state.

To cooperate with any and all agencies interested in maintaining and promoting public education for all without regard to race, creed, or religion.

NOTE: Any citizen interested in the conservation of our most precious possession, our children, is eligible in this non-dues pay conference.

NEWS RELEASE
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE

Monday, A.M. Papers
November 21, 1960

Against a background of racial violence in New Orleans, the Southern Regional Council released today an analysis of police handling of earlier riots in three Southern cities -- Chattanooga, Montgomery, and Little Rock.

Titled Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, the report was written for the Council by George McMillan, a well known South Carolina writer.

The report describes the basic need of good police work as "the support of elected officials and community leadership, expressing a clear cut community respect for law and order."

"For too many years, in the South," it continues, "the police were assumed to be an arm of the white race to keep the Negroes in their place. Where this attitude lingers, there is scant chance for the orderly resolution of racial controversy."

The report lists three main points:

1. Negroes in the South are prepared to take overt steps to change their status, even at the risk of personal safety.

2. Negroes may demonstrate in any Southern town. None can now count on immunity.

3. Traditional Southern police attitudes and training are not likely to be adequate for dealing impartially with the young generation of Negroes committed to the methods of non-violence. They

have forced a reversal of roles on the Southern police officer; now, to maintain law and order, he must protect the non-violent Negroes from the whites. And, he must do it quickly.

The report declares that "there is no greater danger to law and order in the South today than a Southern public official, police or not, caught offguard when trouble comes, and trying to meet the new problems with old, unassessed ideas."

The report describes three actual episodes, each representing a different type of violence which can occur in the South. They are:

Chattanooga's riot at the time of the student sit-in demonstrations -- "an example of a riot almost by accident which, though it reached dangerous proportions, was for the police primarily a task of clearing the streets and allowing tempers to cool and good sense to prevail."

Montgomery's riot -- "where the police, in the name of preventing 'trouble' and acting in their traditional role of guardians of a segregated society, crushed a Negro demonstration, in effect doing the bidding of the white mob."

Little Rock's second school desegregation episode -- "a story of police resistance to a planned effort by a mob to supersede the law."

The report comments that recent disorders in Jacksonville, Fla., had elements of all three of the situations studied.

"To prepare for riots -- as Jacksonville did not -- even to discuss the possibility, is distasteful. Yet not to do so is unrealistic.

"In the continuing racial crisis of the South, the police have

two basic responsibilities: to enforce the laws with absolute impartiality; and, secondly, to maintain a climate of public order in which constitutional liberties can be freely expressed, by white men or Negroes, by integrationists or segregationists."

Mr. McMillan, is the author of The Old Breed, a history of the First Marine Division during World War II, and is a frequent contributor to national magazines on Southern topics.

NOTE: The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

NEWS RELEASE
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE

Monday, A.M. Papers
January 30, 1961

The Southern Regional Council has submitted to President Kennedy and his administration a 48-page report proposing actions by the executive department to strengthen civil rights and improve race relations.

The report, entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," states that the President holds power under the Constitution and existing statutes which, if used, "could carry the country far toward good race relations."

It further declares: "Presidential action should not be so emphasized as to blunt the drive for remedial legislation. But the existing powers of the office should be used, and every governmental program administered in such ways as to move expeditiously to end discrimination and to open all careers to talent.

"The federal government's own operations need to be a model of just race relations, or else the credentials of the government to lead others are weak."

The 18 proposals made by the Council are summarized as follows:

1. That the President appoint a staff adviser on race relations and that he also create a single office to replace the present Committee on Government Employment and Government Contract Committee. The function of this office would be to review all federal programs to insure nondiscrimination in the government's own operations.

2. That the President use the influence of his office to broaden Southern support for civil rights.

"The South should be informed where the President stands...," the Council said, and "...an earnest, informed, and tactful effort should be made to reduce antagonisms and enlist a maximum of Southern good will and cooperation."

"Controversy and conflict are only worsened," the Council noted, "when there is any arguable doubt of the beliefs and intentions of the Chief Executive, when heated strife is followed by

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only slight and ambiguous victories for civil rights, or when the federal government and its agencies proclaim policies which are not enforced."

3. That the President announce as a national goal the full and free development of all our human resources.

"The President speaks the moral tone of America," the Council said. "He has an incomparable position from which to define the problems of our polity and to indicate by word and example what needs to be done."

4. That our overseas information programs interpret our racial strife and change truthfully and candidly.

"The U. S. Information Agency should, of course, tell the story of Negro Americans' progress," the Council said. "But it and other officials who depict abroad American racial problems should do so with honesty, realism, and an explicit awareness of American involvement in a world-wide revolutionary movement. The peoples of Africa and Asia can understand our problems, which are very close to their own experience."

5. That there be continual review of federal employment to insure non-discrimination, rather than reliance as at present on the processing of complaints.

"While channels for receiving and investigating complaints are needful," the Council said, "the main enforcement effort ought to be shifted from the processing of complaints and focused on a continuing review of agency practices."

"Another concern...would be the prompt suppression of segregation wherever it may be practiced in federal offices. Local custom cannot regulate federal conduct."

6. That there be frequent appointment of qualified Negroes to high level administrative posts in government service here and abroad.

"To project Negroes into public office will be good for the race, because it will strengthen morale and sense of identification with America and will sharpen Negro incentive. It will be good for the South, which needs to get used to the idea of Negro competence and recognition. It will be good for the nation's world reputation," the Council said.

7. That the President affirm his support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his opposition to segregated schools; and that the Department of Justice test in court its existing authority to intervene in or initiate school desegregation suits.

The Council noted, that, in education, "the most compelling unfinished business is school integration."

"The basic problem,"it added, "is two fold: to re-establish a climate of respect for law; and to move quickly beyond the pitiful beginnings and steadily toward an end to segregated public education."

8. That special attention to racial equality be given in federal aid for vocational training and the schooling of children of military personnel.

9. That no federal research funds be granted to colleges and universities that restrict admission because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"...with the huge sums distributed for research, the government has all discretion, and grants the money only to schools which it prefers. We think there can be no argument but that it is incongruous to favor any institution which denies admission to Negro students," the Council said.

10. That the Department of Justice be vigilant in the prevention or control of violence and intimidation connected with school desegregation or sit-ins.

On this point, the Council noted:

"...The signs of the times are not so difficult to read that an alert government could not anticipate the likelihood of disorder in a school desegregation controversy and be armed in advance to forestall it.

"Similarly, the reaction to sit-ins has led to serious breakdowns in the public peace. The Department of Justice should observe local situations with the utmost vigilance for evidence of unlawful arrest," and acts of violence over which the federal government has jurisdiction.

11. That the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice be adequately staffed.

The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 "can be enforced no more vigorously than the staffing of the Department's Civil Rights Division permits," the Council observed.

"In addition to giving immediate attention to the strengthening of this Division, the Attorney-General should look closely into the working relations between it and the U. S. District Attorneys, to the end that there be the fullest cooperation between them and the Division."

12. That the President sponsor a national voter registration drive, supported by wide distribution of information on voter qualifications and procedures in every state.

"The government might well undertake a national campaign to educate people in their voting rights and to encourage them to vote," the report noted. "If this were done with vigor and sustained attention, "a side result would almost certainly be an upsurge in Negro registration in the South, as well as a clear revelation of those areas where the cause of non-voting by Negroes is intimidation, either private or official.

13. That the President require all National Guard units to drop racial bars.

Segregation in the armed services has been virtually eliminated since the 1948 Executive Order 8891. The Report noted: "The President can in the same way end discrimination in the National Guard, and the logic for doing so is compelling. The Guard is a part of the United States Army, and composition and organization of its units are required to be 'the same as those prescribed for the Army.'"

And, the Council added, "the President is directed by law to establish and maintain ROTC units, and may likewise terminate them. There would seem to be no legitimate grounds for operating an ROTC at universities, public or private, which refuse admission on racial grounds."

14. That the "separate, but equal" clause in the Hill-Burton hospital construction law be examined for unconstitutionality.

The report noted that "most of the health and recreational activities are covered by seemingly adequate regulations against racial discrimination, although there have been instances of lack of enforcement. This is not true of the grant-in-aid programs, and especially not of the huge Hill-Burton construction program..."

15. That a final, decisive effort be made to end segregation on common carriers in interstate or intra-state traffic.

16. That large contractors of the government be required to recruit Negro employees as a condition for contract award.

"In the absence of a fair employment act," the Council said, "the executive department might well give serious exploration to other means as well as punitive sanctions for preventing discrimination."

The Council recommended that the executive department make a firm declaration of policy and give special attention to the employment practices of the large con-contractors. It suggested that "the method of attaining

this goal could be certification...that the bidder or proposed contractor is presently operating, in all its plants and offices, without discrimination."

The Council pointed out that the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Employment security maintain copious data on the nation's work force, and "can with minimum difficulty prepare and publish current information on the number of Negroes in various categories of the working force."

These statistics, it said, should be taken into account in certifying contractors.

17. That federal cooperation with discrimination be ended at once in the apprenticeship and employment services.

18. That federal housing programs be guided by a policy of encouraging integration.

"Present housing trends," the report noted, "are injurious not only to the dwellers in the vast city areas which it becomes increasingly accurate to call ghettoes," but too many middle class white families "are separated from normal contacts with persons of other races and economic station," and municipal government and the cultural life of the cities "are being weakened by shrinkage of revenue base and population imbalance."

"The question for the federal government to face," the Council said, "is that of how it will direct the tremendous influence it has through its huge involvement in the housing market. Will it use this influence, as it has in the past and as it still largely does, to strengthen and spread housing segregation?"

The Council stated its belief that the President should take note of the sociological and psychological handicaps of housing segregation and issue an Executive Order which stated that the national housing policy is to encourage integration.

"This," the Council said, "would be the strongest possible directive to the several housing agencies to examine meticulously the laws which they administer for opportunities to reverse present trends."

In conclusion, the Council noted that "civil rights and liberties are the dignities of free men and the essential condition of a free country."

"In working for their enlargement," the Council said, "the government and we as a people do that which is closest

to the core of our national purpose....

"The Presidency is the center of American energy. What the President says and does will mark the direction and the speed with which the country moves to perfect its racial relations."

The report was prepared by the staff and reviewed by the officers of the Southern Regional Council.

NEWS RELEASE

For Release:
APR 10 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: JAckson 2-8764

The Southern Regional Council announced today that Leslie W. Dunbar, presently its director of research, will succeed Harold C. Fleming as executive director of the organization.

The announcement was made by the Council's president, James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville, S. C., through the Atlanta headquarters of the organization.

Mr. Fleming is resigning his post with the Council to become the executive vice-president of the Potomac Institute of Washington, D. C., a newly established private agency for the study of constitutional issues. He has been a staff member of the Council since August 1947, serving successively as director of information, assistant director, and for the past four years executive director.

Mr. Dunbar has been director of research of the Council since February 1959. Prior to that time, he had taught at Emory University and Mount Holyoke College, and had been on the staff of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission at its Aiken, S. C., plant. He was a Guggenheim Fellow in 1954-55. He received his Ph.D. in political science from Cornell University in 1948.

The staff change will be effective within a few weeks.

Mr. Dabbs said, "I regret very much losing Harold Fleming, but Leslie Dunbar is equally capable of leading the organization in the widening fields of service that are opening before us."

The Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners which has as its aim "the achievement of equal opportunity for all the South's people."

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NEWS RELEASE
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FOR RELEASE
Sunday papers
November 19, 1961

"The waste in Houston is enormous" from school, job and social disadvantages imposed on Negroes, says a study released today by the Southern Regional Council and the Houston Council on Human Relations.

The Houston report is the first of several employment studies the Southern Regional Council will issue on southern cities, under the general title, "The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South."

The Houston study, based on a survey by Art Gallaher, Jr., Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Houston, notes that Negroes suffer early from job disadvantages in public schools which deny them training for work not "appropriate" in a community which regards "menial labor...as 'Negro work'" and that discrimination bars them from good jobs, work for which they are skilled, and advancement.

"Negroes are our greatest undeveloped national resource," said Executive Director Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council, announcing the Houston Report. "The country cannot continue to short-change itself in the development of the skills and talent of more than a tenth of its population. Nor can we continue to educate Negroes for jobs which we refuse to let them hold. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity has shown an understanding of the need for rapid progress. The urgency of the issue has led the House Committee on Education and Labor to schedule hearings across the country. We have begun this series of short studies in order to exhibit the dimension of the problem which the President's Committee, Congress, and the nation as a whole faces."

The study offers three typical case histories: a Negro engineer consigned to work as a garage clean-up man, despite a shortage of engineers in Houston; a young man trained in chemistry, denied job after job as a much-needed laboratory

assistant; a young woman, the only Negro in Texas professionally trained as an interior decorator, who could obtain even so much as an interview with only one employer

The study cites a few advances: a Negro lawyer on the U.S. District Attorney's staff; some city process servers; several sales clerks; equal job opportunity and desegregation in several unions. It also reports serious concern of the Texas Employment Commission over the Negro job situation and that the T. E. C. has desegregated its waiting room and staff.

Generally, however, the report shows, Houston's Negro college graduates may expect lesser jobs and less advancement than white high school graduates, are denied advancement and are rarely allowed to work in trades and professions for which they are trained. Discrimination begins, the study shows, in vocational schools, operates implacably in hiring by business, industry, hospitals, government offices, and keeps Negroes from work competing with or supervising white people. Negroes, the survey suggests, "are the first to be laid off and the last to be rehired."

Concluding, the Houston study asks: "How long can a major city of the United States continue to undertrain a sizable segment of its young people, limit their opportunities for entry into the labor market, hamper and restrict their employment advance, underutilize their employment skills, deprive them of job security, without serious consequences to the city's own economic and social advance?"

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE: Monday AM Papers
March 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia
Phone: 522-8764

President Kennedy's Administration has been a "primary center for initiative" in civil rights progress, the Southern Regional Council said today. In a report titled Executive Support for Civil Rights, the Council said that the numerous executive actions taken during the last 14 months have been, in sum, a development of importance comparable to that of the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954.

"Possibly the greatest achievement of the months since January 1961 has been the establishment of a new and pervasive attitude in Washington," said the Council. "There has been created among federal policy makers a sense of obligation to civil rights, and new, higher standards against which to measure that obligation."

On the other hand, the report pointed to the possibility that in some fields, such as voting and schools, "activity and energy can become a substitute for results." It noted also that in some programs the Administration, has to date, shown little concern for civil rights.

In a section headed "Areas of Little Action," the report discussed federal aid to research, the policies of the U. S. Office of Education, the Hill-Burton hospital program, the National Guard, and federal housing programs.

"President Kennedy," the report remarked, "has said that 'federal money should not be spent in any way which encourages discrimination.' This principle has not been applied in the field of research grants. For reasons difficult to comprehend, the same Administration which requires every government contractor to practice non-discrimination, spends enormous sums for university-centered research, without care as to whether the institutions deny admission to Negro students and scholars."

In discussing housing, the Council observed that the Administration has to date relied on executive actions to support civil rights, and has thereby avoided jeopardizing its Congressional program. It called the withholding of an executive order against discrimination in federally aided housing evidence of a "double-edged deferral of civil rights to other areas of policy." Housing discrimination was described as an issue too critical for "postponement of measures acknowledged to be necessary."

The report said that four qualities had chiefly characterized the Administration's civil rights efforts to date:

(1) Vigorous enforcement of federal laws and defense of federal authority. In this connection, the report discussed the work of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department in voting, schools, and transportation cases.

(2) "A bias toward civil rights has been built into the federal government, and should give steady momentum to civil rights advance." The Council study commented in particular on the gains made in the employment of Negroes by the federal government.

(3) The Administration's sole aim in the South has been compliance with federal law. The report found a lack of interest in moving beyond token school desegregation, and a tendency to "over-value public order," as in the Albany (Ga.) crisis. The report also noted that the campaign against employment discrimination by government contractors is, to date, "primarily a non-southern program."

(4) The Administration has framed strong policies in regard to contractor employment which, if fulfilled, will "contribute greatly to American welfare." In other fields, however, where strong policies might encounter the resistance of state governments in the South, the Administration has not acted. These, the Council said, included research grants for public higher education, vocational training programs,

Hill-Burton hospitals, the National Guard, and housing.

Nevertheless, the Council asserted that what has been done by the present administration represents "a genuine turning point in American racial relations." It said further that, "We know of no evidence to suggest that the Administration's widespread efforts for civil rights have alienated the Administration's support among the people of the South. Even the legal proceedings of the Department of Justice have been generally accepted, except by those politicians and some relatively few others with vested interests in racial discrimination."

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

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3/26/62 File Copy

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE: ALL PAPERS
THURSDAY,
MARCH 29, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: 522-8764

The Voter Education Project, a new program to study the causes of low voter registration in the South, and to ascertain the most effective methods for increasing the southern electorate, was announced here today by the Southern Regional Council.

The Project, with headquarters in Atlanta, is headed by Wiley A. Branton, formerly of Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Mr. Branton has been in private law practice and has also been active in civil rights cases for a number of years.

The special interest of the Project, according to Mr. Branton, will be "to study the most effective methods of bringing more Southerners into voter participation. Over a two-year period we shall observe and analyze the voter registration programs of other agencies in order to collect our data. When necessary, we shall grant funds to other agencies to make possible programs which we believe will advance the study."

Mr. Branton pointed out that discussions had already been held with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. "Each of these agencies," he said, "is now planning greatly enlarged registration programs in the South. These organizations have pledged their cooperation with our Project."

The Project will also work cooperatively with other responsible groups carrying on voter registration programs.

"The largest group of non-voters in the South," said Branton, "are Negroes, especially in the Deep South. There will be no true democracy in the South until they become

active citizens. But voting participation of all Southerners is low, and needs to be encouraged. The Project will support, within the limits of its ability, any voter registration programs which accord with our research interest."

The Southern Regional Council reported also that the aims of the Voter Education Project have been endorsed by the Chairmen of the Democratic and Republican National Committees, as well as by a number of private organizations interested in a more democratic franchise. These endorsers include the American Friends Service Committee, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Council of the Churches of Christ, and the Negro American Labor Council.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE: ALL PAPERS
THURSDAY, A.M.
NOVEMBER 15, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: JA 2-8764

In a report released today of racial controversy in Albany (Ga.), the Southern Regional Council warns that, while the country must be ready for other crises such as that of Oxford, "it needs to be prepared for the likelihood--almost the certainty--of other Albany's."

The Council's comment is contained in the Introduction to a 35-page report, Albany: A Study in National Responsibility. Written by Spelman College historian Howard Zinn, the report describes the Albany demonstrations, which began in November 1961 after the city defied the Interstate Commerce Commission's order against bus terminal segregation, and which are still unresolved.

In publishing the Zinn study, the Council says that the country "urgently requires an understanding" of Albany for two reasons:

> "First, as the civil rights movement penetrates the Deep South, and into smaller cities and rural areas, there will be other localities, and perhaps many, where a similar pattern of events will occur.
>
> "Second, ... Albany was a national responsibility. ...It is the price of eight years of inaction by Congress, of hesitancy by Presidents, of timidity by southern moderates in making good the promise of the decision of 1954. The Negro demonstrations in the streets of Albany ... are the direct result of disillusion over the good faith and intentions of national and regional leadership."

In his description of the Albany developments to date, Professor Zinn gives special attention to the nature of the Negro protest movement, the policies of the Albany police, and the role of the federal government.

He describes the "courage, passion, and sacrifice" of the Negro movement in Albany, saying that "it brought forth on American soil--too often hard and cold in recent years--some

of the noblest qualities that human beings have shown anywhere." But he cautions also against "massive and undifferentiated assault " on community practices, rather than "singling out a particular goal and concentrating on it."

Discussing law enforcement in Albany, Zinn notes that the police there have received praise throughout the nation for preventing widespread violence. He adds that they have done this by "simply putting into prison every man, woman, or child who dared protest in any way the infringement of rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution." In its Introduction, the Southern Regional Council notes a new pattern of police methods in the South, and typified in Albany, where "sophisticated police work" does the "traditional--almost legendary--job of the mob, i.e., the suppression of Negro dissent."

In a chapter titled "Where Was the Federal Government?", Zinn states that the "national government has failed to protect the liberties of its citizens in the city of Albany." He lists seven suggested actions the federal government might take to cope with or help prevent Albany-type situations. He urges, for example, that the Department of Justice seek, or at least support, injunctive actions against police interference with peaceful assembly, picketing, and speech.

He also urges that the President refuse to appoint segregationist judges to the federal bench. "Judgeships left vacant are preferable to those filled for life by men who, on their public record, are opponents of racial equality."

The Council in its Introduction says that "There has been no acknowledgment of a federal duty to protect federal rights, the rights of speech and peaceable assembly and equal protection of the laws." The Council adds that, although primary responsibility to protect rights rests on the state governments, "when local and state governments fail, that is a federal obligation."

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

December 7, 1962
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
ALL PAPERS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Ga.
Phone: JA. 2-8764

Several hundred Southerners concerned with race relations will have "a consultation" on "The South: The Ethical Demands of Integration" December 27-29, at Vanderbilt University Law School in Nashville.

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the Southern Regional Council are sponsors of the conference, where Martin Luther King, Jr., Atlanta, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, James McBride Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council and other leading Southerners will speak and conduct discussions.

"Desegregation is only the first step on the road toward the good society," says a statement explaining the theme of the meetings. "Segregation removes the legal and physical barriers to the enjoyment and exercise of the rights and responsibilities of our common life. The process of desegregation, too slow in speed and too small in amount, must go on. Integration is the next step -- the positive acceptance of desegregation and the glad welcoming and full participation of Negroes into the total range of human activities."

Dr. King will speak on "An Analysis of the Ethical Demands of Integration in the South." The conference will hear reports on three studies of changes in southern cities: "The Public Schools in Charlottesville, Va.," from Thomas Hammond and Paul Gaston of the history department of the University of Virginia; "Equal Employment in Greensboro, N. C.," from Sarah Herbin and Tartt Bell of the American Friends Service Committee; and "The Role of Religion in Desegregation Efforts in Atlanta," from Dr. Samuel Williams, pastor of Friendship Baptist Church in Atlanta, president of the Atlanta NAACP and Morehouse College professor.

Mr. Dabbs will make the closing talk of the conference, which begins the afternoon of December 27, and ends at noon December 29. The planning group for the consultation includes Warren A. Ashby, philosophy professor at the Woman's College, University of North Carolina; Aubrey N. Brown, Jr., editor of The Presbyterian Outlook; Julius T. Douglas, Presbyterian minister of Greensboro, N. C.; Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council; Jean Fairfax, American Friends Service Committee; Neal Hughley, economics professor at North Carolina College; Charles M. Jones, chairman of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen; Herman H. Long, director of the Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College; Nelle Morton, religion professor at Drew Seminary; Ann Queen, Y. W. C. A. secretary at the University of North Carolina; Dr. King and Mr. Dabbs.

PRESS RELEASE

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Ja5-0595

March 1, 1963
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The following statement was released today by Wiley A. Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project:

"On the night of February 28, 1963, in LeFlore County, Mississippi, white men, from their moving car, shot and seriously wounded a young Negro registration worker. The victim was James Travis of Jackson, Mississippi, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. This attack, with intent to kill, was made by men who had been observed throughout the evening watching a building in Greenwood where registration workers were meeting.

"After the meeting, Travis, Robert Moses, Director of the Council of Federated Organizations, and Randolph Blackwell, Field Director of our Voter Education Project, drove from Greenwood down U.S. Highway 82. Some miles outside Greenwood the attackers' car drove alongside and opened rifle or pistol fire. Fortunately, only Travis was wounded.

"Travis was returned to a hospital in Greenwood. The local police and the Department of Justice were promptly notified. On March 1, Travis was moved to a hospital in Jackson.

"This is but the latest of brutal attacks in Mississippi, southwest Georgia, and other areas of the South, against

registration workers and would-be Negro voters. These registration workers are people cooperating with the Voter Education Project. This Project, which has the endorsement of the chairmen both of the Democratic and Republican National Committees, is a large scale effort to find the best ways of increasing the electorate in the South, in order to bring into participation in American democracy citizens who have not before exercised, or been allowed to exercise, their responsibilities. In most areas of the South, work carried on in cooperation with the Project has been without disturbance, and in some cases even welcomed by local authorities.

"But in certain outlaw communities registration workers have been constantly harassed and put in danger of life. Negroes seeking to register have been cruelly treated.

"These are intolerable conditions to expose people to, and they cannot be allowed to continue. Accordingly, there is a need to establish once and for all that in this land people do not have to be afraid to be free.

"The state of Mississippi has repeatedly thrown down a gauntlet at the feet of would-be Negro voters, not only by the discriminatory practices of the registrars, but also by economic pressures, threats, coercion, physical violence, and

death to Negroes seeking the right to vote. The time has come for us to pick up the gauntlet. LeFlore County, Mississippi, has elected itself as the testing ground for democracy and we are accordingly meeting the challenge there.

"We are, therefore, announcing that the full resources of the agencies cooperating with us in the Voter Education Project will be immediately concentrated in LeFlore County, Mississippi. Mr. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Mr. James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Mr. James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, have agreed with us today to put all necessary support at once into a concerted campaign to get every qualified Negro in LeFlore County registered to vote, if he or she has any desire to do so.

"Our methods will, at all times, be peaceable and lawful and will be conducted in the best traditions of American democracy.

"The campaign will be conducted openly. Voter registration is a civic duty, and registration workers will dignifiedly and publicly carry on their activities, which

will include literacy schools, meetings, and individual contacts.

"Based on the unhappy experience of recent months we must anticipate that our efforts will be met by continued harassment and violence. The state of Mississippi and the United States government each have a responsibility to protect those seeking the right to vote for all citizens. The state of Mississippi has not only failed to provide this protection in the past but, in fact, has cooperated with those who would deny basic rights to American citizens of color. The federal Congress and Executive have, in the past, failed to meet the minimum requirements for protecting the rights of Negro citizens in Mississippi.

"Recently, the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has said: 'This Committee finds that the Federal Government has not provided the citizens of Mississippi the protection due them as American citizens.' We concur in this finding.

"Regardless of past attitudes and actions, we are advising the Governor of Mississippi of our plans for action in LeFlore County and have asked that the state of Mississippi provide protection.

"We have also notified the Attorney General of the

United States that this campaign is being undertaken and we have called to his attention our past experiences regarding the failure of the state and federal governments to protect the citizens of Mississippi. We have requested that federal protection be provided immediately to assure the personal safety of those working in voter registration or who seek the right to vote. We are asking the Justice Department to take the necessary legal action to see to it that discriminatory practices by the registrar cease and desist.

"Voting is a federally guaranteed right, and when its exercise is prevented by community lawlessness, the United States government has an obligation not only to punish that lawlessness but to put it down.

"We, therefore, call upon the President of the United States to use his executive powers to help make meaningful the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment - 100 years late."

(30)

Telegram Dated March 1, 1963 to Attorney General Robert F Kennedy:

As I am sure you are aware, James Travis, a voter registration worker, was seriously wounded last night by gunfire in LeFlore County, Mississippi. Mr. Travis and two other men, one a staff member of this office, were attacked while peaceably driving in their car on a U. S. highway. This is but the latest of these vicious assaults against registration workers and applicants in Mississippi. This cannot longer be tolerated. We are accordingly today announcing a concentrated, saturation campaign to register every qualified Negro of LeFlore County. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, and James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, pledge their full resources. The campaign will begin immediately. You must anticipate that this campaign will be met by violence and other harassment. We are notifying you in advance so that you can provide at once the necessary federal protection to prevent violence and other forms of intimidation against registration workers and applicants. We shall keep you regularly informed.

Wiley A. Branton

Telegram Dated March 1, 1963 to Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi:

As I am sure you aware, James Travis, a voter registration worker, was seriously wounded last night by gunfire in LeFlore County, Mississippi. Mr. Travis and two other men, one a staff member of this office, were attacked while peaceably driving in their car on a U.S. highway. This is but the latest of these vicious assaults against registration workers and applicants in Mississippi. This cannot longer be tolerated. We are accordingly today announcing a concentrated, saturation campaign to register every qualified Negro of LeFlore County. Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality, and James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, pledge their full resources. The campaign will begin immediately. You must anticipate that this campaign will be met by violence and other harassment. We are notifying you in advance so that you can provide at once the necessary state protection to prevent violence and other forms of intimidation against registration workers and applicants.

Wiley A Branton

NEWS RELEASE

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Ja. 5-0595 or Ja. 2-8764

FOR RELEASE: All Papers
Sunday
March 31, 1963

The Voter Education Project released today a chronological listing of 64 acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes in Mississippi since January 1961. Almost all of the incidents are directly related to efforts by Negroes to register to vote.

The last item on the list is the March 27 dispersal by Greenwood policemen and their dogs of Negro registration applicants, and the jailing of registration workers.

"We are sure this is not a complete list," said Wiley A. Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project. "It does demonstrate conclusively, however, the pattern of discrimination and violence which exists in Mississippi, and makes Constitutional rights virtually inoperative in that state."

The listing, he pointed out, does not include the riot at the University of Mississippi last fall, nor subsequent harassment of James Meredith. "All the world knows that story, as it does the earlier stories of Emmett Till and Mack Parker. This listing, nearly all of which has been compiled from the daily press, shows that what happened at the University should have been expected by anyone familiar with the Mississippi record."

Because of the near-fatal gun attack of February 28, 1963 against three voter registration workers, a concerted, saturation registration campaign was announced on March 1, 1963 in LeFlore County, Mississippi, of which Greenwood is the county seat.

The LeFlore campaign represents the combined efforts of the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the local NAACP Youth Council.

The announced objective of the campaign is to get every qualified Negro in LeFlore County registered to vote, if he or she has any desire to do so.

This unprecedented concentration of resources in LeFlore County has led, said Branton, to unprecedented results. "For the first time in a Mississippi county, there has been a breakthrough of the fear which has held Negroes back. Since March 1, over 500 have waited determinedly at the Greenwood court house, trying to register. Because of the long drawn-out process in Mississippi, how many will be passed by the registrars is not yet known. Weekly mass meetings are thronged, and LeFlore Negroes are saying emphatically and courageously that they will not wait any longer to be treated as American citizens. And police suppression will not stop them."

Branton also noted that the U. S. Department of Agriculture had made a welcome contribution to Negro morale by successfully pressuring the county to resume, on April 1, distribution of federal surplus food, which had been cut off by the county last fall.

"This was interpreted by the local people," he said, "as an act of support and encouragement by the federal government."

"However," he continued, "the federal government has done little to protect the peace in LeFlore, or elsewhere in Mississippi. Sixty-eight years ago, in the case of In re Debs, the Supreme Court said that the 'entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care.' The peace of the United States is broken and shattered by the lawlessness in Mississippi. The federal government has an obligation, which it is not fulfilling, to restore it."

The Voter Education Project is a program of the Southern Regional Council, with offices in Atlanta.

-END-

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS
Sunday, May 26, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 2-8764

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council made today the following statement:

"By its decisions of May 20, 1963 in the 'sit-in' cases, the Supreme Court moved our law a long step nearer the American ideal of equal rights.

"These decisions confront the South again with an historic choice. They set before us a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity -- and intelligence -- which we turned our backs on in 1954. The South nine years ago was called on by the national will for greatness; instead, it responded with a self-blighting display of malice and futility. The recent events in Birmingham are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit.

"The Court's decision of May 20 came, however, at a time of promising events as well. In several southern cities -- Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Knoxville, and Nashville among others -- there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services.

"Equality is an American ideal. It has become also a practical necessity. But it is first of all an issue of human decency.

"In the United States, and particularly in the South, we are adopting measures which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience. Had we years ago vigorously defended voting rights in the courts, had we made beginnings in the desegregation of public accommodations and services, had we established rules to protect fair and equal employment rights, had we done these and other like things then -- which we are beginning to do now -- they might have been in time. They are not any longer.

"The legitimate unrest of Negro citizens requires a statesmanship adequate for the times, from national, state, and local governments, and from private businesses.

"We need to turn from the mere defense of voting rights against criminal violation to the positive assurance of voting rights; from token school desegregation to a loving concern for the education of all our children. We need in all of American life to accept and benefit from each other.

"Negro Southerners, supported by white people of good will, have been the South's moral leaders these last few years. The whole region and the nation owe them a debt for what they have accomplished, and for their continued faith in American institutions.

We need, in the spirit of Judge Tuttle's ruling of May 22 regarding the expulsion of Birmingham school children, to direct our thoughts and actions at the main issue: at how the welfare of the South's people can be enlarged. Vindictive policies are always self-defeating; responsible Southerners must not longer tolerate them.

"The Supreme Court defines the law of the land and the duty of citizens under it. Southern states and cities ought not again, or still, evade and avoid legal responsibilities which clearly are theirs. The South can recover its title-deeds in American democracy by now taking specific actions that would show its loyalty to the spirit of the law and to its own Negro citizens. These actions should include

--the immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where charges are pending;

--the removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants or other businesses serving the general public.

"Finally, we take note of the imminent desegregation of the University of Alabama, and of President Kennedy's straightforward remarks of May 22. The

disorders of last fall at the University of Mississippi must not be allowed to recur. We are confident that Alabama students will act with the dignity and good will shown in January by the students of Clemson. We trust that President Kennedy and his Administration will be prepared to act forthrightly to insure that the Negro enrollees will not be delayed or harassed as they enter on their studies, and that the integrity of federal courts will not again be defamed."

NOTE: The Southern Regional Council is a Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. Members of the Executive Committee are:

James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, S. C.
President of the Southern Regional Council

John H. Wheeler, Durham, N. C.
Chairman of the Executive Committee

Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, La.

Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.

Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Ga.

Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Ga.

Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.

John A. Griffin, Tallahassee, Fla.

Grace T. Hamilton, Atlanta, Ga.

John P. Nelson, Jr., New Orleans, La.

Raymond Wheeler, Charlotte, N. C.

H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Fla.

Stephen J. Wright, Nashville, Tenn.

Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Va.

Joseph F. Haas, Atlanta, Ga.

- END -

May 24, 1963

BCC MMJ

Bernice,

The following categories should receive the news release (public statement of SRC) of ~~this date.~~ May 26, 1963

Category:

#1

#3 (both groups)

#4

#5

#6

#8, (both groups)

~~Category~~ Category:

#9, (all groups)

#10

#13

#14

#16

#17

~~NOW~~ FCR, and

VIP

NOTE: Les wishes that the Press list be mailed today.

thanx, mmj

Jim Wade Dad ~~Baker~~

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

#1 ✓

#3 ✓, ~~both~~ both groups

#4 ✓

#5 ✓

#6 ✓

#8 ✓, both groups

#9 ✓, all groups

#10 ✓

#13 ✓

#14 ✓ #16 ✓ #17 ✓

FCR ✓

VIP ✓

NEWS RELEASE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
522-8764

FOR RELEASE: All Papers
Sunday
July 14, 1963

Although it is nine years since the Supreme Court decided that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional, less than half of one per cent of Negro pupils in eleven "resistant" states in the South are now attending desegregated schools, according to a study, "Token Desegregation and Beyond," published today.

The study was prepared by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia, and published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council.

The study is the first of several publications planned by ADL and SRC on problems of desegregation. A second study, to be released within the next month, is a psychiatric analysis of the effects of school desegregation in the South, by Dr. Robert M. Coles.

The fact that 99.6 per cent of Negroes in all the school districts of the eleven states are still attending all-Negro schools was attributed to "fear of integration itself" and "subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive." The eleven states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Professor Morland said at least 379 laws have been passed by state legislatures since 1954 in attempts to legally avoid compliance with the Supreme Court ruling. He described the following as typical methods of keeping school integration at token levels:

--Pupil placement laws authorizing a state or local board to assign pupils individually to different schools. When a Negro child applies for admission to a white school, the Board of Education can turn him down, not on grounds of race, but on as many as 20 detailed considerations including transportation, health, etc.

--"Local Option" provisions which allow communities to close their public schools.

--Tuition grants enabling pupils to attend private, non-sectarian schools.

--Restrictive transfer arrangements in schools which comply with the Supreme Court decision by assigning pupils to the school nearest their homes, and then automatically grant white students transfers to the nearest school in which whites are a majority.

According to the Morland study, no precise cataloging of the costs involved in these "devices" can be made. However, estimates show that the price is high. For example, a total of 293 court cases have been filed in state and federal courts at an average cost of about $15,000 each; in Louisiana, tuition grants amounted to some $859,000 in four months and five "Extraordinary Sessions" held by the state legislature to prevent desegregation programs cost $934,000; Virginia's tuition grants totaled more than seven million dollars in five years; Georgia's legislature was forced to amend its law after tuition grants reached $215,987 in one year.

In direct contrast to the efforts of the "resistant" states to circumvent desegregation are the results in six "compliant" states which have tended to go along with the Supreme Court decision. In these states -- Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia -- 51.1 per cent of Negro pupils attend schools with whites and changeovers from bi-racial to non-racial school systems have been made for the most part "creatively and successfully."

Although segregationists warned against "dire consequences" for the quality of education if changes were made, the study declared that school superintendents and statistical reports in desegregated areas refute the fears. The general consensus was that integration had not lowered the academic achievement of either white or Negro students. In addition, school children had shown themselves able to solve problems of adjustment to integration after the initial confrontation was over.

Professor Morland listed these among the factors determining when desegregation will become a reality:

--The vigor of the federal government "in demanding the elimination of discrimination." The federal courts, he went on to say,

have become "less and less patient" with token integration devices and have "blunted and eliminated" many such plans.

--The speed with which pupil placement laws, initially accepted as constitutional on their face, are declared unconstitutional as practiced in some school systems.

--The extent to which school closing is challenged when other public schools in the state remain open, and restricted transfer provisions that result in resegregation are rejected.

Professor Morland warned that token integration has essentially the same goal as massive resistance because it seeks to preserve the established pattern of segregation. He added, however, that the effort "will be futile in the long run."

"Federal courts are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels," he said.

Copies of the study are available from the national office of the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York, or from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

NEWS RELEASE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JA - 2-8764

Anti-Defamation League of the
B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York
PL 1-1800

FOR RELEASE: All Papers
Sunday, August 11, 1963

Even when school desegregation is accompanied by community disorder, "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given ... initial good health and a functioning school system."

This is one of the findings of the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on participating Negro and white students in the South.

The study, which has been in process for two years, was conducted by Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist of Atlanta, Ga. A summary report, titled The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, was published today by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The study deals primarily with six and seven year old elementary school students in New Orleans and sixteen and seventeen year old high school students in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were also made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville, and Burnsville, North Carolina; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

Among the findings are these:

--Some "segregationist" children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

--Negro children find attendance in white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

--White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage" and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends."

--Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."
--From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools.

The study found pressures on Negro children in desegregated schools varied "only in degree" from those which had always faced them in their daily lives. It added that while it was hard for a Negro child to enter an all-white school, the change offered "hopes and opportunities for work, for assertion of self, which contrast with other moments that may have seemed to them not only hard but also futile and less fulfilling."

Dr. Coles attributed changed attitudes in some white children to "getting to know a particular Negro child," and "thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school." He quoted a white Atlanta high school senior:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends..."

In discussing how Negro and white students got along in the same school, Dr. Coles said younger children played and worked together more readily than older ones. He found the reactions of high school students were determined not only by their racial attitudes, but by the normal teen-age struggles of growing up. Personal knowledge of Negroes, however, did overcome old ideas of suspicion, distrust, contempt, and disdain held by some white adolescents.

Both Negro and white students continued to learn successfully. Dr. Coles pointed out, however, that although the majority of younger Negro students managed well, older ones sometimes had to overcome "the burden of their former years" in schools "often far from comparable to the white ones." Despite some learning difficulties among Negro students who initiated desegregation in their high school years, the psychiatrist found very few academic problems "insurmountable." He asserted, however, that there were "less fixed disparities of educational achievement" in earlier grades than in higher ones.

According to the study, racial and personal feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way "to professional responsibilities and obligations," and few criticisms of teachers were heard from white or Negro children. Professional integrity "transcended private feelings about race," Dr. Coles observed. He went on to say that children and teachers whose feelings are "exceptionally strong about desegregation" are "a special and rather small group."

"Our studies show that many people oppose desegregation, but also oppose the closing of the schools, mob behavior, or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of Southerners," the psychiatrist said.

The study is the second in a series to be issued by the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Regional Council on problems of desegregation. The first, Token Desegregation and Beyond, by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Virginia, was published last month. It analyzed "devices" used by "resistant" states in the South which had limited desegregation to less than half of one per cent of Negroes in all school districts, and contrasted these efforts with those of six "compliant" states which had moved 51.1 % of Negro pupils to non-racial schools "creatively and successfully."

Copies of both studies are available from the national office of the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y., or from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

File News Releases - 1963

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS

Date December 30, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 2-8764

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council made today the following statement:

"I. Three Centuries of Moral Crisis

"The South's history for centuries has been intertwined with the travail of racial unrest and injustice. This injustice has been condoned and shared by the other sections of the United States and, indeed, has been part of the common practice of the European-American world. There is nowhere we can turn that the infection of racial prejudice and discrimination has not spread.

"These are days of turmoil, but also of hope. Negro Southerners, and Negro Americans generally, in their long struggle against injustice have steadfastly rejected the self-defeating temptations of those who proclaim that Negroes should segregate themselves from whites behind their own wall of hatred; of those who have advocated organized violent reprisal against white men; and of those who by insidious teaching and tactics have urged Negro Americans to join the ranks of the world-wide Communist conspiracy against constitutional democracy. They have, on the contrary, held to their faith in American institutions and to the inextinguishable instinct of men to deal fairly and honorably with each other.

"White Southerners have a much inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and of the Judeo-Christian religion. They have been subverted in great numbers by bodies such as the Ku Klux Klan and the white Citizens Councils, which are a corruption of all that American ideals proclaim. Even worse, they have in yet larger numbers surrendered to those social and economic desires and conveniences which blunt the moral sensitivity of men and women toward their neighbors.

"Today, however, white Southerners are manifesting a new and a quickened understanding of the political and economic dependence of the South's peoples on one another, and, above all, of their moral interdependence. Generations of white and Negro people have equally and together built this region, imparted to it what virtues and strengths it has, and made the South's positive contributions to the nation and to all mankind.

"Out of affection for the South, and out of a belief in the sanctity of every individual as a child beloved of God, we suggest the following thoughts to the public in this year 1963, the centennial of several great events of American history and a year also of unprecedented anxiety and disorder and tragedy.

"II. The Two Leading Issues

"The Southern Regional Council has always been committed to the achievement of the goal of justice for all, and the consequent elimination of discrimination and inequities through

education, understanding, and cooperation at the local level and within each community and state. We believe that this is still the primary and most effective way. Surely, however, all must recognize that where there is a breakdown in this primary approach, resort will inevitably be had to legislation and demonstrations.

"In the past, and most especially during the last 80 years or so, the South has deliberately created laws and public policies to keep its two races apart and to discriminate against its Negro citizens. At the same time, southern political leaders contended that law can never be used to bring the two races together or to suppress discrimination. They had thus effectively removed from Negro Southerners every power and privilege of protest, except the privilege of leaving family and neighbors by moving to the North or West.

"That we have progressed far in the years since World War II is evidenced by the fact that the present two issues of greatest urgency to our domestic strength and tranquility are the uses of law and public policy to undo the wrongs of the past, and the right and propriety of protest demonstrations to speed this process.

"III. Law is the Servant of Justice

"As to the first issue, and while recommending that voluntary solutions to cure racial inequities should always be sought diligently by both white and Negro leaders, we think there is a clear necessity for legislative and executive actions by the local, state, and federal governments. We are not, in the South or in the country as a whole, starting from scratch; we have an enormous housecleaning and rebuilding job, and governmental power should be employed for this public service.

"Under our system of federalism, most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action

of local and state governments. Only their failure to do so has caused the federal government to intervene and continues to make strong federal action necessary, because the condition of our Constitutional rights and of our race relations is a national burden and disgrace. In this connection, we take great encouragement from those federal court decisions and those state enactments which are ending to some extent the vicious and undemocratic apportionment of seats in our legislatures and in Congress; there is good reason to hope that, as urban centers of the South are accorded their fair representation, and government thereby becomes responsive to majority opinion and needs, a new and more responsible politics will grow up in the South.

'The increase of federal concern and activity in recent years has done much good. America is a better land because of the brilliant thrust of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy's moral and political leading and because of President Johnson's resolve to 'move forward to eliminate from this nation every trace of discrimination and oppression.'

"We need to recognize fully and clearly the two just demands of what is called the 'Negro revolt.' One is that there be an end <u>now</u> to all forms of institutionalized segregation and discrimination; on this there can be no viable compromise. The other is that affirmative measures be adopted to integrate Negroes and other minorities into free participation in the nation's public life and economy.

Statement - 5.
December 1963

"The federal government does not serve the public well when the help it offers, through either legislative or executive actions, is minimal; when it treats symptoms and not the problems; when it merely palliates disorders, leaving them to fester and to nag at the nerves of the people; or when it allows its money to be spent in ways that perpetuate or strengthen discrimination against the welfare or dignity of any class of citizens.

"Again we indicate our belief that vital problems of race relations could be well settled by state and local communities. We commend those southern cities which in recent months have established effective bi-racial commissions and committees. We believe that the essence of good human relations lies in the search, within each community, for laws and practices mutually satisfying to all its residents. We believe that the South, and each community of it, and the nation to which they all belong, must take an interest in the welfare and the development of each individual, and that only as it does so will it itself prosper.

"None of the issues of civil rights is likely to be solved fully while there exists, throughout the population, the present wide differentials of educational opportunities, nor while unemployment is as large and menacing as it is and has been. We are gratified by the industrious, even imaginative, endeavors now under way or being discussed in several southern states to lift educational levels. But federal leadership in these intricately related fields of

education and employment is a continuing necessity The current rate of unemployment is not only an economic drag but frustrates even sincere governmental and private efforts to overcome racial discrimination. Job scarcity has become an omnipresent motive for demonstrations, and may predictably engender more and bitter protest.

"We believe that the South, difficult as are its present problems and unhappy as its history has been, can, nevertheless, make a new social life that is richly humane, because it will have grown out of the honestly faced and concrete necessities of a common life. As today's immediate challenge is civil rights, so tomorrow's will be full integration. We are optimistic that a new South, born of struggle, will, with courage and intelligence, re-shape its economic and educational practices as needed to integrate all its people into a society that serves the free and full development of each individual.

"The means to this end is a thoroughly democratic, thoroughly responsible politics.

"IV. An Historic Opportunity

"There is no virtue par se in street demonstrations, but only the self-blinded fail to see the grandeur of the protest movement which since early 1960 has surged through the South.

"Through this movement Negroes seek no rights or privileges for themselves alone. They seek only those belonging to all American citizens. A wise society would

encourage and applaud this discontent with inferior status, especially as its end result is to make more secure the rights of all.

"Demonstrations are a direct reaction to the failure or the laggardness of white leadership. The public leaders of the South have it in their power at any time to stop demonstrations by satisfying the demands of the federal Constitution, of justice and of religion.

"We are little impressed by public opinion polls which reveal Negro bitterness or white prejudice. No informed and intelligent observer has ever doubted the existence of either. Bitterness and prejudice are now, as they have always been, the conditions against which the responsible institutions of American society -- governments, churches, press, educational and professional institutions, business corporations -- must contend and which they must rectify.

"We commend those Negro and white citizens who, through lawful assembly, peaceful picketing, and other forms of orderly demonstrations have used the methods of democracy to advance human rights.

"We commend their leaders, who have constantly taught that demonstrations must be non-violent, in spirit as well as in form.

"We ask the nation's understanding of and compassion for those white Southerners who, because of the teaching

and example of their civic leaders, perpetuate violence and spread malice. We would remind our fellow Southerners that, as the record clearly shows, the bombers, the killers, the haters never act except in areas where they are tolerated by official and community attitudes.

"We come back, therefore, to the need for strengthening the leadership of the South. Because we believe profoundly in democracy, we think that democratization of southern public life is the pathway to strength. We believe that the greatest contribution which Negro Southerners can make today to the national welfare and to their own is to register and to vote responsibly, and, together with white citizens, to establish truly representative government in the South.

"The qualities which are exhibited in the protest demonstrations are qualities that deserve other outlets. Patience, forbearance, faith in human decency, reliance upon intellectual and moral power -- these are qualities needed in politics, in the schools and universities, in the churches, in business, in all of our society. May this nation have the wisdom to draw strength from them."

Note: The Southern Regional Council is an organization to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Members of the Executive Committee are:

James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, S. C.
President of the Southern Regional Council

Statement - 9.
December 1963

John H. Wheeler, Durham, N. C.
Chairman of the Executive Committee

Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.

Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Ga.

Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, La.

John A. Griffin, Tallahassee, Fla.

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Atlanta, Ga.

Joseph F. Haas, Atlanta, Ga.

John P. Nelson, Jr., New Orleans, La.

Raymond Wheeler, Charlotte, N. C.

Miss Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Ga.

H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Fla.

Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.

Stephen J. Wright, Nashville, Tenn.

Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Va.

NEWS RELEASE FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS
Wednesday, February 12, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 2-8764

A total of 327,588 new voters were added to rolls through registration efforts of organizations cooperating with the Voter Education Project during the first 21 months of its operation.

The new voters were added in eleven southern states between April 1, 1962 and December 31, 1963.

These figures were announced by Wiley A. Branton, director of VEP. They do not represent total voter gains in the eleven states, but only those attributable to VEP sponsored activity.

The VEP seeks to encourage voter registration in the South and to study thereby patterns of Negro voting, and the most effective methods of overcoming the traditional barriers of discrimination and voter indifference. The program is nonpartisan and has the endorsement of both the Republican and Democratic National Committees. The South is the area of lowest registration in the nation.

Under the program, participating agencies carry on the work, under grants from VEP. The participating agencies include the principal civil rights agencies, such as the NAACP, CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the National Urban League, plus many local groups across the South.

The largest number of new voters reported was in Texas--a total of 120,590 as of December 31. The figure is an estimate of new voters paying poll tax for the first time under a state-wide program. It includes Latin Americans, white persons, and Negroes. Approximately 60,000 are Negroes. The Texas program will continue up to the 1964 registration cut off date in that state, as will the program in all other states.

The lowest figure was for Mississippi--3,228.

Figures for other states are Alabama, 13,487; Arkansas, 8,756; Florida, 37,111; Georgia, 46,347; Louisiana, 5,899; North Carolina, 23,323; South Carolina, 20,727; Tennessee, 34,243; Virginia, 13,877.

VEP also released its estimates of total voter registration in the area. For the eleven states, all voters numbered 14,157,058. Of these, 12,405,240 are white, and 1,751,818 are non-white.

This means that 11.8 per cent of the total registration in the eleven southern states is now non-white. Of the non-white voting age population, 35.2 per cent are registered.

The Voter Education Project is a program of the Southern Regional Council, with offices in Atlanta.

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS

DATE: Thursday, APRIL 16, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 2-8764

"Beyond prudent doubt, the next six months will be packed with crisis and decision for the South and for the nation. Every indication points to protest activity of an extent and intensity without precedent, not only in the South but in the North as well. The Senate filibuster wears on. When it is finally over and defeated, and a law is passed, the issue in the South will be compliance. In both Summer and early Fall, some of the most recalcitrant school districts of the deep South will be under court order to desegregate. And in the background of all this, there will be the excitement of the Presidential campaign and many state races...

"...The lesson of Jacksonville is... that wherever the white civic leadership -- religious, business, and political -- allows a racial crisis to develop and spill into the streets (whether by indifference or inattentiveness to the justified impatience of Negroes with tokenism or less, or by rebuff of Negro efforts to effect change through discussion and joint planning, or by other failures), then it invites violence in."

These were conclusions of a short report on the Jacksonville (Fla.) riots of Easter week, released today by the Southern Regional Council.

The report suggested that Negro discontent in the city had its roots in resentment of lack of progress on desegregation of public accommodations and lack of official sanction which cut effectiveness of the city's biracial committee, combined with a flareup of resentment over a television statement by Mayor Haydon Burns invoking tight police powers against sit-ins and public assembly of Negroes. It also suggested that Negro violence and vandalism which rocked the city for two days had its roots in a precedent for this sort of thing which occurred under more severe physical provocation in 1960, in the hostility festering in Negro slum areas, with criminal elements taking advantage of a race crisis to express broader-gauge anger, and in youthful mob spirit not unlike that of a panty-raid.

The report pointed out that now as in 1960, "the breakdowns in law and order in the South are an outcome of public policy..."

It went on: "In the years following 1954, the South chose to violate the American tradition of obeying a Supreme Court reading of the Constitution.

"The question for 1964 is whether the spirit of lawfulness has returned to the Southern political leadership, to that leadership which drummed up the orgy of massive resistance and which had always, as it has now through the deep South, power to maintain order..."

Then the report raised these questions for any community to ask itself:

"What guarantees are there that a racial crisis might not set off the energies of mobs, whether of white or Negro students full of spring feverishness, or of white or Negro victims of impoverishment, sullen in their slums? What policies and tools (such as an honorable biracial committee) give responsible Negro leaders any hope that their just demands will be met, short of the creation of a race crisis?

"And, finally, what is the unspoken communication of community leadership toward violence? In Jacksonville, it seemed to be the message that violence works. The two days of rioting accomplished the creation of an apparently effective biracial committee, something that weeks of urging had not accomplished. They seemed on their way to accomplishing in the field of public accommodations desegregation and the meeting of civic responsibility what three years of patient negotiation had not been able to achieve. Is this the message that will come from other communities to shape the emotional climate and mood during the crucial, turning-point Spring and Summer coming upon the South?"

File News Releases 1964

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE: ALL PAPERS
THURSDAY, JUNE 11, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: JA-2-8764

"Racial conflict," says Mayor Stan R. Brookshire of Charlotte (N. C.),"can be converted to an opportunity of raising the level of citizenship and building better communities."

Charlotte (N. C.) is one of two southern cities reported on today by the Southern Regional Council, in the first of a series of reports descriptive of southern cities that in recent months have confronted realistically their racial problems and have taken constructive action to resolve them.

The other report released today deals with Louisville (Ky.). Subsequent reports in the series will cover Memphis (Tenn.), Brunswick (Ga.), and one other Deep South city.

The Louisville and Charlotte studies were by Benjamin Muse and Pat Watters, respectively, both of whom are senior staff members of the Southern Regional Council.

In Louisville, Muse observes, "race prejudice may be said to be contained. It is viewed by the community leadership as an evil to be combatted, and it is being combatted steadily and with increasing effectiveness .... Discrimination on account of race is frowned upon in principle -- though still far from being eliminated in practice."

Both Charlotte and Louisville have official, biracial committees which have guided integration progress. The two reports describe the organization and functioning of these in detail. Louisville's Human Relations Commission is one of the very few such southern bodies created by ordinance. Charlotte's Committee on Community Relations was established by executive action.

In both cities, two forces have been chiefly responsible for progress. These have been firm Negro pressure and intelligent, strong business leadership -- the so-called "power structure." Race relations is not, said a leading Charlotte businessman, "a church problem. It has to be solved downtown."

In Louisville, Muse depicts how the community leadership has been expressed increasingly through municipal ordinances and offices. In Charlotte, the same business leadership which has carried through almost complete desegregation of public accommodations and which has cooperated with Negro leaders to make notable gains in employment, has, according to Watters, taken little interest in combatting problems of tokenism in schools and hospitals.

In releasing these two studies, John H. Wheeler of Durham, North Carolina, president of the Southern Regional Council, said:

> These studies of Louisville and Charlotte show how some southern cities have been able to make changes of historic importance, with a minimum of strife. They show also that we have only begun to uncover larger problems which have resulted from racial segregation in the southern states. Most of the progress made in recent years throughout the South may be attributed to the following factors: effective Negro leadership; free, enlightened public discussion; responsible action by the business community; and a political climate which does not frustrate or prevent local initiative. These same factors will be needed in our effort to meet even larger problems which lie ahead.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all of the South's people."

-END-

File News Releases, 1964

NEWS RELEASE

Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York
MU-9-7400

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JA 2-8764

FOR RELEASE: ALL NEWSPAPERS
SUNDAY, JULY 19, 1964

Federal civil rights legislation gives southern states a chance to avoid the ruinous costs that defiance has meant in the past, according to a report, The Price We Pay, published today.

The report, prepared by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Southern Regional Council, documents the vast cost incurred by the South's resistance to equal opportunity. It itemizes the price for discrimination in the economy of southern communities, employment, legal procedures, education, culture, and tourism. Expenses range from the $17 billion loss in gross national product estimated as the cost of discrimination against Negroes, to the $138,429 spent for police overtime and equipment in Jackson, Mississippi, from late May through August 1963, to combat demonstrations.

Telling its story through news items and editorials selected from a large range of publications, the report includes the following as reason why the South can no longer afford discrimination:

-- A failure, in recent years, in some sections of the South, to attract any large amount of new industry.

-- Young, educated Southerners leaving the area rather than "put up with all this racial strife."

-- The "staggering" cost to cities, counties, and states for policing "emergency" situations and for litigation.

-- A loss of, and inability to attract, faculty and students to southern universities.

-- A growing movement on the part of entertainers, cultural exhibitors, and sports promoters to boycott racially segregated audiences.

-- A loss of convention and tourist business.

According to the report, not all of the waste documented has a price tag. It asks if "the people of Mississippi, for example, can afford the cost to the human spirit that comes from being cut off from a culture's highest artistic achievement? Is there enough money in the world to cover the cost to the American nation in international good will lost by unacceptable race relations?

The introduction points out the "elementary arithmetic" which refutes arguments that the expenses are to be blamed on victims of discrimination rather than discrimination itself. It asserts that the estimated cost of implementing the Civil Rights Act for five years -- $100 million -- "would be only .6 per cent of the Gross National Product increase -- 17 billion -- which could be realized for one year with full and free use of our human resources."

It goes on to say that if all expenditures and loss could be added up, "the sum would be shocking." According to the report, "the shock is even greater if, in reading each item, one keeps in mind the many and drastic needs in the South for wise use of its public monies and resources to improve society and the lot of its individuals.

"Will southern states, which can least afford it, which so need to develop the potential of their people to the highest degree of human dignity, continue to waste the substance of their people?" the report asks.

The Southern Regional Council and the League said the report was issued to underscore new opportunities afforded the South through compliance with the Civil Rights Act "to be law abiding, to avoid such costs in the future, and to develop more fully its own great natural and human resources."

The Price We Pay is available from the Anti-Defamation League, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, and the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

File
News Releases, 1964

NEWS RELEASE FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: JA. 2-8764

Monday, August 3, 1964

Negro voter registration in the eleven southern states totaled 1,937,982 as of April 1, according to the latest state-by-state tabulation by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Wiley A. Branton, director of the project, today released the figures on registration and results of the VEP program.

The April 1 total exceeded VEP expectations. Since then the total Negro registration in the eleven states has clearly passed the 2,000,000 mark, Mr. Branton said.

And he said further "good-sized increases" can be expected between now and the November 3 presidential election. He added:

"If the presidential election is a close one within the southern states, the increased Negro vote could have great significance."

He pointed out that increases since 1960 in Negro registration in some of the southern states are greater than the margin by which one or the other of the presidential candidates carried those states in 1960.

For example, the Republican candidate won in Florida by 46,766 votes in 1960. Negro registration increases attributable to VEP alone in that state are 53,441. The

Democratic candidate carried South Carolina in 1960 by 9,571 votes. The VEP increase in that state has been 32,140.

The VEP is a non-partisan program engaged in research on causes of low voter registration in the eleven southern states, methods and techniques for increasing it, and development of educational programs along these lines.

Under its sponsorship, voter registration activities have been carried on in the eleven states by independent local organizations and five major Negro organizations -- the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Congress of Racial Equality, National Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The state-by-state tabulation shows a range of Negro registration as of April 1 from 28,500 in Mississippi, where harassment has been heavy, to 375,000 in Texas.

The April 1 total of 1,937,982 Negro voters is 38.6 per cent of eligible Negro voters in the eleven states. This means that a majority of them -- an estimated 3,078,118 -- were still not registered.

White registration in the eleven states, meanwhile, was estimated at 13,600,000 as of April 1, making the Negro-white ratio of voters almost one to six. About one-fourth of the South's voting age population is Negro.

The 1,937,982 total Negro registration compares with an estimated 1,350,000 Negro voters when VEP began in the spring of 1962, an increase of more than half a million.

The report shows that VEP-sponsored programs since then resulted in the registration of 551,328 people as of April 1, of whom all but 50,000 (in Texas) were Negro.

Thus, these programs are chiefly responsible for the two year increase in total Negro registration. They would have carried the total figure even higher had it not been for voters moving from the region, and for purges in some states and localities.

As it is, the total figure is a conservative estimate. Wherever official figures were not available, the most cautious estimates were used. Mr. Branton said the estimates for Georgia and Texas, particularly, are probably below actual registration.

Much of the VEP increase was achieved during the second year of the program's existence -- 426,321 of the total 551,328.

Historical perspective of the two-year gain of more than half a million is seen in a comparison with the decade between 1952 and 1962. During that entire period, there was a net increase of Negro voters in the South of not more than 350,000.

While VEP has been associated with most of the registration activity in the past two years it has not been responsible

for all of it. There have been some organized drives without VEP sponsorship, and there has been, of course, normal day-to-day registration.

VEP is in its final year, and will terminate its sponsorship of voter registration programs in October. It is hoped, however, that they will continue on their own resources.

(State-by-state tabulation attached.)

TABLE III.

RESULTS OF VEP PROGRAMS

APRIL 1, 1962 to MARCH 31, 1964

(Publication or Quotation of this Table Permitted)

STATE	VEP RESULTS 1ST FISCAL YR	VEP RESULTS 2ND FISCAL YR	VEP 2 YEAR TOTAL	EST. TOTAL NEGRO REGISTRATION 4/1/64	EST. NO.* UNREG. N. 4/1/64	% OF ELIGIBLE NEGROES REG.
ALA.	5,598	9,777	15,375	104,000	377,320	21.6
ARK.	4,952	3,804	8,756	80,000	112,626	41.5
FLA.	22,790	30,651	53,441	240,616	229,645	51.1
GA.	27,156	31,963	59,119	240,000	372,910**	39.1
LA.	2,765	3,545	6,310	162,866	351,723	31.6
MISS.	1,592	2,181	3,773	28,500	393,756	6.7
N. C.	9,838	18,713	28,551	248,000	302,929	45.0
S. C.	7,357	24,783	32,140	127,000	244,104	34.2
TENN.	16,269	22,500	38,769	211,000	102,873	67.2
TEX.	20,590	267,984	288,574	375,000	274,512	57.7
VA.	6,100	10,420	16,520	121,000	315,720	27.7
TOTAL	125,007	426,321	551,328	1,937,982	3,078,118	38.6

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

*BASED ON 1960 CENSUS FIGURES
**VOTING AGE 18 IN GEORGIA

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE:

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1964

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH?

Of the six southern states carried by the Democratic Party in the 1964 Presidential election, four (Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia) clearly would have gone Republican had it not been for the Negro vote. One other, North Carolina, might have. Only in President Johnson's home state of Texas among the eleven states of the South did the Democratic Party clearly receive the majority of white votes.

Similarly, in a number of U. S. House and Senate races, Democratic success would not have been won without Negro support.

The states which President Johnson carried have the highest Negro registration; he failed to carry those with less than 45% of eligible Negroes registered.

In Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina, Senator Goldwater carried 54%, 57%, and 59% of the vote respectively; strong Negro support of the Democrats prevented even larger margins. In Mississippi and Alabama, where the Republican vote was of landslide proportions (87% and 69%), Negro voter registration is abnormally low. Both of these states are notorious for intimidation and other blocks to the constitutional rights of Negroes to vote.

Registration of Negro southern voters has been the chief activity of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council during the past two years. This has been a non-partisan effort, endorsing no candidates or parties. Working cooperatively with the principal civil rights groups and many local citizen's groups, it has sought a rapid acceleration of Negro registration throughout

the South. The results of this concentrated drive are revealed by a simple comparison: Between 1952 and 1962, Negro registration increased from 1,008,614 to only 1,386,654. From 1962 to Fall, 1964, it rose to 2,164,200. These increases were spread over the South. But, in three states only relatively small gains were made: Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi.

Increases in Negro registration exceeding the normal rate of increase were responsible for Democratic victories in two states: Florida and Virginia.

In addition to the effect of the Negro vote on the Presidential election, it was responsible for election of many local and state office holders throughout the South, including some Negroes. The latter included two justices of the peace, a member of the school board and a member of the county board of revenue in Macon County, Alabama; a second Negro senator in Georgia, in a district where the majority of voters are white; a member of the state House of Representatives and a county judge in Shelby County, Tennessee. It was responsible also for adoption of a constitutional amendment in Arkansas which sets up a permanent voter registration system for the first time, and eliminates the poll tax in all elections, not just federal elections as required by the Twenty-Fourth Amendment.

These are findings from a study of complete and nearly complete election returns from the eleven states of the South. They emphasize, among other things, the importance of the Negro vote and of the race issue in understanding what happened in the South -- an understanding of value to the nation because the Deep South was the only place outside Senator Goldwater's home state where his candidacy was successful.

Despite some attempts at it, there can be little

persuasive argument that voters of the South did not understand clearly that for the first time in recent history the two candidates for the Presidency of the United States offered a clear-cut, opposed view on the race issue. This was accompanied in most southern states this year by the blunt ejection of Negroes from their traditional participation in Republican Party organizations, the "lily-white" conversion of the Party of Lincoln. Republican strategy in the South, baldly stated in some quarters, was to compensate for loss of Negro voters with great gains of white voters. There were, indeed, mass defections of previously Democratic white voters to the Republican candidate, and -- as elsewhere in the nation -- there was almost unanimous support of the Democratic candidate by Negroes.

The other issues of the campaign undoubtedly entered into the outcome in the Deep South, but the fact that they did not have the same effect on white voters as in the entire rest of the nation leads (along with other compelling evidence) to the conclusion that race was the controlling factor in this area where it has always assumed grotesquely disproportionate importance.

The lily-white strategy was effective in all of the Deep South, as the figures in this study will show, but it was strongest in Mississippi and Alabama. In both, support of Senator Goldwater by white leaders was virtually unanimous. In Alabama, of course, voters were not able to vote for the Democratic candidate, but chose between the Republican candidate and a slate of unpledged electors controlled by Governor George Wallace. Governor Wallace was left with the Alabama Democrats in the shambles of a Republican sweep which, in the election of five freshmen Republican congressmen, destroyed nearly a century of

seniority for three conservative Democratic congressmen, and put the GOP in charge of ten county courthouses. Probably only in his battles against school desegregation has Governor Wallace served better the cause he was against.

In all five states that went Republican, the Goldwater cause was helped (and the race issue emphasized) by defections of politicians noted through the decades as leaders in the southern resistance to equal citizenship for Negroes. Others of this stripe refused to work for the Democratic ticket. In Georgia, this refusal by U. S. Senator Richard Russell, and, to an almost equal extent, U. S. Senator Herman Talmadge, was considered probably crucial to defeat of their party, despite strenuous work for the ticket by Governor Carl Sanders.

The lily-white strategy failed (six states to five) over the whole of the South. It is notable that the five states which went Republican in 1964 are those which (with the exception once of Louisiana) had not since Reconstruction voted for a Republican Presidential candidate, and were not before the ascendancy of the new Republicanism considered the southern states where Republican strength on the local level was most solidly based. With the exception of Georgia, they were the states which voted Dixiecrat in 1948.

Senator Goldwater lost Florida, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia, all of which in recent years had supported Republican Presidential candidates. Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia had, in fact, voted Republican in 1952, 1956, and 1960. In Florida, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia, as well as in North Carolina and Arkansas, Republican grassroots gains over the years had been considered solid. But in 1964, Republicans suffered setbacks in all in local and state races.

While Republicans gained five U. S. House seats in Alabama and one each in Georgia and Mississippi, they lost two in Texas, for a net gain of five. The Mississippi

U. S. House victory of a conservative Republican unseated one of the Democrats' ultra-conservatives of long-standing, Representative W. Arthur Winstead, an irony repeated in several of the southern upsets.

The Republicans elected no U. S. senators and no governors in the South. In state legislatures, they netted a loss of two seats, with significant gains only in Georgia. There were no legislative races in Mississippi and Alabama, but in Louisiana and South Carolina, the Goldwater landslide did not carry over to lesser offices.

To the extent that Republicans made genuine and lasting gains in grassroots political strength in the formerly one-party South, to that extent is democracy strengthened. Time -- and the future policy perhaps of both parties -- will tell what happened in the South along these lines.

Meanwhile, these points seem clear:

1. Effective Negro registration and participation in elections is the best assurance that race will be eliminated as a politically profitable issue, as it was this time in six southern states, and that all the southern states will be freed from the threat of demagogic appeals to racism.

2. Continued efforts to achieve the basic constitutional right of the ballot for Negroes is essential in all eleven states, and is most notably needed in those two states where the Negro electorate is most restricted. This is not for the advantage of any one political party over the other, but necessary for healthful self-government in the South and the nation. Past experience proves conclusively that the abnormality of almost unanimous Negro support of a candidate or a party (the so-called bloc vote)

occurs in the South only when the race issue is raised, and there are clearly opposed stands on it.

3. While the Presidential results of 1964 certainly did not provide a head-count on the race issue, North or South, they do suggest that racism remains, region-wide, a pressing public problem in the South. Over the rest of the nation, with backlash and frontlash knocking each other out, the issue is alive and serious, but perhaps not as deeply imbedded in the fabric of society and government as many had thought.

4. In the pragmatic terms of politics, Democrats and the nation's majority owe a greater debt to the Negro electorate in the South than has so far been acknowledged.

(The Democratic Party for example would seem to owe its Negro constituency better treatment than was afforded one of its political leaders in Atlanta, Horace Ward. Mr. Ward won nomination to a state senate seat in the Democratic primary over a white opponent, only to have campaign envelopes prepared for this Democrat used by the Republican candidate, also white, in the general election race. Other Democratic spokesmen and resources did not visibly aid Mr. Ward. He nevertheless won -- with little thanks to his party.)

5. In these same pragmatic terms, and perhaps in moral ones as well, the Republican Party needs to examine carefully its future southern policy. The 1964 election returns seem to indicate the futility of trying to gather in all of the South for a base keyed to racism, and the futility of trying to appeal to the rest of the nation from the positions necessary to holding that remnant of the South in

which racism overrides other issues. And the experience of the Democrats in this century offers many unhappy examples of the difficulties involved in trying to contain within one national party the stubborn racist remnant in the South as well as the representatives of the majority of Americans, North and South, who believe in democracy.

6. The tradition of southern Negro support for Republican candidates in the past is well known. Results in Arkansas in 1964 underscore the willingness this year as ever of Negroes to vote for Republican candidates acceptable to their aspirations and dignity. The previously avid segregationist Democratic candidate for re-election as governor, Orval Faubus, actively sought the Negro vote this year in campaign activities and literature, including boasts about the amount of integration in Arkansas. Despite this, Negroes over the state supported the Republican candidate, Winthrop Rockefeller, whose support of Negro aspirations was of longer standing. Returns in the Negro precincts of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, offer a fascinating example of this selectivity in balloting: They went 97.8% for President Johnson, and 88.5% for Republican Rockefeller. For a constitutional amendment to remove the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting there was again great agreement, 85.1% in favor. But in a contest for mayor, where race was not an issue, there was a normal spread among three candidates, 29.9%, 14.6%,and 55.5%, the latter going for the only candidate who appeared before Negro audiences seeking their vote and who won by only 101 votes.

* * * * * * * * * *

The estimate of Negro voting in this study is purposely conservative. It was arrived at by calculating the percentage of the total electorate which voted, and then assuming that the same percentage of the Negro electorate voted. Actually, in most areas, the Negro turnout was higher than that of the total electorate, a mark of political maturity worth noting. In all the southern states, the Negro vote may be assumed to have been more than 95% Democratic.

I. Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Virginia are the states in which President Johnson's victory was clearly attributable to the Negro vote plus a white minority.

Florida--Johnson margin: 37,800 votes. Estimated Negro vote: 211,800.

The voter registration drives accounted for an increase in Florida Negro voter registration from 1962 to 1964 that was, conservatively, 121,000 in excess of the highest probable normal increase. Without this extra increase, Democrats would not have carried the state.

Virginia--Johnson margin: 77,000. Estimated Negro vote: 166,600.

The voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was, conservatively, 78,700. Without this extra increase, Democrats would not have carried the state.

Tennessee--Johnson margin:126,000. Estimated Negro vote: 165,200.

The voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was 32,900.

Arkansas--Johnson margin: 65,400. Estimated Negro vote: 67,600.

The Arkansas voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was 19,200.

II. In North Carolina, President Johnson would most probably not have won without the Negro vote.

Johnson margin: 173,900. Estimated Negro vote: 168,400.

The North Carolina voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was 38,400.

~~carried the state~~.

III. In Texas, President Johnson clearly carried the majority of white voters.

Johnson margin: 684,100. Estimated Negro vote: 325,500.

Texas is the only state where registration drives supported by the Voter Education Project included a sustained effort to register white as well as Negro voters. The increase in Negro registration was 134,600 in excess of normal increases from 1962 to 1964.

IV. The Goldwater margins in Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina were considerably less than they would have been without the heavy Negro support of President Johnson.

Georgia -- Goldwater, 578,509; Johnson, 487,581. Margin: 90,900. The estimated Negro vote: 178,700.

In Georgia, more of the Negroes eligible to vote are not registered (343,000), than are (270,000). If only 40% of those who are not registered had been registered, and if they had followed the same turnout and voting pattern, the state would have been carried by President Johnson.*

Louisiana--Goldwater, 503,545; Johnson, 387,811. Margin: 115,700. Estimated Negro vote: 122,000.

Here, too, more eligible Negroes are not registered (350,000) than are registered (164,800). Registration of only 45% of those unregistered would have changed the results in Louisiana.

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*It should be emphasized again that our estimates of Negro turnout are simply the state averages. All evidence indicates that the Negro turnout was higher. This would mean, for example, that less than a 40% increase of Negro registration would have changed the Georgia decision.

South Carolina--Goldwater, 311,144; Johnson, 219,613. Margin: 91,500. Estimated Negro vote: 90,300.

Again, more eligible Negroes are not registered (227,000) than are registered (144,000). Registration of 65% of those unregistered would have been required to change results.

V. Alabama and Mississippi show the impact of the race issue where disenfranchisement of Negroes is still relatively great.

Alabama--Goldwater, 454,313; Unpledged Democrats, 200,355. Margin: 254,000. Estimated Negro vote: 68,100.

Here, of eligible Negroes, only 110,000 are registered, compared with 370,000 who are not.

Mississippi--Goldwater, 359,693; Johnson, 53,063. Margin: 306,600. Estimated Negro vote: 21,200.

In this state, not more than 28,500 Negroes are registered. Another 394,000 are eligible, but unregistered.

VI. In Congressional races analyzed, the Negro vote was in some cases even more crucial to Democratic victories than in the Presidential race.

In Tennessee, Sen. Albert Gore defeated Republican Dan Kuyhendall by a margin of 73,500 votes. The estimated Negro vote was 153,300. Democrat Ross Bass defeated Republican Howard Baker for the U.S. Senate by an even smaller margin, 52,300. The estimated Negro vote was 157,900.

Sen. Ralph Yarborough in Texas defeated Republican George Bush by 343,100. The estimated Negro vote (again conservative) was 320,500.

In Georgia, Democrats drew comfort from election of two Atlanta Democrats to the U.S. House. Rep. Charles Weltner defeated Republican James O'Callaghan by 12,300 votes. The Negro vote was 32,100. Democrat James Mackay defeated Republican Roscoe Pickett by 15,760. The estimated Negro vote (conservative) was 14,600.

The Negro vote was the key to one Tennessee U.S. House race, a substantial part of victory in another. In the Ninth

District, Democratic George Grider defeated Republican Robert B. James by 11,700 votes. The Negro vote was at least 70,000. In the Fifth District, Democratic Representative Richard Fulton defeated Republican Bill R. Wills by 25,100 votes. The Negro vote was at least 18,000.

In the Second District of Louisiana, Democratic Representative Hale Boggs won over Republican challenger David C. Treen by 17,900 votes. The Negro vote was at least 25,000.

As said earlier, race was the controlling factor of the Presidential election in the Deep South. Whereas these states took some helpful steps toward a two party politics, including impressive statewide organization in Alabama and South Carolina, the principal showing was that when one party builds its appeal almost entirely on race the electorate will be polarized on that question. So intense was the rejection of the Democrats by large blocs of white voters that even strongly conservative Democratic candidates, e.g. Representative George Huddleston Jr. of Birmingham, were swept out of office. So intensely did Negroes reject the Republican Party that voting by them clearly accounted for the victory of some strongly conservative Democrats; among others, Representative Robert Casey of Houston owes his re-election to the Negro vote.

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 2-8764

The twenty-first annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council will be held in Atlanta Friday and Saturday, November 20 and 21. Former Florida Governor Leroy Collins, Director of the Community Relations Service under the Civil Rights Act, will be guest speaker at the annual dinner, Friday, November 20, at 7 p.m. at the Biltmore Hotel.

John Wheeler, of Durham, N. C., president of the Southern Regional Council will deliver the annual presidential address Saturday, November 21, at noon at the Biltmore. Mr. Wheeler is president of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham.

A special one-day meeting concerned with activities of Councils on Human Relations in the eleven-state area covered by the Southern Regional Council will be held Thursday, November 19, at the Biltmore.

Besides Mr. Wheeler, officers of the Southern Regional Council are Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, physician, of Charlotte, N.C., chairman of the Executive Committee, and vice-presidents, Dr. Albert W. Dent, president of Dillard University, New Orleans, La.; Marion A. Wright, attorney, Linville Falls, N. C.; Miss Josephine Wilkins of Athens and Atlanta; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University. Dr. Leslie Dunbar of Atlanta is executive director.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of Southerners devoted to the ideals and practises of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE:

IMMEDIATELY

The following was adopted by the Southern Regional Council at its Annual Meeting Saturday, November 21, 1964, in Atlanta.

In this time of the need in our beloved country for mutual understanding, good will, non-violence and cooperation in effective fulfillment of the laws of the land, we, the members of the Southern Regional Council, composed of representatives of both races from all the Southern States, adopt the following three resolutions:

1. That, on the basis of our first hand knowledge of the character and work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., now under attack from many sources, we express our unreserved faith in his integrity, high sense of honor and unswerving commitment as a person and as a leader in the non-violent struggle for obedience to the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States toward the fulfillment of our Judiac-Christian heritage and the American dream.

2. That we renew our stand with him and all the non-violent leaders of the second American Revolution as a part of the world revolution of the colonial, colored and other disadvantaged people for a better day for themselves and all their children.

3. That we redeclare this stand with the colored and disadvantaged people of the United States and all the disadvantaged peoples of the earth, regardless of race, religion or creed, not only as a matter of right for their own self determination, but also because of their meaning for more effective American participation in the partnership of nations in the unceasing struggle of the human spirit toward equal freedom, justice, compassion, brotherhood, peace and survival in this atomic age of hazard and hope for all people on the earth as the God-given home of the family of man.

November 21, 1964

Montgomery
FBI
1 Smith
Fat + Son courage

In Make folder
News Releases, 1965

NEWS RELEASE

For Release to ALL PAPERS

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 2-8764

SUNDAY, APRIL 25, 1965

Not enough Negroes serve on juries or as personnel of the federal courts of the South, the Southern Regional Council said today.

It released a report, "Racial Discrimination in the Southern Federal Courts," based on available documentation and on interviews with lawyers who practice in the federal courts of the eleven states of the South. (These are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.)

None of the twelve circuit court judges, nor 65 district court judges, of the South is Negro. The report also cites findings that there are no Negroes among 55 referees in bankruptcy, 253 U. S. commissioners, 28 U. S. clerks, 321 deputy U. S. clerks, 29 U. S. attorneys, 109 jury commissioners, 29 U. S. marshals. It reports a finding of nine Negro deputy U. S. marshals among 165, five Negro assistant U. S. attorneys among 158, and a small number of Negro secretarial and clerical workers among 364.

"The courts seem out of line with the fair hiring practices of federal agencies, not to mention the spirit and philosophy of the civil rights statute," the report says.

"But the employment practices of the court system is not the only, or even the largest, issue. The responsibility for the appointment of federal judges and the U. S. attorneys is the President's."

The report also quotes a resolution adopted at the 1964 annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council urging against appointment or promotion of "any judge of well-authenticated segregationist views."

On jury service, the report cites responses from lawyers in all eleven states that not enough Negroes serve on federal juries.

Some said not enough Negroes are called for jury duty; others

said too many of those who are called are eliminated by challenge or being excused. Racial considerations are a large part of the problem. Another factor is reluctance of hourly paid workers of both races to lose pay in order to serve.

Citing proposals for selecting jurors scientifically to get true cross-sections of communities, the report says some such fresh approach is needed.

"There is an urgency to this," it continues. "The goal of non-discriminatory selection of juries is to assure that only the facts and evidence of the case will affect the outcome of a trial. It would be just as much a tragedy if public clamor and legal maneuvering over exclusion of Negroes from juries were to become a factor in the outcome of a trial as when this results from discriminatory bias in the composition of a jury."

The report cites the increasing role of federal courts in the national effort to achieve full justice.

"The Civil Rights Act of 1964 enlarges the responsibility of the federal courts, including district courts, many of which in the past have been highly protective of segregation. The voting bill now before Congress seeks to by-pass these courts. New federal legislation to protect citizens against the Klan and other dispensers of death and ruin will, however, almost certainly increase the reliance on the district courts of the South for protection of individual life and liberty...

"The federal court system in the South, guided by the Supreme Court and the Courts of Appeals, has slowly demonstrated the ability of a frankly white-dominated institution to deal justly with the broad crucial questions of race. But now, not just the logic and principles of these very decisions, but all the practical understanding of human dealings that is implied in the term, 'jury of his peers,' requires a closer look at racial composition of the courts themselves, as administrators of justice to the individual, as well as guardians of principle."

The Southern Regional Council, composed entirely of Southerners of both races, is a council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

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NEWS RELEASE

For release:

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Phone: Ja. 2-8764

Monday, August 9, 1965
All papers

Paul Anthony has been named by the Southern Regional Council to succeed Leslie W. Dunbar as executive director of the organization.

Mr. Anthony is presently director of field activities of the Council. Mr. Dunbar has resigned to become executive director of the Field Foundation in New York City. The staff change will occur September 30.

The announcement was made by John H. Wheeler of Durham, North Carolina, president of the Southern Regional Council, whose offices are in Atlanta.

Mr. Dunbar, 44, a native of Lewisburg, West Virginia, became executive director in March 1961. He was previously director of research. Under his direction, the Council staff developed an expanded publications program on problems and developments in southern race relations, and administered the Voter Education Project, a south-wide effort to register Negro voters and study Negro enfranchisement.

Mr. Anthony, 37, a native Virginian, has been with the Council since 1956. He has worked in its research department and as an administrator, and since December 1962 has coordinated activities with the state Councils on Human Relations and other field concerns of the Council. He is a graduate of the University of Miami, and worked previously as a school teacher in Virginia, and on the staff of the Wall Street Journal.

Mr. Wheeler expressed regret that Mr. Dunbar is leaving the Council, but congratulated him on the opportunity for continued service to the South and the nation.

He said, "I believe that Paul Anthony will give distinguished leadership to our work in this crucial period of continuing change and great challenge in the South. He is widely known and esteemed all over the country by other workers and leaders in civil rights and human relations work. He also has the respect of government offices and officials. Best of all, he knows the South and its people, and he has friendships among our supporters throughout the region."

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit organization of white and Negro Southerners which has as its aim "the achievement of equal opportunity for all the South's people."

file
News Releases - 1965
(See distribution attached)

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

TO AGENCY FRIENDS

August 3, 1965

Dear

Here is my worried news, and SRC's good news. I am sure you have known about this before; now it is official.

Give Paul the same kind of comradely support you have given me, and he will be a lucky man. Thank you for the pleasure of working with you these last few years, and I look forward to more of the same.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (news release)

MEMORANDUM August 2, 1965

To: BCCook

From: MMJohnson

Bernice,

Here is the distribution on the news release announcing Paul's appointment: (Please note that each category specifies the ~~date~~ ~~the~~ day of mailing).

Category

#3 - 1 (mail Thursday)

#3 - 2 (mail Monday)

#4 (mail Wednesday)

#5 (mail Monday)

#6 (mail Wednesday)

#8 - 1 and 2 (mail Friday)

#9 - 1 (mail Tuesday

#9 - 2 (mail Wednesday)

#17 (mail Monday)

FCR (mail Thursday)

VIP (mail Thursday)

CCR (mail Monday)

Memo from **LESLIE DUNBAR**

3-1 mail Thursday

~~3 (both 1+2~~

3-2 mail Monday

4 - ~~immediately~~ (Wed)

5 - mail Monday

6 - ~~immediately~~ (Wed)

8 (both 1+2) mail Friday

9-1 mail Tuesday

9-2 - " ~~immediately~~ Wed

17 mail Tuesday

FCR mail Thursday

VIP " "

CCR mail Tuesday

NEWS RELEASE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone: Jackson 2-8764

American Civil Liberties Union
Southern Office
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Telephone: JAckson 3-2721

FOR RELEASE TO

ALL PAPERS

Monday, October 18, 1965

A double standard of justice for whites and Negroes throughout the South--and not just in sensational cases currently under criticism--was described today as one of the nation's gravest problems.

A special report on the problem, entitled "Southern Justice: An Indictment," was issued jointly by the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Office of the American Civil Liberties Union.

It cites criticisms of the first trial in the killing of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo and the trial in the killing of the Rev. Jonathan Daniels, and says:

"The danger today is not that the public will fail to know about the double standard of justice, but that the public will think it limited only to civil rights cases, or will fail to act."

The report points out that from 1960 to 1965, at least 26 Negroes and white civil rights workers have been killed by white racists in the South, and only one of the assailants has been sent to jail. He was sentenced to ten years.

But it stresses that Negro life and property is no less endangered outside the area of civil rights conflict. "Why is it possible," it asks, "under the American judicial system for a white man to murder a Negro without fear of serious retribution?"

Pointing out that the double standard of justice occurs from the federal courts down to the lowest misdemeanor courts, and that it affects Negroes on all levels, including those unjustly accused of crimes, the report states:

"When it exists, it provokes desperation among Negroes, shakes their faith in democracy, causes them to shun the policeman and the courts as enemies. More than any other factor it is responsible for what the white South views as increasing 'radicalism' and 'anarchy' in the civil rights movement."

Such distrust is carried into other parts of the country and, as in Watts, can be ignited into bloody rioting by encounter with similar

conditions, the report warns. In the South, knowledge that police and courts can't be depended on for protection against violence, has given rise to Negro self-defense units.

The report lists as parts of the problem, Presidential appointments of segregationist federal judges; failure of the Justice Department to exercise power it has to correct abuses; discrimination in selection of state and federal juries; discrimination in staffing of courts and jails; police brutality; failures of the American and southern bar and the American and southern societies to insist on equal justice for all.

The report describes and cites instances of dual justice in capital crimes and minor crimes. It describes "cash register justice" which sends indigents (white as well as Negro) to jail when they can't pay small fines. It tells of difficulties in obtaining attorneys, and of the difficulties attorneys have if they take unpopular Negro cases.

It cites instances of hostile judges on the state and federal bench, and describes harsh treatment Negroes may often expect from all-white or predominantly white juries. A method for impartial selection of juries that would give a cross-section of the society is discussed.

The effect of dual justice on the everyday life of Negroes is stressed. Negroes regarded by whites as "good niggers" fare better in courts. The way to gain this status is systematic debasement of self.

"His color carries with it a presumption of hard luck in the white man's courts; a given Negro is automatically a poorer risk than a white man at the bar of justice. That is a statistical certainty that hovers over every Negro and makes him never quite free."

The report, noting the suggestion to make murder of civil rights workers a federal offense and the cry for a special civil rights federal police force, suggests stronger use of powers already held by the federal government for protection of life and constitutional rights of Negroes in the South. "Often the federal government seems to say it is as helpless as the Negroes themselves at gaining compliance with federal statutes and the U. S. Constitution through the normal procedures and institutions of southern justice. What does this say to Negroes across all America and to the world?"

Integration of all law enforcement institutions, including courts, jails and particularly juries, is urged. The need for some means of providing counsel for unpopular and indigent cases is cited, and better methods of assessing fines and bonds recommended.

Ultimately, the report concludes, the responsibility for knowing in full the sickness of southern justice and curing it rests with the people.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit organization of white and Negro Southerners to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people of the South.

The American Civil Liberties Union is a private non-profit organization engaged solely in the defense of civil liberties.

- END -

NEWS RELEASE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE TO
ALL PAPERS
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1965

Causes for the South's failure to measure up to what the nation expected -- and at first thought to be the case -- in school desegregation under the Civil Rights Law were cited in a special report by the Southern Regional Council today.

A lack of exact information and the tendency of some school officials to exaggerate the amount of desegregation has given the nation a much more optimistic notion of the South's progress than the facts warrant, the report says. It cites evasive tactics by many southern school authorities, a need for more stringent regulation by federal school authorities, and pressures and intimidation against Negroes as major aspects of the problem.

The report estimates that 94.8 per cent of the region's 2,891,000 Negro children were still in segregated schools after enrollments this fall. This is the first year of enforcement of Civil Rights Law provisions against discrimination in public education.

The report emphasizes that its estimate is only that, and that nobody -- including the U. S. Office of Education which is charged with enforcing the school desegregation provisions -- seems to have exact figures. The Office of Education has a slightly lower estimate of the number of Negroes in segregated schools -- 92.5 per cent. (Comparative estimates by enrollment and percentages, state rankings and total enrollment figures are carried in statistical tables in the report.)

Regardless of which estimate is used, the performance in the South falls far short of what the law calls for, or what most observers expected during the first year, the report says.

It points out how high the expectations of Negro Southerners were that at last equal school opportunity would be a reality, and how disappointed many now are. Resumption of street demonstrations over schools in some areas is cited.

The report points out that the job of administering school desegregation is an enormous and complicated effort for the Office of Education, and that its workers have been dedicated and overworked. "It is hardly the fault of the Office of Education, for example, that

little or no budget was provided for administration of Title VI funds, or that the few staffers who could be hired had to be brought on the payroll too late to do the job adequately," the report says. "Perhaps the White House and Congress share some of the blame for this."

The report cites the following as some of the reasons more progress was not made:

1. Southern school authorities seem to have succeeded in many instances in satisfying demands for desegregated schools in order to qualify for federal education funds, while at the same time managing not to have any or only the smallest amount of actual desegregation. The range of performance seems to be from some instances of good-faith efforts at all-out integration to a large amount of evasion and misleading of the federal government.

The report's estimate of percentages of Negro children enrolled in desegregated schools gives an indication of the range of compliance: Texas, 20; Virginia, 11.3; Tennessee, 9.1; Florida, 5.9; Arkansas, 2.5; North Carolina, 2.1; South Carolina, 1.5; Georgia, 1.3; Louisiana, 0.68; Mississippi, 0.34; Alabama, 0.25.

Since virtually all school systems of the South have certified that they will operate without discrimination this year, the report concludes that many of these claims are false. "Just as the claims in many instances are false," it says, "it is hard to assume other than that many of those signing the statements deliberately set out to fool those reviewing the desegregation plans."

2. The U. S. Office of Education shows an apparent willingness to assume "good faith" efforts on the part of all local and state school officials -- despite the lessons of a decade of evasion of the Supreme Court ruling against school segregation. Far more strict federal administrative scrutiny of desegregation plans and their operation is recommended in the report.

3. Negroes still bear most of the burden of responsibility for initiating and carrying through the desegregation procedures for an individual child. This has left them subject to pressures, intimidation and reprisals -- a situation the new law was supposed to correct.

The report cites cross-burnings, shooting into homes and other acts by terrorist segregationist elements against families of Negro children involved in school desegregation. It also lists instances of

pressure from local school officials against degegregation, including warnings that children might be beat up in desegregated situations; threats of demotion or loss of units; threats of dismissal of Negro teachers where Negro children seek transfers to white schools; publication of names and addresses of Negro parents applying for transfers; encouragement of white parents to claim all vacancies in white schools before notifying Negro parents they might seek transfers; requirement of special affidavits or information from Negro parents seeking transfer of their children.

4. Much of the reason for responsibility for desegregation not being shifted to the local, state and federal school authorities -- where it belongs -- lies with the way "freedom of choice" plans are operating in school districts over much of the South. Without attempting to evaluate how these plans for allowing children a free choice of any schools in a district would work if properly administered, the report says they are "inadequate" for "even minimal compliance" as presently administered in most instances in the South. "There cannot be freedom where parents and children are intimidated for exercising a choice," it says, and recommends that they not be accepted "on face value" by the U. S. Office of Education.

5. The U. S. Office of Education has in some hard-core segregationist areas accepted less than what its own guidelines call for. Cited are instances of allowing districts in Mississippi to desegregate two grades a year, instead of four or more grades as required by the guidelines. "If the Office of Education is going to continue permitting phased desegregation plans, as four grades a year for a three-year period, it should not also permit token desegregation in the four grades chosen to be integrated," the report recommends.

Vacillation in administration of guidelines was also cited. This worked to the disadvantage of those school officials who "acted early and in good faith toward reasonable compliance, only to have themselves placed in precarious positions by the success of neighboring districts which were permitted to undercut the vacillating guidelines of the Office of Education."

In addition to recommendations on these points, the report also suggests:

1. Use of administrative fiat and other means of persuasion that

would have the effect of putting state and local school officials in the position of encouraging Negroes to attend formerly white schools.

2. Shutting off federal funds for education where local officials refuse to comply with the law, and studying what responsibilities state governments would have for the schooling of children in such a situation.

3. "In the absence of sufficient federal examiners to police the performance of school desegregation on district levels," technical assistance grants for teams of qualified examiners recruited by colleges and universities, civil rights groups or the government.

4. Surveys in all districts to determine the exact proportion of Negro children in desegregated schools, and reissuance of guidelines that require a "sizeable proportion" of Negro children in desegregated classes at all grade levels.

5. Briefing and information sessions under emergency technical assistance programs for white and Negro teachers to help them make desegregation a success.

6. Study of school systems under federal court order to desegregate with a view to whether older, slower court orders may be brought more nearly in line with requirements of the Civil Rights Law.

The report cites an Office of Education policy statement to sum up its own recommendations: "The responsibility to eliminate segregation rests with the school authorities and is not satisfied by rules and practices which shift the burden of removing discrimination to the class or classes of persons previously discriminated against."

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit organization of white and Negro Southerners to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people in the South.

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PRESS RELEASE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE
TO ALL PAPERS
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1965

A psychiatric study of American migrant farm workers issued today suggests that there is no psychological support for arguments that they will not do certain stoop labor. The report provides a rare look at these people -- hundreds of thousands of isolated and forgotten Americans -- as well as such new insights into their problems.

The report was written by Dr. Robert Coles of Harvard University, and released by the Southern Regional Council.

Contention that not enough American laborers can be found for harvest work has been made in efforts, some of them successful, to obtain special permission from the U. S. Department of Labor for importation of foreign labor.

The issue is social and economic, Dr. Coles writes, not psychological. "The American farm hands I have studied and observed are motivated toward work, want to work, and will work. Other workers may well be preferred by farm owners, but psychiatric observations do not support many of the claims frequently made about the 'laziness' of farm hands. On the contrary, most of these people display an initiative and desire for work in striking contrast to their poor bretheren in the cities..."

They might want better pay, but they are looking for work at any pay, he says, adding: "That foreign labor is more 'manageable,' more susceptible to various regulations and the authority of their employers is doubtless true."

Three "streams" of migrant laborers move from farm to farm across areas of the United States, one along the Mexican coast, one from Texas, Louisiana and Oklahoma up through the Midwest, and the third along the Atlantic Seaboard. This study is concerned with people and families in the latter "stream"; it is based on seeing and talking with many of them, and on concentrated study of ten families, six Negro and four white.

The study traces the way children are reared among the migrant laborers, following them from an infancy of close physical and emotional attachment to parents, to a childhood of work and upheaval, neglected education and lack of a substantial home, into sudden adulthood -- with no transitional time of teen-age learning and enjoying life. In teen-age adulthood, these children of migrants tend to take on the family responsibilities and way of life of their parents.

This way of life, Dr. Coles says, is marked by its isolation from the rest of American life. Much of this is because the migrants live differently -- always on the move. "For example, migrants usually do not vote. They are rarely eligible for any local unemployment assistance. They may hardly see the towns whose nearby fields they harvest. Their rights to adequate schooling for their children, to police protection, to sanitary inspection and regulation of their homes, to enforcement of fire regulations for these same homes, are in many cases prejudiced." Similarly, they have no neighborhood churches or movie houses, no social clubs, no picnics, no Scout troops for the children, or book clubs.

"In effect," Dr. Coles writes, "migrant farm workers comprise, by the hundreds of thousands, a vastly ignored sub-culture whose work is essential to our well-stocked tables, but whose lives are simply not known to most of us."

He goes on to make these points:

1. "My own investigation finds that in order to adapt to such unusual facts of environment migrants turn their isolated, mobile life inward, becoming guarded and suspicious toward outsiders but, in compensation for a rootless life, exceptionally close-knit with their young children."

2. "Migrant children progressively learn a sense of their own weakness and inadequacy in comparison with the rest of the population whose existence they comprehend and see from the distance of the traveler or television viewer."

3. "Migrants thus tend not only to be distrustful of others, but even hostile toward many attempts to help them with medicine, shelter or advice. They tend to avoid the very food they harvest, often in a fearful manner."

4. "Migrants develop a variety of medical and psychiatric illnesses. Especially are they susceptible to mood swings, violence toward one another, and heavy drinking."

5. "I can only remark upon the extraordinary resilience shown by many of these people. The exertion of will they can muster, under the conditions of life they have as their very own, calls for further psychiatric study into how people manage stress and preserve, as well as lose, some of their psychological stability and human dignity. To say, as some do, domestic migrants will not work at 'stoop labor' is to ignore the daily facts of life for hundreds of thousands of native Americans who, in point of fact, have done and continue to do precisely that: working under all sorts and conditions of work for pay exceedingly low in comparison to that most of us get."

Dr. Coles says finally that any attempt to improve the situation of migrants must be undertaken with "patience and willfulness."

"We must, that is, be prepared for the tiresome work, the coordinated planning, in education, medicine, agriculture, housing, and a host of associated fields, required for the job...

"Their children can be better taught. Their health can improve. Their water can be safer, their food more nourishing. Eventually their actions can become more constructive and their spirits higher. Nor need they be enemies of their present employers, many of whom wish them well and are also caught in frustrating situations which are really part of the same social and agricultural problems afflicting the migrants. Whatever we do, then, we should mean. A few casual and half-hearted attempts are likely to result in frustration, anger, and, finally, a sense of failure on both sides, theirs and 'ours.'"

Dr. Coles was formerly associated with the Southern Regional Council in a psychiatric study of children in desegregated schools from 1961 to 1963. He remains a consultant to the Southern Regional Council. His writings in numerous publications attract wide respect.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners whose goal is to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people in the South.

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See News Releases 1965

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone: 522-8764

FOR RELEASE:

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1965

The Southern Regional Council has adopted resolutions urging specific steps for improvement of administration of the poverty program and school integration in the South.

One of the resolutions warned that current Office of Economic Opportunity decisions about community action programs in the important standard-setting communities of Atlanta and Memphis "could establish a precedent for good or ill for the rest of the South."

At issue in Atlanta is the question of adequate representation of the poor on a community action planning board. The Economic Opportunity-Atlanta, Inc. Board of Directors has rejected a proposal that one-third of its membership be from the ranks of the poor, and has approved the adding of four such representatives of the poor to a membership of at least 17.

Paul Anthony, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, commented that "this raises precisely one of the questions with which our resolution is concerned -- whether representation of the poor shall be substantial. The Atlanta proposal hardly seems substantial or even adequate. I am concerned by statements from the leadership of the Atlanta board that such a plan would be acceptable to the OEO." He added, however, that he was glad to see that the Atlanta board anticipates election of the representation from the poor.

At issue in Memphis is the question of whether representatives of the poor should be elected or appointed by city officials. The Southern Regional Council resolution urges that representatives of the poor be elected by their peers in "some feasible fashion."

Following are texts of the resolutions:

1. Poverty Programs

The Southern Regional Council, assembled in its 22nd Annual Meeting, recognizes the Economic Opportunity Act as a most important effort. We commend the Office of Economic Opportunity for its swift establishment of programs in the South. We recognize that detailed evaluation of these programs is probably premature. However, we make the following broad recommendations for all programs, current and future, in the South:

(1) That the Office of Economic Opportunity implement its policy that the poor be represented in policy-making capacities on the local community action agency boards, and that it require this representation to be in substantial numbers.

(2) That the OEO require that representatives of the poor be democratically elected by their peers in the target areas in some feasible fashion rather than appointed by local governing bodies.

We urge that the community action programs in Memphis, Tennessee, and Atlanta, Georgia, be required to meet these standards of maximum feasible participation and local self-determination. OEO's decisions regarding these two vital southern communities could establish a precedent for good or ill for the rest of the South.

2. School Integration

Questions have been raised to whether various official reports on the extent of school desegregation in the South reflect the true picture. Certainly such reports have not adequately covered the private and extra-legal economic and social pressures exerted to limit the rate of integration. We therefore urge that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare make renewed efforts to determine the facts about school desegregation in the South, and that it consider the use of independent agencies, groups, and individuals toward this end. A similar recommendation is made regarding the use of funds designed to improve schools for the poor and disadvantaged.

Teachers and educators in state school systems and universities in the South are all too often both the products and prisoners of an historical system of segregation.

> Progress toward integration requires new insights and this requires people who are free to point out the flaws in the traditional patterns. We therefore urge the Department of Education to provide programs of technical aid to teachers and others to prepare themselves for positive roles in the change to an integrated educational structure. We further urge that workers in the field of human relations as well as professional educators of quality who understand the social change involved be called on to plan and supervise such programs.

In another resolution, the Southern Regional Council expressed appreciation for the work and character of Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the organization from 1961 to 1965. Mr. Dunbar recently resigned to become executive director of the Field Foundation in New York City.

The resolutions, released to the public Saturday, were adopted at the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council held in Atlanta November 15 and 16. The Southern Regional Council is a south-wide organization of Negro and white Southerners to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Appointment of Paul Anthony as executive director was confirmed. He was formerly director of field activities. The following officers were re-elected: John H. Wheeler, president of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina, president; Miss Josephine Wilkins of Atlanta and Athens, Georgia, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, and Dr. Stephen J. Wright, president of Fisk University of Nashville, Tennessee, vice-presidents; Mrs. Ruth House Alexander of Atlanta, secretary-treasurer; Joseph Haas of Atlanta, counsel; Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, physician of Charlotte, North Carolina, chairman of the Executive Committee. Paul Christopher of Knoxville, Tennessee, regional director of the AFL-CIO, was elected a vice-president.

Dr. C. Vann Woodward, Yale University historian and author, was principal speaker at the meeting. The Alabama Council on Human Relations received the George S. Mitchell Award for the largest percentage increase in membership during the past year.

File News Releases, 1965

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone: 522-8764

FOR RELEASE:

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1965

"Basic transformation" of schools in the rural, Black Belt South is recommended by four Georgia educators in a report released today by the Southern Regional Council.

The report includes a four-point plan of possible changes, including kindergarten units, boarding units, employment of high school students, and intercounty cooperation.

Even "unstinted" spending to do better or more of what is now being done in such schools would not greatly change educational results, the report says. Indeed, educators in such schools are performing "remarkably well," given the conditions in which they work.

It is these conditions -- with education considered as part of the total community environment -- with which the report is concerned.

The effect of segregation is emphasized. "In short," the report says, "it is immediately, painfully, and unmistakably obvious that in southern rural communities Negroes are assigned an inferior role, and it follows directly that for Negro children especially, proper intellectual growth is impossible. Segregation is both the symbol of this situation and the means for its maintenance. Consequently we do not believe a proper education for any child, white or Negro, can be provided in a segregated system."

The authors say, "We shall assume, however, that the educational practices we are proposing will take place in school systems in which all concerned treat race as irrelevant to educational decisions." They regard legal desegregation as "only the first step" after which "profound educational problems will remain." The report position is that the solution of the problems of segregation must be met as a prerequisite to the solution of the educational problems.

The kind of changes that are needed would attack long-standing economic and cultural deprivation. The quality of education is influenced by the community, and the upper and lower limits of learning by pupils is determined by other pupils as

they interact with each other and with adult models, reasoned the authors; "therefore, improvement of the schools along standard lines is not the answer."

As a sample of the kind of changes that are needed, the report suggests a four-step program:

1. Nursery-kindergarten units for children ages three through five;

2. The use of boarding units for children in the middle grades (four, five, and six) for one quarter each of these three years;

3. The employment of senior high school students in the system, so that all students from the tenth grade up who want or are interested in work will have an opportunity to earn at least $50 a month as a part of their school program;

4. An intercounty and college (or university) cooperative program involving a coordinated plan of consolidation, joint purchasing, and joint inservice and preservice teacher training programs in cooperation with the college.

The 40-page study was sponsored and published by the Southern Regional Council in its series, "Toward Regional Realism."

Entitled, "Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation," it was written by Dr. Donald Ross Green, Dr. James A. Jordan, Dr. W. J. Bridgeman, and Dr. Clay V. Brittain following an examination of two "typical" rural school systems in Burke County, Georgia, and Edgefield County, South Carolina. All were faculty members in the Emory University Division of Teacher Education, Atlanta, Georgia, at the time the study was being prepared. Dr. Brittain has since joined the staff of the U. S. Office of Education. Dr. Green is also a member of the Department of Psychology at Emory, and Dr. Jordan is also an associate professor in the Institute of Liberal Arts at Emory.

The study relates economic and education findings in the two rural counties, discusses cultural deprivation, and includes tables that show the decline in the rural labor force, and the number of farms, along with statistics on education lags in the Burke and Edgefield school systems.

"For many years, the schools in the large cities of the

nation have struggled with the educational deficiencies imposed on them by migrants from the rural South," says the report.

The recommendations are aimed at bolstering environmental "economic and cultural lags" which would burden Black Belt schools "even were all segregation removed."

"Given the economics of the Black Belt, even such basic transformations cannot be expected to overcome the handicaps imposed by the environment on the children -- but in time, perhaps, they could reverse the environmental conditions, and they can, in any event, truly educate a larger proportion of the children than they now manage."

The authors also say, "We do not claim that our suggestions are the prescription, but rather that they are examples of the sorts of things that are needed."

The nursery schools would be for children from poorest homes. They would require highly trained teachers, and use high school students or untrained adults as aides. They would attempt to enrich experience of the children and prepare them for school learning.

The boarding units would be for one quarter a year with permission of parents. A fourth quarter might be added to allow an exchange program with similar units in cities. Two teachers and three to five high school students would staff a boarding unit of 21 children, seven to eight children from a grade.

The units would provide "the chance of extensive, warm, personal contact with adults who represent middle class patterns of living, thinking, and values . . . Realistic models of this sort, for many of the children of the rural South, are not handy. In addition, there would be the opportunity to live in an organized, stable environment in which books, music, art, and conversation are standard and valued activities. They also would have a chance to get some intensive tutoring during this time, and could be helped with their study habits."

The student employment recommendation envisions use of "several hundred" in a school as assistants in the nursery schools and boarding units and as drivers. The jobs in themselves would be educational. "The reason for paying the students, of course, is to provide an incentive for these adolescents to stay in school and to give them concrete representation of the

fact that the community and society at large value their attendance in school. It should be noted that the school system should also have a fund to provide direct scholarship assistance to students who need it and, in special cases, without the associated duties."

On intercounty cooperation, the report suggests that even if schools are integrated and consolidated, the school system might still be too small for effective education. "There should be, therefore, intercounty associations for the better coordination of school attendance areas. Once these associations are started, other cooperative ventures could develop, such as consolidated purchasing, intercounty technical service and material centers (audio-visual services, programmed materials, curriculum materials, professional publications, etc.). We are not talking about the consolidation of counties, but rather cooperative ventures."

The report also emphasizes: "School districts should not get so large and schools so far away that the people in the district are not interested in them."

"Cogent reasons for intercounty consolidation and a statewide plan for it are embodied for Georgia in the recent Peabody report. It should be recalled, however, that children already spend more time in travel than is sound practice," the report points out.

It goes on to say that some elementary youngsters begin long rides to school at sunup and return home near sunset. It suggests use of station wagons and/or small buses to make direct express trips. Senior high students would be employed as drivers.

Also recommended is the expansion of such standard programs as free lunches (to include breakfast), and remedial reading and library services. (For example, there could be a set of mobile reading clinics and mobile library bookstores selling paperback books at nominal cost in associated counties.)

The four-step program in the report might cause systems like Burke and Edgefield to gain about 25 per cent in average daily attendance, and the school system budgets would roughly double their 1964-65 size. The report says that for Burke, this would

mean, with increased average daily attendance ensuing, a yearly expenditure of about $400 per pupil, "an outrageously modest figure."

The authors suggest that the additional money might come through "proper tax equalization" and by raising assessments to about 50 per cent of property value. Additional funds now are available under anti-poverty programs, the Civil Rights Act, the National Defense Education Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

The report recommendations grew out of two strong impressions in the counties under study. One was that "large numbers of intelligent, energetic, and sensitive people are performing remarkable well and in a professional fashion" in the schools. The other was "the salience of race in the thoughts, actions, and patterns of life of the citizens, white and Negro alike, in these two counties."

"The communities in the rural South must become genuine communities in which every person is a member with a stake in community growth and development, if education is to succeed," the report points out. "The educational problems of these communities ramify into the problems of the whole social and economic context. We have tried to suggest that the transformation of education in some sense calls for the transformation of a community."

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners dedicated to the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS:

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1966

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

The two million unregistered Negroes in the 11 southern states and the two and a third million already registered will be the focus of an enlarged Voter Education Project announced today by the Southern Regional Council.

The Project is a continuation of a similar endeavor operated by the Council from 1962 to 1964. It is estimated that programs associated with the Voter Education Project registered 700,000 Negroes in the 11 southern states during a two and a half year period.

The Project will work cooperatively with the five major civil rights agencies as well as with non-affiliated responsible local organizations.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the National Urban League have expressed support for the aim of the Voter Education Project.

The Project will be located in Atlanta and will have Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., an attorney and native of that city, as director. Mr. Jordan was formerly assistant to the director of the Southern Regional Council. He served as consultant to the Community Action Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Southeastern Area, while on leave from the Council during 1965.

What has been accomplished to date in the South, according to Mr. Jordan, is "largely middle class enfranchisement. We need to reach down deeper into our communities and register people who have not been reached by past efforts."

He added, "We need to remember that political participation does not end with registration. Too many Southerners do not vote because they do not know how to relate their vote to the subsistence issues of their lives."

The special interest of the Project will be fuller participation in citizenship for all persons in the South, but primarily Negro Southerners. To encourage this, local programs of voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training will be sponsored.

In addition, a program of scholarships to students for involvement in voter activities is planned. The resources of numerous colleges and universities in the southern region will be involved in both the student programs and leadership training institutes.

The Project has been endorsed by the Democratic National Committee and the Republican National Committee. Endorsement has also been given by a number of private groups interested in the healthy functioning of democracy.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit, non-partisan organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

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See News releases 1966

NEWS RELEASE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE TO
ALL PAPERS
THURSDAY, MARCH 10, 1966

The Southern Regional Council today described recently announced U. S. Office of Education school desegregation guidelines for the 1966-67 school year as "realistic tools with which to implement genuine desegregation of southern school systems." The Council further urged southern communities voluntarily to put the government directives to work without the threat of federal fund cut-offs.

The guidelines, announced in Washington March 7, imply "a resolve on the government's part," SRC said, "to push beyond token integration and put school boards on notice that hereafter the burden of compliance will be upon them rather than upon students seeking to attend integrated schools."

SRC, a critic of federal desegregation efforts in the past, praised the Office of Education for "what appears to be an earnest effort to secure good-faith compliance with the intent of the law." But the Atlanta-based bi-racial organization sounded a note of caution. "The years since 1954 have demonstrated time and again that good words of high resolve mean nothing without actual good intentions and avail little unless the government is prepared to demonstrate its resolve with strict enforcement."

The SRC statement in asking for voluntary compliance by school boards observed that attempted circumvention of the new guidelines with resulting federal fund cut-offs will do irreparable damage to education in the Deep South "precisely at a time when the region needs the best educated, the best trained work force in its history."

STATEMENT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL STAFF
REGARDING NEW FEDERAL DESEGREGATION GUIDELINES

The staff of the Southern Regional Council has carefully studied the new guidelines for school desegregation issued by the U. S. Office of Education on March 7. Beyond doubt the new guidelines are a realistic tool with which to implement genuine desegregation of southern school systems. The abuses of the "free choice" plan -- so notorious throughout the South last fall -- should be effectively eliminated under the new directives. We are, for instance, particularly gratified at HEW's clear warning that "The school system must insure that this choice is free and that students and parents can choose in safety and without fear of reprisal."

Likewise we commend the Office of Education for its plans to eliminate segregation by school zone, for its requirements aimed toward integration of faculties and its call for progress in closing inadequate schools designed for Negro students under the old, false "separate but equal" doctrine. All of this seems to us to represent an earnest effort to secure good faith compliance with the intent of the law. It also implies a resolve on the government's part to push beyond token integration and puts school boards on notice that the burden of compliance will be upon them rather than upon students seeking to attend integrated schools.

We would, however, like to inject a word of caution. The years since 1954 have illustrated time and again that words of high resolve mean nothing without actual good intentions and avail little unless the government is prepared to demonstrate its resolve with strict enforcement. That, finally, will be the test of these new guidelines. We hope, as no doubt HEW and all men of good will hope, that compliance will be orderly, but we recognize that some persons will feel these guidelines are too stringent, too harsh. Yet it seems to us, a sense of history dictates that the school boards take a long look at the consequences before adopting a role of circumvention.

The South has come a long way since Little Rock and Oxford. It has learned some bitter lessons about cause and effect. Should

the school boards again follow a recalcitrant route with resulting federal fund cut-offs, they will have only themselves to blame. The damage they could do to education in the South, however, would be irreparable and precisely at a time when the region needs the best educated, the best trained work force in its history.

The time for debating school desegregation is past and has been for some time. The South's opportunity to take advantage of fully integrated school systems with the promise of using the resources of all its people without regard to race is now at hand. It will be a new experience and it could be a rewarding one for all.

PRESS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS

The Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
JAckson 2-8764

Sunday, May 1, 1966

Negro voting strength is estimated at more than 40 per cent and in some instances at more than 50 per cent in nine of 15 Alabama counties where Negroes are seeking office in the May 3 Democratic primary. Similarly, it is estimated at near a majority in three of seven legislative districts where Negroes are candidates.

These estimates are based on a running total of Negro registration in southern states kept by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. Figures and percentages on the seven districts and 20 counties, nearly all in the Alabama Black Belt, were released by the VEP today (tables attached). There are 67 counties in Alabama.

These Alabama figures underscore the dramatic change in politics in that state since the 1965 passage of the Voting Rights Act. Statewide, Negro registration has increased from approximately 112,000 to approximately 226,000 (about 16.5 per cent of total registration) since the act went into effect last August.

The VEP estimates of the Negro percentage of the voter totals are conservative because many of the counties involved show a white registration higher than the 1960 Census figure on the number of whites eligible to vote. A closer comparison would probably be the Negro registration with the 1960 white voting-age population on the attached tables.

In counties where Negroes are offering for offices ranging from sheriff, tax assessor, coroner, county commissioner, board of education member, to Democratic executive committeeman and beat captain, the estimates show Wilcox County with 52.4 per cent Negro voters; Hale, 47.6; Macon, 50.6; Bulloch, 44.1;

PRESS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS

Sunday, May 1, 1966

(cont'd)

Sumter, 46.9; Marengo, 44.9; Perry, 41.9; Dallas, 46.3; Greene, 66.5. Lowndes County, where Negroes plan to run independent Black Panther party candidates in the general election next fall, has a Negro registration of approximately 45.8 per cent of the total; it is among those with white registration figures apparently inflated.

Negro registration is estimated at 44.5 per cent in House District 27; at 46.3 per cent in House District 28, and at 38.1 per cent in House District 31.

The Voter Education Project figures are based on field reports and other sources of information.

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., of Atlanta, supports projects in voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in the eleven southern states.

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VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
April 30, 1966

VOTER REGISTRATION IN SELECTED ALABAMA COUNTIES

ALABAMA LEGISLATURE	COUNTY	NEGRO VOTING-AGE POPULATION (1960 CENSUS)	NEGROES REGISTERED	% NEGRO VOTING-AGE POP. REGIS.	% NEGRO OF TOTAL REGISTERED		WHITE VOTING-AGE POPULATION (1960 CENSUS)	WHITES REGISTERED	% WHITE VOTING-AGE POPULATION REGISTERED	% WHITE OF TOTAL REGISTERED
	WILCOX	6,085	3,691	60.7	52.4		2,624	3,349	127.6	47.6
SENATE	CLARKE	5,833	2,280	39.1	18.3		7,899	10,178	128.9	81.7
DISTRICT 19	MONROE	4,894	2,142	43.8	22.7		6,631	7,308	110.2	77.3
	CONECUH	3,635	1,985	54.6	26.8		5,907	5,421	91.8	73.2
DISTRICT	TOTAL	20,447	9,926	48.5	27.4		23,061	26,256	113.9	72.6
HOUSE	HALE	5,999	4,093	68.2	47.6		3,594	4,503	125.3	52.3
DISTRICT 23	BIBB	1,190	830	69.7	9.6		5,807	7,802	134.4	90.3
DISTRICT	TOTAL	7,189	4,923	68.5	28.6		9,401	12,305	130.9	71.4
HOUSE	MACON	11,886	4,991	42.0	50.6		2,818	4,878	173.1	49.4
DISTRICT 31	BARBOUR	5,787	3,322	57.4	25.9		7,338	9,489	129.3	74.1

VOTER REGISTRATION IN SELECTED ALABAMA COUNTIES - 2

ALABAMA LEGISLATURE	COUNTY	NEGRO VOTING-AGE POPULATION (1960 CENSUS)	NEGROES REGISTERED	% NEGRO VOTING-AGE POP. REG.	% NEGRO OF TOTAL REGISTERED		WHITE VOTING-AGE POPULATION (1960 CENSUS)	WHITES REGISTERED	% WHITE VOTING-AGE POPULATION REGISTERED	% WHITE OF TOTAL REGISTERED
HOUSE DISTRICT 31	BULLOCH	4,450	2,419	54.4	44.1		2,387	3,064	128.4	55.9
DISTRICT	TOTAL	22,123	10,732	48.5	38.1		12,543	17,431	139.0	61.9
HOUSE DISTRICT 27	SUMTER	6,814	3,282	48.2	46.9		3,061	3,715	121.4	53.1
	MARENGO	7,791	5,690	73.0	44.9		6,104	6,975	114.3	55.1
	PERRY	5,237	3,715	70.9	41.9		3,441	5,146	149.5	58.1
DISTRICT	TOTAL	19,807	12,687	64.1	44.5		12,606	15,836	125.6	55.5
HOUSE DISTRICT 28	DALLAS	15,115	10,467	69.2	46.3		14,400	12,128	84.2	53.7
HOUSE DISTRICT 14	JEFFERSON	116,160	61,637	53.1	26.7		256,319	169,052	65.9	73.3
HOUSE DISTRICT 37	MOBILE	50,793	24,794	48.8	18.7		121,589	107,455	88.4	81.3
	MONTGOMERY	33,056	19,055	57.6	31.5		62,911	41,417	65.8	68.5
	GREENE	5,001	3,781	75.6	66.5		1,648	1,901	115.4	33.5
	AUTAUGA	3,651	2,263	62.0	25.9		6,353	6,483	102.0	74.1
	CHOCTAW	3,982	3,037	76.3	36.3		5,192	5,327	102.6	63.7
	LOWNDES	5,122	2,372	46.3	45.8		1,900	2,812	148.0	54.2

File
See News Releases
1966

NEWS RELEASE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone: 522-8764

The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York
Telephone: PL 1-4000

FOR RELEASE:

FRIDAY, MAY 13, 1966

A report on racial tensions in the South, issued jointly by the Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee, warned here today that continued "white lawlessness" could trigger "retaliatory violence" from Negro Southerners.

The main hope of avoiding such violence, the report concluded, is for "the realization of promises and potential" for Negro Southerners to be speeded.

The report noted that there are forces at work encouraging race relations in the South representative of the American ideal, more so than ever before. "The forebodings current in 1965-66 among those who know the region best in many ways suggest darkness before dawn. It is important to know, though, that the new day is not yet here."

Besides documenting white lawlessness, the report touched on several other factors affecting Negroes that are creating an ominous situation in the South: inadequate federal enforcement of civil rights legislation, and disillusionment caused by this; poverty; and a new psychological state of Negro Americans generally -- their increasing impatience with anything less than full citizenship.

The report disclosed that following the start of "peaceful" desegregation in the South in September, 1965, ten killings and "uncounted" beatings, burnings, bombings, and shootings were recorded in the six-month period through the end of February. It makes the point that such violence has not ended in the South; if anything, it intensified during the period.

Titled The Continuing Crisis: An Assessment of New Racial Tensions in the South, the report was released simultaneously in Atlanta, Georgia, at the headquarters of the Southern Regional

Council, and in Washington during the eve of the American Jewish Committee's 60th anniversary Annual Meeting. Formal sessions of the four-day Annual Meeting, which is being attended by hundreds of members from all over the United States, got under way Thursday at the Shoreham Hotel.

The study consists of a listing of instances of violence, intimidation, and reprisal against Negroes from September, 1965, through February, 1966, and a narrative discussion of the implications. The study was based on reports and resources of the American Jewish Committee and Southern Regional Council, newspaper clippings, and reports of other organizations. The listing of violent incidents does not, of course, include all that might have occurred; many never are reported outside where they occur.

Americans around the country, the report pointed out, have been "deluded" about the facts of southern school integration and the reprisals that have followed in the wake of voting registration drives to implement the Voting Rights Law of 1965. The assumption that "federal money and southern honor" would carry the day for peaceful acceptance of the law has not been borne out.

The report charged that only token school integration thus far had been achieved in the South, with between 5 and 6 per cent of the South's 3,014,025 Negro children of school age now attending classes with whites, and that the parents of the relatively few Negro children who do attend white schools often have been victims of violence and of economic pressures that cost them their jobs and their homes.

Further, according to the report, many Negroes who register to vote or who attempt to send their children to white schools are beaten, lose their jobs, or are evicted from their homes.

Hope was expressed that the tightening of federal desegregation guidelines and better enforcement would improve the situation in schools next fall. Similarly, pending federal legislation to improve the administration of southern justice and the increased participation of Negroes in political processes were cited as hopeful factors. But underlying factors of discontent and turmoil, the report said, need more attention.

The war on poverty in many instances has proven ineffectual

in providing aid for poor Negro Southerners, including those out of work because they tried to exercise their constitutional rights.

As an example, the report points to the tent cities put up in Washington County, Mississippi, to house Negroes: "In the coldest winter in Delta memory, people huddled inside the tents unable to find work, waiting for federal food commodities that would hold off hunger while they tried to keep from freezing. Too many times food got tangled up in red tape, and the hope of its arrival turned to bitterness."

In some states, the report continued, aid to poor Negroes has been blocked by public officials. For example, in Washington County, Mississippi, where a great number of Negroes are off the land and out of work, the Board of Supervisors refused additional government surplus commodities because, in the words of a local newspaper, "the program would probably benefit primarily Negroes, and landowners are said to feel they would have more difficulty in getting spring labor if commodities were not cut off in March."

The concept of federal help contributes to tensions. Referring to the southern white, the report stated: "He reads and hears daily that only the Negro receives federal help for his predicament, and southern education is sufficiently deficient that he has no facts with which to refute this."

In many ways, the report continued, "the psychological condition of Negroes generally is similar to that of the middle class and peasantry in France prior to the Revolution. The first feeble gains, opening the door just wide enough to let those outside look at life inside, have spurred a greater desire to participate in that life."

Alabama, Mississippi, north and Delta Louisiana, and southwest Georgia are pinpointed as areas of much recent and past violence. It is "an illusion," the report declared, to regard recent hard-core, violent intimidation and reprisal against Negroes as characteristic of all the former states of the Confederacy. Occasional outbursts in the peripheral South -- Texas, Arkansas, Florida, north Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina

and Virginia -- are usually "isolated incidents," rather than concerted campaigns of terrorism.

Negro anger, the report stated, has spread from the city slums to the middle class. Middle class Negroes, virtually the only ones to be benefitted even in part thus far by federal civil rights legislation, "have found progress toward tangible results of equal opportunity frustratingly slow."

"There is a new awareness," the report went on, "that even the first 'easy' gains -- simply peeling off the old, dead layers of institutionalized prejudice -- took ten years. To struggle so long to buy tokenism has at last worn patience thin."

In addition, the report stated, middle class Negro politicians are becoming increasingly aware of race consciousness on the part of their overwhelmingly poor constituencies. Typical of this new attitude in southern politics is that of a conservative Negro alderman recently elected in Atlanta, who warned whites that Negroes in the heart of the South will no longer honor the traditional Negro-upper-class-white alliance that assures control by whites. This official speculated that an undiluted Negro city vote could give Negroes control of such vital services as electric power and water that could be used as a lever in the fight for power.

Such attitudes, the report related, are widespread, and eventually all levels of government will have to deal realistically with this "new determination to negotiate from strength rather than the old appeal to white conscience."

Violence against the Negroes, the report continued, takes place largely in rural areas, where the white man often has a "real personal grudge" against Negroes of his own locale that is even stronger than his feelings against demonstrators in city streets. Discussing the rural white and his reaction to Negroes he knows, the report stated: "For those who continue to crop for Mr. John and stay out of trouble, he feels contempt. True, the wrath of whites is almost always directed at those Negroes who are trying to change things, but relationships also deteriorate with those who do not join the effort."

Yet the reaction to such violence against rural Negroes is

now also being felt in the cities more keenly than ever before: "Now a 'civil rights assassin' who gets off with a stern reprimand by a judge and a hearty handshake from his cohorts may trigger widespread reprisal by Negroes in city slums."

The report urged the need for white leadership in the South to deal effectively with this new Negro militancy and anger. It stated: "In abdicating responsibility for the lives of Negroes held in slums or in feudal conditions on the land, the white South may already have thrown away its chance to direct the new explosive energy that is feeding Negro discontent. It has cut itself off from the slum; it has, through 'welfare,' paid Negroes to stay off the middle class streets and out of sight.

"If there is any possibility for whites to regain any voice in the Negro community, they would have to forsake their solidarity, cease bloc-voting, and, above all, work diligently to break the cycle of segregated housing, poor schools, and menial jobs. If they would do this, city government would have no choice but to deal realistically with the causes of discontent rather than with hand-picked middle class Negro negotiators."

The report asserted that "little actual headway" could be made until Negroes in the South were less vulnerable economically and thus less subject to methods of intimidation. There is "an incredibly tenacious determination on the part of poverty-stricken people, particularly in rural areas, to give their children a chance for a better education. But a loss of a job requires that people sustain themselves over what seems an endless time. Thus this form of reprisal is often more effective than a bombing or a beating."

Seeking to put the situation in the South in perspective as to place and time, the report related the South's "dilemma" to a world-wide pattern: "in which the poor, colored, economically underdeveloped, rural world is seeking fundamental changes in the face of the status-quo-oriented world of rich, white, urbanized Europe and North America -- all fostered by industrialization creating 'haves' in cities, by-passing 'have-nots' on the land."

The report recalled that in 1960 a similar report, prepared jointly by the Southern Regional Council, the American Friends

Service Committee, and the National Council of the Churches of Christ and described the violent reaction to the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. "With the same sense of sadness and urgency," today's survey from the Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee stated, "this report continues the same story -- with its warning to the nation that violence has not abated, and that the miracle of non-retaliation from Negroes cannot be expected to continue."

Throughout accounts of violence on the part of the white South, the report found "a new thread of Negroes' fearlessness and determination -- and a warning: 'I've been stomped down and stomped down all of my life. It's been long enough.'"

The anger of the Negroes is not new, the report pointed out, nor is the fear among white Southerners that it will be unleashed. "The most compelling factor has to do with the mood of answering anger, of retaliatory violence among Negroes of the South, and the threat in the cities, particularly, of rampage and riot, echoing the legacy of white lawlessness so long the South's greatest disgrace."

"Only the signs that the anger is closer to the surface, nearer to exploding, are new," the report concluded. "That it has not exploded in the past is but a dim hope that it will not explode in the future. Unless the realization of promises and potential can be speeded -- this seems about the only hope."

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners which seeks to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is a pioneer human relations agency in this country combatting bigotry, protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews and advancing the cause of human rights for all.

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File News Releases 1966

PRESS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

TO ALL PAPERS

The Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
JAckson 2-8764
May 20, 1966

It would have been necessary for Mrs. George C. Wallace's nine male opponents to receive 72,845 more votes in order to force her into a runoff, tabulations of final Alabama primary figures show.

Large as this figure is, however, it may not be entirely out of reach in future Alabama elections. Negro registration has more than doubled in Alabama since passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and it continues to rise.

Negro registration in Alabama now is more than 235,000. Before the Voting Rights Act went into effect, it was 113,000.

Present Negro registration is about 49 per cent of the voting age population, against a white registration of 87 per cent. The latter figure is, however, somewhat inflated. Many counties report white registration exceeding the white voting age population.

Based on returns from selected precincts, the Negro vote can be calculated at, or just above, the total vote received by Attorney General Richmond Flowers, who finished second in the governor's race with 172,386 votes.

While a scattering of Negro votes statewide went to Carl Elliott, a few white votes went to Flowers. If each of these small figures offsets the other, the total Negro vote can be reckoned at about 173,000.

Of the Negro registration of 235,000, then, nearly 74 per cent voted. This is a remarkable showing in light of the fact that more than half the Negro registration had been added in the last year and that many thus were voting for the first time.

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The overall turnout was a record-breaking 888,838. This was approximately 64 per cent of the total state registration of 1,410,700.

If the white vote is calculated at 715,800, this would be 61 per cent of the white registration total of 1,175,122.

Of the votes cast, Mrs. Wallace received 54.1 per cent.

While the much-condemned "bloc vote" went heavily for Flowers, it was split in many local races. In several counties, white candidates claimed receiving a large share of the Negro vote. If they had not, they would not have survived the election.

Several reasons have been advanced to explain the split in Negro votes at the local level:

1. Old interracial friendships and loyalties;
2. Reservations about the qualifications of some of the Negro candidates;
3. Fear of offending white poll officials and the white power structure by voting for Negro candidates.

In addition, Negro and civil rights leaders have raised questions about the conduct of the election in several counties. In three counties, federal observers were not allowed to watch ballots being marked for illiterates.

But while some white candidates received Negro votes in local races, some Negro candidates likewise received white votes. In Jefferson County (Birmingham), for example, several Negro candidates got newspaper endorsements and polled a sizeable vote in white precincts.

The determination of the new Negro voter could be seen at, for instance, the Washington school in Birmingham. At about 10 a. m., an ambulance arrived at the polls carrying four or five patients from a nursing home. One, who said he was voting for the first time,

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gave his age as 116. As the voting went on into the night, mothers left their children with poll officials while they stood in the block-long lines.

At Washington school, the total vote in the governor's race was 4,185. Flowers got 3,951, or 94.4 per cent, and Elliott got 163, or 3.9 per cent. The rest of the votes were thinly scattered, Mrs. Wallace getting three.

Of 51 Negro candidates running for county and legislative positions in the May 3 primary, 23 are in the May 31 runoffs.

According to the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, most recent county-by-county registration figures are as listed below. The Southern Regional Council is an organization of Negro and white Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

###

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
AUTAUGA COUNTY	W	6353	5412	85.1	6772	100+
	N	3651	300	8.2	2275	62.3
BALDWIN COUNTY	W	22236	17469	78.6	19587	88.1
	N	4527	688	15.2	1156	25.5
BARBOUR COUNTY	W	7338	7609	100+	9602	100+
	N	5787	723	12.5	3487	60.3
BIBB COUNTY	W	5807	7057	100+	8063	100+
	N	1190	356	29.9	893	75.0
BLOUNT COUNTY	W	14368	12426	86.5	13625	94.8
	N	378	57	23.0	140	37.0
BULLOCK COUNTY	W	2387	2847	100+	3074	100+
	N	4450	2020	45.4	2980	67.0
BUTLER COUNTY	W	8363	6922	82.8	7813	93.4
	N	4820	575	11.9	1731	35.9
CALHOUN COUNTY	W	44739	28613	64.0	32801	73.3
	N	9036	2837	31.4	4318	47.8
CHAMBERS COUNTY	W	15369	10647	69.3	11742	76.4
	N	6497	957	14.7	1362	21.0

ALABAMA VOTER REGISTRATION - VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. — 2.

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
CHEROKEE COUNTY	W	8537	8637	100+	9619	100+
	N	752	363	47.5	480	61.4
CHILTON COUNTY	W	12561	14714	100+	15934	100+
	N	1947	578	29.6	726	37.3
CHOCTAW COUNTY	W	5192	4908	94.5	5616	100+
	N	3982	864	21.7	2971	74.6
CLARKE COUNTY	W	7899	9537	100+	10316	100+
	N	5833	913	15.7	2495	42.8
CLAY COUNTY	W	6470	7923	100+	8495	100+
	N	926	225	24.3	394	42.5
CLEBURNE COUNTY	W	5870	6933	100+	7486	100+
	N	385	108	28.1	134	34.8
COFFEE COUNTY	W	14221	9893	69.6	11282	79.3
	N	2985	583	19.5	994	33.3
COLBERT COUNTY	W	21680	18590	85.8	20330	93.8
	N	4575	2246	49.1	2714	59.3
CONECUH COUNTY	W	5707	4976	84.2	5524	93.5
	N	3635	695	19.1	1822	32.0
COOSA COUNTY	W	4201	5124	100+	5670	100+
	N	1794	644	35.9	946	52.7
COVINGTON COUNTY	W	18446	13817	74.9	16290	88.3
	N	2876	554	19.3	992	34.5
CRENSHAW COUNTY	W	6310	5629	89.2	6449	100+
	N	2207	622	28.2	1210	54.8

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
CULLMAN COUNTY	W	25848	22159	85.7	24431	94.5
	N	285	118	41.4	122	42.8
DALE COUNTY	W	14861	10203	68.7	11592	78.0
	N	2743	616	22.5	1411	51.4
DALLAS COUNTY	W	14400	10265	71.2	12515	86.9
	N	15115	1516	10.1	10260	67.9
DEKALB COUNTY	W	23878	24566	100+	26441	100+
	N	441	90	20.4	216	49.0
ELMORE COUNTY	W	12510	13857	100+	15339	100+
	N	4808	858	17.8	2717	56.5
ESCAMBIA COUNTY	W	12779	13940	100+	15598	100+
	N	5685	1101	19.4	1755	30.9
ETOWAH COUNTY	W	48565	38770	63.4	41644	85.7
	N	7661	2980	38.9	4102	53.5
FAYETTE COUNTY	W	8277	8535	100+	9119	100+
	N	1291	551	42.7	664	51.4
FRANKLIN COUNTY	W	12412	12725	100+	13561	100+
	N	645	617	95.7	714	100+
GENEVA COUNTY	W	11357	8566	75.4	10267	90.4
	N	1606	374	23.3	584	36.4
GREENE COUNTY	W	1649	1736	100+	1984	100+
	N	5001	542	10.8	3801	76.0
HALE COUNTY	W	3594	4011	100+	4503	100+
	N	5999	520	8.6	3940	65.7

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
HENRY COUNTY	W	5165	5848	100+	6608	100+
	N	3168	726	22.9	1443	45.5
HOUSTON COUNTY	W	22095	12406	56.1	15322	69.3
	N	6899	1011	14.7	1730	25.1
JACKSON COUNTY	W	19298	17033	88.3	18472	95.7
	N	1175	433	36.9	623	53.0
JEFFERSON COUNTY	W	256319	153518	59.9	172997	67.5
	N	116160	25944	22.3	61460	52.9
LAMAR COUNTY	W	7503	9192	100+	9914	100+
	N	1027	188	18.3	364	35.4
LAUDERDALE COUNTY	W	31089	15571	50.0	18273	58.8
	N	3726	937	25.1	1312	35.2
LAWRENCE COUNTY	W	10509	12977	100+	14669	100+
	N	2471	839	34.0	1309	53.0
LEE COUNTY	W	17547	11354	64.7	13307	75.8
	N	8913	730	8.2	2642	29.6

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
LIMESTONE COUNTY	W	16173	12222	75.6	14115	87.3
	N	3579	390	10.9	1265	35.3
LOWNDES COUNTY	W	1900	2653	100+	2820	100+
	N	5122	179	3.5	2353	45.9
MACON COUNTY	W	2818	4829	100+	4909	100+
	N	11886	4582	38.5	5126	43.1
MADISON COUNTY	W	54616	40004	73.4	41333	75.8
	N	10666	2847	26.7	3183	29.8
MARENGO COUNTY	W	6104	6166	100+	7132	100+
	N	7091	712	9.1	5535	71.0
MARION COUNTY	W	12656	14800	100+	16346	100+
	N	403	236	58.6	267	66.3
MARSHALL COUNTY	W	26997	14649	54.3	16948	62.8
	N	637	52	8.2	150	23.5

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
MOBILE COUNTY	W	121589	103622	85.2	107455	88.4
	N	50793	19417	38.2	24794	48.8
MONROE COUNTY	W	6631	6620	99.8	7464	100+
	N	4894	940	19.2	2380	48.6
MONTGOMERY COUNTY	W	62911	39700	63.1	41791	66.4
	N	33056	8930	27.0	19052	57.5
MORGAN COUNTY	W	30955	22601	73.0	25541	82.5
	N	4159	948	22.8	1177	28.3
PERRY COUNTY	W	3441	4602	100+	5192	100+
	N	5202	1041	20.0	3719	71.5
PICKENS COUNTY	W	7336	6873	93.7	7379	100+
	N	4373	650	14.9	1682	38.5

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION 1960	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PERCENT
PIKE COUNTY	W	9126	10379	100+	11604	100+
	N	5259	921	17.5	3015	57.3
RANDOLPH COUNTY	W	9196	9444	100+	10197	100+
	N	2366	832	35.1	1163	49.2
RUSSELL COUNTY	W	13761	10630	77.2	12588	91.5
	N	10531	1214	11.5	3901	37.0
ST. CLAIR COUNTY	W	12244	9560	78.1	10951	89.4
	N	2035	718	35.3	904	44.4
SHELBY COUNTY	W	14771	13200	89.4	13208	89.4
	N	2889	427	14.8	985	34.1
SUMTER COUNTY	W	3061	3312	100+	3755	100+
	N	6814	585	8.9	3369	49.5
TALLADEGA COUNTY	W	25635	19031	74.2	20872	81.4
	N	9333	2168	23.2	3201	34.3
TALLAPOOSA COUNTY	W	15310	15589	100+	17682	100+
	N	4999	978	19.6	1784	35.7

COUNTY		VOTING AGE POPULATION	PRE-VOTING ACT REGISTRATION	PER CENT	MOST RECENT TOTAL	PER CENT
TUSCALOOSA COUNTY	W	47076	26751	56.8	28543	60.6
	N	15332	4353	28.4	5460	35.6
WALKER COUNTY	W	28148	24559	87.2	26752	95.0
	N	2890	1109	38.4	1270	43.9
WASHINGTON COUNTY	W	5293	6956	100+	7564	100+
	N	2297	953	41.5	1403	61.1
WILCOX COUNTY	W	2624	3007	100+	3618	100+
	N	6085	280	4.6	3932	64.6
WINSTON COUNTY	W	8559	10321	100+	11143	100+
	N	47	24	51.1	40	85.1
TOTALS	W	1353038	1064645	78.7	1175122	86.9
	N	481320	113493	23.6	235572	48.9

May 20, 1966

File SRC News Releases, 1966

PRESS RELEASE

The Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
JAckson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE TO
ALL PAPERS

MONDAY, JUNE 13, 1966

When James Meredith was ambushed and wounded June 6 in his home state of Mississippi, it was at least the 17th incident in connection with registration and voting in the South since the Voting Rights Act went into effect last August.

The Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council today listed the 17 incidents and acts of violence. The Meredith incident, said the VEP, demonstrates the fact that while the Voting Rights Act guaranteed rights of registration and voting, it did not guarantee the safety of those who are trying to see that these rights are exercised.

The shooting of James Meredith took place on the eve of the Mississippi primary in which thousands of Negroes were voting for the first time. Largely because of threats, reprisals, intimidation and fear, Mississippi's Negro registration remains the lowest in the South. The figure now stands at approximately 125,000, which is 29.6 per cent or less than one-third of the Negro voting age population.

Illustrating widespread fear is a report received at the end of May from Mississippi county in which is located one of 62 programs the VEP is assisting in various Southern communities. Twenty-five persons had refused to register, the report said, "because they are afraid of being kicked out of their homes." The report added that "some say they will go to register if everyone on the plantation goes." The report explained that "the boss's" wife watched out the window in order to report to her husband any laborers seen talking to registration workers.

Meredith had been quoted as saying a major purpose of his march was to "get rid of" this and similar fears on the part of Mississippi Negroes. The VEP has received other reports of registration and voting fears on the part of Negroes as far north and east as Virginia.

The list below was prepared from newspaper clippings and and other sources. It includes those incidents related, seemingly related or possibly related to voting, elections or registration since August of 1965.

"No doubt," said VEP Director Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., "the list is not complete. Many incidents, particularly in rural areas, never get reported, investigated or publicized. Yet, the list provides an idea of why many Negroes in the South are afraid to register and vote."

August, 1965---Freddie Lee Thomas, 16, was found dead on a highway near Greenwood, Miss. The death was ruled a hit-and-run accident, but half brother said young Thomas was killed to discourage Negro voter registration efforts.

September, 1965---A local union official, active in the Northampton County voters movement at Conway, N. C. and speaker at a three-county voters rally was the target of a cross-burning and a beating by whites.

September, 1965---Shotgun blasts were fired into the home of the state vice president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at Laurel, Miss. He had helped gather complaints which had resulted in federal voter examiners being sent into Jones County.

October, 1965---In Washington, Ga., 13 civil rights workers swore out peace warrants against the white driver of a pickup truck, charging that he tried to run them down. The Negroes were among 110 who marched on the Wilkes County courthouse. Their complaints included alleged voter-registration discrimination.

October, 1965---Fights broke out between whites and Negroes at Blackville, S. C., during a municipal election in which Negroes were waging write-in campaigns.

October, 1965---Two Negroes were wounded by a shotgun blast fired from a passing car just after they had left a Negro voter rally at Suffolk, Va.

October, 1965---A fire in Lowndes County, Ala., it was reported, destroyed a house that a Negro candidate for an Agricultural Stabilization and Conversation Service post had intended to occupy.

October, 1965---Four Negro workers in a voter registration drive were reported severely beaten and one stabbed by a crowd of 15 to 20 white youths at Barnwell, S. C.

November, 1965---Shots from a passing car scattered a group of civil rights workers at Victoria, Va. One received a scalp wound. They were standing in front of the headquarters building of the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee, an organization pushing voter registration.

January, 1966---Vernon Dahmer, 58-year-old Negro civil rights leader, died of burns suffered when night riders threw firebombs into his house and store at Hattiesburg, Miss. His wife and daughter were hospitalized. Dahmer had spearheaded voter registration efforts and had announced that he would collect poll taxes and pay them for Negro voters.

January, 1966---A group of Lowndes County, Ala., Negroes asked a federal court to enjoin white landowners against evicting Negro sharecroppers for registering to vote. Negroes charged that shots had been fired at the tent city in which several were living.

February, 1966---Shotgun blasts fired from two cars ripped into a Freedom House in Kosciusko, Miss. Two white youths from Oberlin College in Ohio, engaged in a voter registration campaign, were slightly injured.

April, 1966---A five-foot high cross was burned four miles south of Colerain, N. C., in a field beside the home of a Negro woman who had been active in a Bertie County voter registration drive.

April, 1966---A Negro cafe operator in Winona, Miss., filed a damage suit charging that she had been harassed because of her civil rights activities. She said she had urged Negroes to "secure their civil rights."

Press Release - 4.
June 13, 1966

May, 1966---An explosion wrecked one side of the home of Odell Sanders, a member of the Haywood County Voters League, at Brownsville, Tenn. Two hours earlier, a cross had been burned on a county road a short distance beyond the city limits.

June, 1966---James Meredith, making a 16-day, 220-mile walk from Memphis to Jackson to encourage registration and voting, was shot and wounded near Hernando, Miss., on the second day of his march.

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., of Atlanta, supports projects in voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training in the 11 southern states.

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PRESS RELEASE

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
JAckson 2-8764

ROR RELEASE

FRIDAY

AUGUST 5, 1966

The first full year of the Voting Rights Act has produced dramatic increases in Negro registration, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council said today.

Saturday marks the first anniversary of the Voting Rights Act. It was signed by President Johnson on August 6, 1965.

At this time a year ago, Negro registration in the six Southern states affected by the Act was just over 837,000, or less than 30 per cent of the Negro voting-age population.

At present, Negro registration in the same six states is estimated at 1,289,000, or nearly 46 per cent of the Negro voting-age population.

The increases have been most pronounced in the four states to which federal examiners have been assigned: Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. No examiners have been assigned in Georgia or Virginia, or in 26 North Carolina counties to which the Act applies.

Thus far examiners have registered voters in 24 counties in Mississippi, in 11 in Alabama, in two in South Carolina, and in five parishes in Louisiana. As of July 16, examiners had registered 64,155 persons in Alabama, 41,595 in Mississippi, 13,689 in Louisiana, and 4,542 in South Carolina.

Virtually all of these new registrants have been Negro. Only a few have been white.

The Voting Rights Act suspends literacy tests and has eliminated poll taxes and other devices which have discouraged voting in states with low registration.

"The figures clearly demonstrate the need for more federal examiners," said Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., director of the Voter Education Project. "This includes parts of the two states to which they have not been sent and many counties in the four states to which they have been sent.

"There also is a need," Jordan added, "for more concentrated private efforts to increase registration and voting in the South. The Voter Education Project is doing all it can to encourage such efforts."

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., of Atlanta, supports projects in voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training in the 11 southern states.

State-by-state figures on the first year of the Voting Rights Act are as follows:

STATE	Pre-Act Registration, Negro	Percentage of Negro Voting-Age Population	Current Registration (estimated), Negro	Percentage of Negro Voting-Age Population	Registered by Federal Examiners	Net Increase
ALABAMA	113,493	23.6	248,000	51.5	64,155	134,507
GEORGIA	233,051	38.0	267,000	43.6	---	33,949
LOUISIANA	153,781	29.9	243,000	47.2	13,689	89,219
MISSISSIPPI	25,265	6.0	139,000	32.9	41,595	113,735
SOUTH CAROLINA	142,802	38.5	187,000	50.4	4,542	44,198
VIRGINIA	169,000 (est.)	40.1	205,000	48.7	---	36,000
TOTALS	837,392	29.7	1,289,000	45.7	123,981	451,608

PRESS RELEASE- 3.
August 5, 1966

File News Releases 1966

FOR RELEASE

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
JAckson 2-8764

WEDNESDAY

DECEMBER 14, 1966

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH, 1966

Despite the much-publicized evidence of "white backlash" in the 1966 November elections, the growing Negro vote proved itself a major factor in elections across the South.

This was the finding in a post-election survey conducted during November by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Election results gathered by VEP in 11 Southern states show that Negroes supplied the winning margin for a U. S. senator, one and probably two governors, and at least two U. S. House members.

In addition, Negro voters helped throw the two party nominees in the Georgia governor's race into a deadlock. And they helped a Senate newcomer to outpoll an established political name in separate Senate races in Virginia.

Twenty Negroes were elected to state legislatures in the South---an increase of nine. And Negroes were elected to county-level posts --- in one case, to the office of sheriff--- in such Deep South states as Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi.

The Negro vote clearly provided the margin for Winthrop Rockefeller's election as governor of Arkansas. The Republican candidate received approximately 300,000 votes. The Democratic candidate, ardent segregationist Jim Johnson, got about 255,000 votes.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH, 1966 -- 2.

An estimated 80,000 to 90,000 Negroes voted, more than 90 per cent of them for Rockefeller. Thus Negroes supplied Rockefeller's margin of 45,000, with plenty to spare.

Negro registration in Arkansas is estimated at between 115,000 and 120,000. If the turnout is put at 80,000, which VEP sources say would be a conservative figure, this would be two thirds of the registration.

Negro voters in South Carolina plainly provided the margin for a U. S. senator and probably for a governor.

Ernest F. (Fritz) Hollings was elected to the Senate over Republican candidate Marshall J. Parker by a mere 12,000 votes. Gov. Robert E. McNair defeated Republican challenger Joseph O. Rogers Jr. by a more comfortable 72,000 votes.

The Negro turnout was estimated at 100,000---just over half the Negro registration of 191,000. The Negro vote went almost totally Democratic.

Bucking the tide was Sen. Strom Thurmond, a Republican who won reelection by over 100,000 votes despite the solidly Democratic Negro vote.

All the same, wrote one Carolina newsman: "One, and only one, general conclusion appears possible: Neither party can win statewide or congressional races in South Carolina without Negro voting support."

Commenting on his race, Hollings said Parker "generated the Negro bloc vote, insulted them on the basis that they could be bought" and thus "corralled them into my corner."

In North Carolina's Fifth Congressional District, Negroes provided the victory margin for Democrat Nick Galifianakis over Republican G. Fred Steele Jr. Returns from eight predominantly Negro precincts in Forsyth County gave Galifianakis 5,156 votes to Steele's 284. Four predominantly Negro precincts in Durham County gave Galifianakis 2,400 and Steele 163. Galifianakis won by 5,300 votes.

In the Sixth Congressional District, Rep. Horace R. Kornegay found himself in a tight race as Greensboro Negroes switched their support on election eve to Republican Richard B. Barnwell. Kornegay, considered a solid favorite, had his victory margin trimmed to fewer than 2,700 votes. Kornegay has voted consistently against civil rights and Great Society programs.

Negroes provided the margin for Democrat Ray Blanton over Republican Julius Hurst in West Tennessee's Seventh Congressional District. Blanton won by about 2,700 votes, despite the fact that the district went for Republican Howard Baker in the U. S. Senate race by 3,000 votes. Nine predominantly Negro precincts in Memphis gave Blanton 7,824 votes to Hurst's 353.

Baker sought Negro support in his race against Democrat Frank Clement and thus cut into the latter's vote total across the state. Baker won decisively by 100,000 votes. Clement had edged Sen. Ross Bass in the Democratic primary by drawing away some Negro support from Bass in a close contest.

In Memphis, in the Ninth Congressional District, redistricting and a non-presidential year drop-off in the Negro turnout caused Rep. George W. Grider to lose to conservative Republican Dan Kuykendall. Grider lost by 4,000 votes.

Six Negroes were elected to the Tennessee Legislature ---an increase of five. Three are from Memphis, two from Nashville, and one from Knoxville. The latter was the only Democrat elected to Knox County's eight-man legislative delegation.

Returns from selected precincts indicated that about half of Georgia's 300,000 registered Negroes voted. Their votes were split about evenly between Republican Howard (Bo) Callaway and write-in candidate Ellis Arnall. Reports indicate that thousands of write-in votes were not counted because of misspellings and other technicalities.

Arch-segregationist Democrat Lester Maddox received a scattering of Negro votes. In some areas he was the beneficiary of straight-party voting, as was Mrs. Wallace in Alabama.

Neither Callaway nor Maddox received the required majority, and the whole issue immediately landed in the courts. Callaway got 451,032 votes and Maddox 448,598, with the Arnall write-in campaign receiving 57,832. However, Arnall leaders contended that only about half the write-in votes actually got counted and reported.

Negroes won 11 seats in the Georgia Legislature---an increase of one. The new legislator is from Augusta. The total includes Julian Bond of Atlanta, who again was elected to the seat that had been denied him by the Georgia House.

Negro county commission candidates were elected in Liberty, McIntosh and Hancock counties. In addition, a Negro was elected to the school board in Hancock County, which in the general election became the first Georgia county to have federal poll watchers.

Three Negroes were elected to the Legislature in Texas ---two in Houston and one in Dallas. One, Miss Barbara Jordan, a Houston attorney, was elected to the Senate. They are the first Negroes to be elected to the Texas Legislature in this century.

Alabama Negroes, faced with choosing between two segregationists who were the major candidates in the governor's race, did not turn out as heavily as they did in the May primaries. Returns from selected precincts and counties indicate that, in most cases, the Negro turnout was less than half the registration. The May 3 turnout was estimated at 74 per cent. Negro registration in Alabama stands at just under 250,000.

With no clear choice to make between the two major candidates, Negroes divided their votes between Democrat Lurleen Wallace, Republican Jim Martin, and independent Carl Robinson. Mrs. Wallace, wife of Alabama's stormy outgoing

governor, was an easy winner with more than 500,000 votes. Martin polled 252,000 votes and Robinson 46,000. In some areas Martin ran ahead in predominantly Negro boxes and in others Mrs. Wallace did. But in many cases, the front-runner among Negroes was the third candidate, Robinson.

In the Senate race, Negroes voted heavily for Sen. John Sparkman over Republican John Grenier. Sparkman won handily, 482,000 to 313,000.

Five Negroes were elected to office in Black Belt counties. Among them was Lucius Amerson, who turned back a write-in effort to be elected sheriff of Macon County.

In Dallas County, meanwhile, Sheriff Jim Clark's write-in campaign also failed. Clark, one of the nation's better-known segregationists, had been defeated in the May primaries by Wilson Baker, who had the help of Negro votes. Baker narrowly defeated Clark's general election write-in try.

In Lowndes County, an outnumbered but unified white vote prevailed over the independent Lowndes County Freedom Party ("Black Panther") slate. A light Negro turn-out and the fact that some Negroes voted for white candidates contributed to the defeat of the "Black Panther" slate. A 53-year old Negro was assaulted in Lowndes, it was reported, as he waited to pick up an election clerk. There were charges that intimidation kept some Negroes from voting.

State Senator William B. Spong coasted to an easy victory in one of two Virginia contests for the U. S. Senate. Spong amassed about 425,000 votes, against some 243,000 for his Republican challenger and 58,000 for the Conservative candidate.

In Virginia's other U. S. Senate race Harry F. Byrd Jr. won. However, Byrd ran considerably behind Spong with 383,000 votes. Spong had more than 58 per cent of the vote in his race, whereas Byrd had 54 per cent in his.

At least part of the difference is explained by the Negro support Spong received. Many Negroes who supported Spong voted for Byrd's Republican opponent, Lawrence M. Traylor.

With Negro support, Spong narrowly defeated Sen. Willis Robertson during the summer for the Democratic nomination.

However, George C. Rawlings Jr., who last summer unseated congressional powerhouse Howard W. Smith with the help of Negro votes, was defeated in the general election by Republican William L. Scott in Virginia's Eighth District. Smith supporters teamed with Republicans to down Rawlings. Scott called it a "bipartisan victory," but he added that "many factors" were involved.

Similarly, Republican Claude Kirk was elected governor of Florida with the help of Gov. Haydon Burns, the incumbent Democrat who was defeated in the primary. Kirk rolled up 821,000 votes against Robert King High's 668,000.

"White backlash" undoubtedly helped Kirk. Florida voters last May rejected Burns' suggestion that they "follow the lead of the people of Alabama" after the big Wallace landslide. However, they proved more receptive to Kirk's somewhat more subtle position that "a man's home is his castle."

An estimated 50,000 to 55,000 Mississippi Negroes voted, out of approximately 170,000 registered. Their votes in the U. S. Senate race were split among Freedom Democratic Party-backed Clifton Whitley, Republican Prentiss Walker, and Democratic incumbent James O. Eastland. Sen. Eastland was reelected with about 230,000 votes, against Walker's 94,000 and Whitley's 28,000.

A Negro was elected to the school board in Jefferson County, becoming the first of his race to be elected to a county office in Mississippi since Reconstruction. A member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he downed a white candidate by a vote of 225 to 133. Negro candidates running in another half-dozen counties were

defeated. A Negro led a field of six in a race for supervisor in Leflore County, but he lost a runoff election in late November.

Louisiana Negroes gave heavy support---as did the state generally---to a proposal to permit Gov. John J. McKeithen to run for reelection in the 1967 elections. The amendment won by a vote of 436,761 to 192,819. Despite the lack of major statewide contests, a sampling of several Negro precincts indicated turnouts in the 50-60 per cent range.

A Negro was elected to the school board in West Feliciana Parish. However, a white write-in campaign defeated a Negro nominee for the school board in Madison Parish. Negroes had been elected during the summer to school boards in East Carroll and Iberville parishes. A Negro candidate also had been elected during the summer in West Feliciana.

Here and there across the South, racially conservative Republicans continued to nudge out moderate and liberal Democrats in congressional races. However, of seven Deep South Republicans who rode the Goldwater tide to victory in 1964, only three were reelected, all in Alabama. Three of the GOP congressmen---Callaway in Georgia, Martin in Alabama, and Walker in Mississippi---sought higher office, and one Republican incumbent in Alabama was defeated. The Callaway race is still undecided, and the Martin and Walker bids were unsuccessful.

Negro registration in 11 Southern states now stands at 2.7 million. In 1962 it was 1.5 million; in 1964, 2.2 million. Current white registration in the South is approximately 14.4 million.

In the 1964 presidential election, four of the six Southern states carried by Mr. Johnson would have gone to Sen. Goldwater if it had not been for the Negro vote. The five Southern states carried by Sen. Goldwater were those in which Negro registration was at or below the regional level.

Said Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project:

"The results of the 1966 elections plainly indicate the strength and influence of the Negro vote in the South. Yet this strength is far from what it ought to be. Only about half of the Negroes of voting age are registered in the South, whereas 70 per cent of the white adults are registered to vote. This is a gap that must be closed if Negroes are to have a fair share of the voice in Southern politics.

"The results also reflect, in several states, the impact of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. As we stated pn the first anniversary of the Act last August, the registration increases of the past year demonstrate the need for more federal examiners. This applies to the three affected states to which examiners have not been sent and to many counties in the four states to which examiners have been sent.

"The results also indicate the value of countless private efforts to stimulate registration and voting in the South. In that connection, the Voter Education Project is pleased to report that programs with which it has been associated have registered 100,000 voters during the year now ending."

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., supports projects of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in the 11 Southern states.

The Voter Education Project is nonpartisan, and endorses no parties or candidates. Mr. Jordan pointed out that voting in the South often crosses racial lines, with Negroes supporting white candidates in some races and whites supporting Negroes in others. He also pointed out that the 1966 elections again demonstrated that Negroes will vote freely across party lines, basing their choices on the stands of candidates rather than on party affiliation.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
522-8764

NEWS RELEASE

For release:
Thursday, December 7, 1967

Public assistance regulations in the southern states seriously restrict the amount of aid available to the needy and effectively bar many needy persons from welfare rolls, according to a special report issued today by the Southern Regional Council.

"Even with the fair administration of welfare regulations," the report says, "the poorest and most needy persons would not receive aid commensurate with their need." The report says that "the relatively and absolutely small amount of expenditures for public assistance is due not to the lack of need but rather to harsh welfare qualifications and a lack of sincere concern for the needy."

The report examines in detail southern states' welfare programs and, more specifically, how these programs are meeting the extreme need found in the poorest counties in these states. The counties, 97 of the 100 poorest in the nation, are located in 11 southern states. Among them, median family income ranges from $1,260 in Tunica County, Mississippi, to a high in Atkinson County, Georgia, of $1,956, more than $3,700 below the national median.

Each state has set its own poverty standards (levels of income the state considers sufficient to provide the minimal needs of an individual or a family.) According to the report, these are standards up to which each state attempts to bring all of its residents. "Insofar as the standards are levels to which all persons will hopefully rise, they are ideals," the report says. "Of great significance is that no state seen here has established $3,000 as the level of poverty -- the level set by the federal government -- and many have established it <u>much</u> lower."

For a family of four, a mother and three dependent children, these state-defined ideal standards of annual income

range from $1,488 in Arkansas to $2,376 in Tennessee. North Carolina sets a standard of $1,728; Texas, $1,847; South Carolina, $1,870; Louisiana, $1,977; Alabama, $2,124; Kentucky, $2,268; Mississippi, $2,329; Virginia, $2,340; and Georgia, $2,371.

In its extensive examination, both of the states' appropriated capacities to care for their needy and of the payments actually made to welfare recipients (statewide and in the counties specifically examined), the report reveals that most public assistance programs provide less, often far less, than the income levels the states themselves have recognized in setting their standards of need.

After an equally extensive examination of the welfare regulations in the 11 states, the report concludes that "public assistance is lacking, in large part, because it is so structured as to be self-restricting, to expend exactly enough to soothe the consciences of those with comfortable standards of living and no more. This self-restricting nature of public welfare is not due to discriminatory administration which is widespread in many states. Discriminatory administration only redoubles the faults of an already impotent structure. What produced such a structure is a concept of welfare at once sentimental and condescending. The poor must be taken care of, that concept says, but they must never be allowed to forget that they are poor and that they exist entirely on public sufferance."

See News Releases, 1967

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE: IMMEDIATELY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

File News Releases 1967

New Book Explores Recent History of the
Civil Rights Movement and the South,
With Ominous Warnings for the Future

ATLANTA -- A million more votes in the past five years have brought Negro Southerners more fully into the country's political life, but their hopefulness cannot be "indefinitely disappointed by the routines of American democracy."

This is one of the main points of a new book reporting Negroes' struggle for the ballot in the South and its role in re-shaping the civil rights movement, the South, and the political balance within the nation as a whole.

The book, CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER, by Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn, will be published on November 8 by Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. Watters is the Information Director of the Southern Regional Council, and Cleghorn is the Associate Editor of the Atlanta Journal.

The book is grounded in previously unpublished documents, many of them rich, informal reports from the field, of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Urban League, and local Negro organizations throughout the South.

For three years, before the "black power" doctrine and other developments split the civil rights movement, these organizations joined efforts under the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. The authors reveal how the project was inaugurated by rights organizations and foundations with the encouragement of the then Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, as a politically hopeful alternative to more unruly methods of claiming equality under the law.

They criticize the Justice Department for failure to make adequate efforts to fulfill a promise to protect workers in the voter registration effort. Thirteen rights workers were killed between 1962 and 1967.

They conclude that a dying "southern vote" in Congress restrained the federal government from taking more incisive action.

One of the main contentions of the book is evidence that the harshness of white resistance in tougher areas of the South radicalized much of the civil rights movement, spawned the "black power" doctrine, and turned reform efforts toward basic national illnesses such as poverty, the nation's fixation on violence, and deep-running racist attitudes.

The authors make these points, among others:

-- The growth of the Negro vote in major non-southern cities between 1940 and 1960 counter-balanced the political power of the old "Solid South" and turned the federal government toward enforcement, at last, of constitutional guarantees that had been ignored.

-- The 1964 election, in which Negro votes prevented Barry Goldwater from carrying four and possibly five southern states, broke the old "Solid South" and the influence of the Black Belt areas of the South over the rest of the nation.

-- Negroes will have to supplement traditional political methods with new approaches to make their full weight felt, partly because of a shortage of middle-class leadership.

-- Because of "ticket balancing" in the future, the growing two-party system will prove to be Negroes' greatest ally in coming into a full sharing of political power. "Barring some fluke of circumstance," the authors say, "the South's first elected Negro state attorney general or lieutenant governor since Reconstruction will be the creature of the two-party system."

Throughout the civil rights struggle in the South, public perception has been limited, the authors suggest, partly because it has usually been focused upon dramatic conflicts rather than the essence of the struggle. What has been a mighty moral struggle unique in the nation's history usually has been seen as "just one more ball game," the authors say, and unless understanding of the issues at hand deepens the nation will move increasingly toward bitterness, chaos, and denial of its own ideals.

The book recounts how many of the most militant young civil rights workers moved from belief in the best idealism of America to believing the worst about America. This erosion of faith, now seen in its national impact, mainly arose from the South's and the nation's denials of the most basic element of democracy, the right to vote.

This development came step-by-step with totalitarian-style repressions in Black Belt counties of the South; murder and brutality in the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964; and the ordeal of Selma.

The authors conclude that these rights workers' experiences with the worst poverty of the nation's poorest region bred a belief that not only was white society cruelly callous about the suffering of people, but that American institutions were incapable of curing the illness.

The book suggests that a big question in 1967 is whether the political process can accommodate demands by Negroes for removal of their disadvantage before despair and destructiveness replace a still-prevalent hopefulness among Negro Southerners.

Another question raised by the book is whether the Negro movement in the South can succeed where the northern movement has failed so far: in making the laws breathe into society and the lives of people a sense of equality and justice so that cynicism about American institutions will not grow past the point of no return.

The Library Journal says: "This book will probably stand as the definitive history of that period."

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, MARCH 31, 1968
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(404) 577-3796 or 522-8764

Formation of a Louisiana Voter Education Project, with William H. Samuel Jr. of Plaquemine as director, was announced Saturday.

The Louisiana VEP, which has been in the planning stages for several months, was formed officially at a meeting held March 14 in Baton Rouge.

Chairman of the Louisiana VEP is Nils Douglas, prominent New Orleans attorney. Acie J. Belton of Baton Rouge and Eric L. Armstrong of Lake Providence are vice chairmen. Alphonse Jackson of Shreveport is secretary,

Dr. Jewel Prestage of Baton Rouge is treasurer, and Louis Berry of Alexandria is legal counsel.

These officers and 12 other prominent Louisiana Negro leaders are the new organization's steering committee. Permanent officers and a board of directors will be elected later.

The Louisiana VEP is the fourth such statewide organization formed with assistance from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. The first was formed several years ago in South Carolina, followed in 1966 and 1967 by others in Arkansas and North Carolina.

The statewide VEPs bring together various civil rights and community groups in a single non-partisan organization working on programs of voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training. Local funds are raised to supplement grants from the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Samuel, director of the new Louisiana VEP, is 40 years old. Since last June, he has been president of the influential Iberville Industrial Voters League. Before resigning to run unsuccessfully for clerk of court last year, Samuel worked for a year as assistant director of LeMoyne Community Action, Inc., which is Iberville Parish's anti-poverty agency. Last summer Samuel administered the Four-Parish Voter Education Project, which operated in Iberville, Pointe Coupee, West Baton Rouge, and West Feliciana parishes with assistance from the Voter Education Project of SRC.

Born in the town of Plaquemine, Iberville Parish, Samuel served 20 years in the Army. He retired in 1966 with the rank of staff sergeant, having spent tours of duty in Germany, Japan, and Korea. A high school graduate, Samuel recently was enrolled in freshman studies at Southern University.

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, and

Weldon Rougeau, VEP field director, met with Louisiana Negro leaders at the Baton Rouge organizational meeting. Office of the Louisiana VEP will be in Plaquemine.

In addition to the officers, steering committee members of the Louisiana VEP are:

The Rev. J. H. Scott, Lake Providence; Dr. Louis C. Pendleton, Shreveport; Jesse N. Stone, Shreveport; Murhpy W. Bell, Baton Rouge; J. K. Haynes, Baton Rouge; Robert Thompson, Clinton; Alfred E. Mitchell, Plaquemine; Emmitt J. Douglas, New Roads; Marion Overton White, Opelousas; the Rev. Gilbert Harrison Sr., Alexandria; Rep. Ernest N. Morial, New Orleans; and William W. Harleaux, Plaquemine.

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., supports projects of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in the 11 Southern states.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit non-partisan organization of white and Negro Southerners

formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Civil Rights Releases 1968

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

NEWS RELEASE April 6, 1968

This statement is for IMMEDIATE RELEASE.

A STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF DR. KING

(Issued by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, April 6, 1968)

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. once again reveals the psychosis of violence and the cancer of racism in American society. Once again, America is stained with the blood of a courageous and noble leader, with the tragedy of a husband and father senselessly destroyed. His murder violates the ideals for which he stood, ideals which express the great tradition of America.

This is not the time for bitter and unrestrained recriminations against the society which killed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., but rather the time for all of us to pay heed at last to all that has already been said to the conscience of the nation in the grim, ghastly past -- at the murders of John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers, of the four little children in a Birmingham Sunday School, and so many others.

This is the time for white America to forego lecturing black Americans against violating the non-violent philosophy to which Dr. King's life will stand as a memorial for all time. Let white America for once concede to black America strength and dignity sufficient to make that decision without advice or admonishment. Let white America acknowledge that black Americans, as Dr. King has proved, have equal moral personality as human beings and have the qualities of

leadership and courage and dignity which all Americans need.

The life of Dr. King transcends the violence done throughout his career to the American ideals for which he stood and the final obscene violence to him. His leadership during his life and the pangs of conscience white America feels in his death give all Americans the chance -- and perhaps the last chance -- to make the choice between the kind of society for which Dr. King lived and died, and the kind of society which denies equal opportunity and relies on force above justice and equity. If America cannot produce leadership toward the society that Dr. King saw in his dream for America, then America is finished.

Let white America look into its own heart.

Better Schools - Atlanta
P. O. Box 4451
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

For Release:
9:30 A. M. Wednesday
October 9, 1968

Better Schools - Atlanta, a group of concerned citizens, requests the Atlanta Board of Education and the school administration to eliminate educational disparities in the schools.

We recognize changes are being made. However, the city of Atlanta is advertised as the commercial center of the South, the place where progress is being made; new business comes to the city, new buildings go up daily; increasingly there are more opportunities for culture and entertainment.

Yet, across the nation, school systems are in open conflict because of demands by community, teacher, and student groups. We are aware that the grievances expressed elsewhere in the country exist here in Atlanta. We are aware that various individuals in the community are interested in working together toward solution of these grievances now. Better Schools - Atlanta urges the Board of Education and the school administration to exert the leadership it has been delegated by the community and to work closely with the total community for quality education.

Because of concern for quality education, Better Schools - Atlanta has analyzed existing data from the Atlanta Public School system. This analysis has revealed shocking inequities in the schools. A report has been published summarizing the findings of the study. Copies of the report have been sent to all members of the Atlanta Board of Education, the Superintendent of Schools, and to interested citizens.

The report shows that a total of 92.3 per cent of black elementary school students attend all-black schools. An additional 3.1 per cent are in schools with token integration, and only 4.6 per cent are in integrated schools, i.e., schools with more than five per cent students of the opposite race.

It was found that students in black schools attend larger elementary schools, attend larger first grade classes, attend schools with larger pupil-teacher ratios in succeeding grades, and have fewer textbooks per student. Students in the black schools attend schools with less site area per student, attend classes in buildings of less value per student which contain less valuable furniture and equipment.

Fourth grade pupils in black schools are more than one year behind pupils in white schools based on median reading scores. By the eighth grade, pupils in black schools are four years behind.

Because of the gravity of the educational needs, Better Schools - Atlanta requests the opportunity to be heard at the Monday, October 14, regular meeting of the Atlanta Board of Education.

Listed below are five areas in which Better Schools - Atlanta requests immediate changes:

1. Although the Atlanta Board of Education is under court order to desegregate students and faculty in the Atlanta Public Schools, the court order itself and the results of its implementation have resulted in a school system where the amount of desegregation is proportionately lower than many rural and small town communities. To achieve better education for all Atlanta children, the Board of Education is requested to take the leadership position and make immediate revision of its program for school desegregation, incorporating whatever variety of desegregation techniques are needed to accomplish the task. Meaningful desegregation, not token desegregation, must be achieved

by 1970. To show good faith with this request, there should be plans to implement more desegregation at mid-year 1968-69.

2. Atlantans can be proud of a school system willing to participate in some of the educational experiments now undertaken in many school systems across the United States. However, historically there has been disparity between the educational opportunities provided black and white children in this city. To begin meaningful improvement in the education provided all children, there must be prompt elimination of existing inequalities in such areas as class size, teacher-pupil ratios, the number of books available per child in each school, the quality and quantity of furniture and equipment, the size of school recreation and athletic areas, and the availability of special services.

3. Recognizing that the school system has a public information office, created three years ago, Better Schools - Atlanta requests immediate improvement of communication between the system and the wider Atlanta community. The Board of Education can no longer afford to make decisions affecting the community without involving it in planning discussions. Education can no longer be treated as a process to be accomplished with the teacher and children locked up in a box, sheltered from the nitty-gritty of life.

4. Recognizing the Atlanta School System provides in-service programs and cooperates with local colleges and universities to help teachers deal with individual differences, learning styles, cultural backgrounds, and achievement levels, Better Schools - Atlanta requests immediate expansion of these programs. Since the success of any teaching program depends on the teacher's attitude toward his students, an immediate survey must be made of teacher and administrative attitudes about race and poverty. The survey should be administered by an outside agency and used as a basis for planning future in-service programs.
5. Recognizing the Atlanta School System has begun to include new curricula in some areas of instruction, Better Schools - Atlanta requests the inclusion of new curricula at all levels in socio-economic subjects, and increased interaction among student groups concerning the culture of poor black and poor white Americans. The term "disadvantaged" refers to a lack of experience in situations which derive from middle class experiences; poor black and white Americans are not devoid of culture. Middle class teachers and students, black and white, must be provided with an opportunity to learn the culture of Afro-Americans as they have Euro-Americans, and they must also learn the culture of American poverty. Schools have long provided learning units on England, Alaska, and Japan

while refraining from honest discussions about America. The school system must provide opportunities for all children at all levels to learn about our multi-cultural American society.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

FOR SUNDAY PAPERS, FEBRUARY 8

Reporting on Negro suffrage, the Southern Regional Council today said discrimination in rural areas and Negro apathy are the South's most serious voting problems. And it added that they will have to be solved mainly in the community instead of the courts.

The report, in the Council's publication New South, held that voting discrimination by law has been largely replaced by "petty evasions, delays and 'errors' of courthouse officials; disapproving frowns and veiled threats; routine, but highly selective, purges of registration lists."

"This 'cold war' of the ballot," continued the report, "is now found chiefly in the old plantation areas or 'black belt' of the South where Negroes make up a large part of the population." It pointed out, however, that economic changes "are moving the South steadily away from these outmoded conditions toward a more modern society."

The Council called the increase in Negro voting in the last five years "disappointing."

It said: "Far from becoming a mass threat to white political control, as the demagogues warned, Southern Negroes have not voted in sufficient numbers to assure themselves of impartial treatment. . . . To generalize for the whole region, registration among Negro citizens of voting age is only about half as widespread as among white citizens."

The Council estimated total Negro registration in the South at 1,110,000, with the following state-by-state breakdown: Alabama 50,000, Arkansas 65,000, Florida 125,000, Georgia 145,000, Louisiana 100,000, Mississippi 20,000, North Carolina 100,000, Oklahoma 60,000, South Carolina 115,000, Tennessee 85,000, Texas 175,000, Virginia 70,000.

The Southern Regional Council, with headquarters in Atlanta, is an organization of educational, business, church, labor and professional people of both races in 13 states.

SRC Publicity

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

FEATURE RELEASE

For release December 2

How safe do Negroes feel in the South?

A study to find the answer was conducted last summer at Atlanta University by Alexander F. Miller, Southern Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and Mozell Hill, head of the Department of Sociology at Atlanta University. The results are presented in a pamphlet just released by the Southern Regional Council, a southwide organization of white and Negro members, which has as its aim "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

A four-page questionnaire was distributed to 1,000 students in the Atlanta University summer school. Most of them were elementary school teachers fresh from their own communities throughout the South. 250 of them returned the questionnaire voluntarily, and another 250 after considerable follow-up. The authors conclude that the participants' reluctance to return the questionnaire -- for fear their names would be used -- was in itself "a commentary on the feeling of insecurity in the Negro group."

Under law enforcement, only 18 per cent rated their local policemen above average in intelligence and training, while 53 per cent rated them below average. More than 26 per cent rated them as poor or very poor. Police standards in rural areas were rated lower than those in small towns and cities. Where Negro policemen had been appointed, 72 per cent reported definite improvement in police standards.

Judges were rated somewhat higher than policemen. 70 per cent of the replies classified local court officials as average or above. However, when the issue in court is between white and Negro, 82 per cent felt that the Negro would stand a less-than-average chance of getting equal justice.

Most hopeful of the results were those pertaining to voting. 77 per cent

(more)

reported that they were registered voters, and only 30 per cent reported pressures on Negroes to keep them from voting. 80 per cent said that registrars were neutral or better in their treatment of would-be Negro voters. The authors point out, however, that the group surveyed was a select one, representing "the most favored and cautious leadership" in their communities.

The study declares that "there is a direct correlation between Negroes voting in appreciable numbers and in improved treatment by police and in the courts."

Responses to the survey indicated that the Ku Klux Klan no longer strikes terror into Negroes. Although 48 per cent reported an active chapter of the KKK in their district, more than 67 per cent declared that Negroes in their area no longer fear the Klan. Curiously enough, it appeared that there was more fear of the Klan in those areas where there had been no Klan activity than in others where there has been a good deal.

More than one-third of those interviewed testified to personal feelings of insecurity resulting in distrust and fear of most white persons. They indicated that the most important factor in feeling safe is adjustment to the segregation pattern and willingness to accept a subservient role. 30 per cent described race relations in their communities as above average, 44 per cent as average, and 15 per cent as poor or very poor.

The study points to several remedies available at the state and local level. These include increased registration and voting by Negro citizens, employment of more Negro policemen, establishment of a Southern Police Academy to improve training standards, state laws and city ordinances to curb the Ku Klux Klan, and community self-surveys carried out cooperatively by citizens of both races.

The report of the study's findings -- entitled "Safety, Security, and the South" -- is available from the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia.

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CONFERENCE ON SOUTH'S POST WAR ECONOMY

The Southern Regional Council will sponsor a conference on "The South's Post War Economy" in Atlanta on April 11-12 according to an announcement made here today by Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director of the Council. "The purpose of this conference," said Mr. Johnson, "is to focus the attention of Southern leaders on the South's economic problems and potentials. In keeping with the Council's policy of promoting a more intelligent interest in economic, social, and racial problems in the South, we are bringing together a group of authorities on economic affairs to speak at the conference."

The conference will be held at the Biltmore Hotel in Atlanta, opening at 10:30 A.M. on April 11, continuing through afternoon and evening sessions, and closing on the afternoon of April 12.

Speakers for the conference will be: Judge Edgar Watkins of Atlanta; Mr. Roger Stevens, Chief of the Industrial Plants Division, Smaller War Plants Corporation; Mr. A. F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor; Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Adviser, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Mr. Wilford White, Acting Chief of the Division of Small Business, U. S. Department of Commerce; Mr. Coleman Woodbury, Assistant Administrator, National Housing Agency; Dr. M. T. Van Hecke, Chairman of the Regional War Labor Board, Atlanta; and Professor Glenn Rainey, the Georgia School of Technology.

"Attendance from outside Atlanta will be limited to a small number of specially invited persons," Mr. Johnson stated, "but the meetings are open to the general public in the Atlanta area."

Mailed November 1

FILE COPY

Mrs. G. O. Clifford - Putney, Vermont (10 copies)
Mr. Alexander Miller - ADL, N.Y.
Mr. Harry Wright - UNCF, N.Y.
Paul Webb - Solicitor of Ga.
James A. Mackay - Atlanta
George Goodwin - First Nat'l Bank
David Freeman - FFR
Maxwell Hahn - Field Foundation
Edwin J. Lukas - AJC
Sophie Van S. Theis - Doris Duke
James B. Carey - CIO
George Meany - AFL
Lew Rhodes - AFL
Charlie Gillman - CIO
Thelma Stevens - Woman's Div. of Christian Serv. - Methodist Church
Annie Tait Jenkins - Presbyterian Committee on Women's Work
Malcolm Calhoun - Presbyterian Church
Lewis Deer - Indianapolis, Ind.
Alexander Sharp - Presbyterian
R. R. Claiborne - Episcopal
Walter Reuther - UAW

Copy of "The Attack on Free ~~Speech~~ Dissension"

THE ATTACK ON FREE OPINION

FILE COPY

Last March the Southern Regional Council declared:

"There is presently a concerted attempted by official leadership (in the deep South) to stamp out independent thought and strifle all dissent with respect to school segregation...."

In recent weeks, the attempt to intimidate and silence those who believe in an enlightened, law-abiding approach to race relations has gone into high gear. Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook took up the attack in a diatribe aimed mainly at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the course of his speech, Mr. Cook also attacked the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

The object of this side attack on two constructive Southern organizations was to frighten off the thousands of religious, civic, labor, and business leaders who have joined together to work positively at the South's most urgent problem. It is revealing that, although the work of these two organizations goes back 35 years, Mr. Cook has only now chosen to strike at them.

Every intelligent person will recognize this cynical attack for what it is. Mr. Cook hints darkly at "subversion," "sinister manipulation," and"leftwing associations." There is on the statute books of Georgia a strong law providing severe punishment for anyone guilty of subversive conduct or association. As the chief legal officer of the state, Mr. Cook should be expected to act through the process of law, safeguarding the rights and reputations of good citizens. But Mr. Cook knows his charges are false. Neither the Southern Regional

Council nor the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation has ever been listed or accused of disloyalty by the U. S. Attorney General or any other official body. So Mr. Cook must resort to smear and innuendo in the public forum.

This, in brief form, is the story of the Southern Regional Council. Many Southerners may disagree with the Council's point of view. But no fair-minded person, in full possession of the facts will doubt that it is an honest and patriotic organization, responsible in both its methods and its aims.

HOW THE SRC BEGAN

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity. The Commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the Commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials. It provided a meeting ground where the best people of both races could work together to dispel prejudice, tensions, and violence. It made possible, through persuasion and education, much of the interracial progress of which Southerners today can be justly proud.

Early in the 1940s, leaders in the Southern interracial movement joined together to revitalize their efforts. As a result, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation merged in 1944 with the newly formed Southern Regional Council. The organizing meeting of the Council was held in response to a "call" issued by some of the South's finest leader-

ship, including:

C. H. Gillman, Georgia Director, C.I.O.
George L. Googe, Southern Director, A.F.L.
M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister
Ryland Knight, Baptist minister
Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta
Bishop Arthur J. Moore, The Methodist Church
Ralph McGill, editor, The Atlanta Constitution
Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister
Rt. Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Catholic Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta
Dean S. Paden, President, King Hardware Company
J. McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Theological Seminary
Bishop John Moore Walker, The Protestant Episcopal Church
Goodrich C. White, President, Emory University

* * *

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with Southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Ralph McGill, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina.

Since this auspicious beginning, the Council's membership has included distinguished Southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a noted Catholic layman and co-founder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for six years -- from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and education affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

The Council's present and past board members number well over 150. The quality of its leadership may be measured by the list of members of the Executive Committee over the past 12 years, appearing on page 9.

HOW SRC WORKS

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. The members listed on page , are respected residents of their states and their communities. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an Executive Committee which meets at least every three months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

WHAT SRC HAS DONE

The Council works through the sound methods of education, fact-finding, and persuasion. It seeks no legislation, it carries on no court action, and it uses no "pressure group" tactics. It collects the facts about racial problems and progress in the South and makes these facts available to private citizens and public officials. NEW SOUTH, the Council's monthly publication, has built an unchallenged reputation for reliability and accuracy. Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

* Employment of Negro policemen in Southern communities.

* Newspaper handling of racial news.

* Community self-surveys, in which local people study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

* Conferences of leading white and Negro Southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their area of interest -- health, housing, education, etc.

* Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

* Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

* Orderly adjustment at the community level to the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

AFFILIATED STATE ORGANIZATIONS

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern states. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the state involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the state groups become strong, self-sustaining bodies.

The affiliated organization in Georgia is the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The Georgia Committee has a long and distinguished history, having operated continuously since 1919. Its directors and officers include some of Georgia's most respected clergymen, church women, and civic leaders. Its executive director is Dr. Guy H. Wells, President-Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women at Milledgeville. A list of the Georgia Committee's board members appear on page 3. To suggest that people of such intelligence and character would lend themselves to an unworthy cause is insulting

to them and absurd on its face.

CHURCH SUPPORT

Church people have always been the moving force in the Southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the major religious groups represented in the South have taken their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the Southern conferences of The Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, the Province of Sewanee (Southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious Southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated state groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Council, received the 1953 Annual Award of the Catholic Committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

COMMUNISM AND RACE RELATIONS

Those who seek, for political or other reasons, to fan the fires of racial prejudice have set out to brand interracial progress as "communist-inspired." By this means they hope to confuse the public and discredit the growing number of individuals and organizations who believe in equal citizenship for all.

Not only is this phony "anti-communism" vicious; it offends the intelligence of every thinking person. The international communist movement has one, and only one, interest in our racial problems -- that is, to exploit them throughout the world. Some two-thirds of the people of the earth are dark-skinned, and the communists are trying desperately to win them with the claim that our kind of democracy is available only to white persons. If there were no racial discrimination or segregation in this country, the communist movement in Asia and Africa would lack its must effective weapon.

A perfect example of this fact is the reaction of Soviet Russian officialdom to the Supreme Court decision. For days, the government-controlled Russian press made no mention whatever of the decision. When at last they could ignore it no longer, they announced defensively that the decision meant nothing -- that it would never be implemented. This is precisely the argument that Attorney General Cook and his fellow demagogs make so noisily. Unwittingly perhaps, but undeniably, they do a great service to the cause of communism every time they raise their voices on behalf of "white supremacy."

Individuals and organizations that work responsibly and conscientiously for the growth of democracy in the South and the Nation are the opponents that the communists really fear. Yet it is precisely these individuals and organizations that Mr. Cook and his kind seek to defame and discredit. What could please the communists more than to get the credit for every effort to make our American ideal a working, living reality? What could please them more than a campaign to arouse suspicion and hatred of those citizens who work intelligently for a more just, democratic, and Christian society? How they must delight in the

irony of such Americans being stigmatized as servants and dupes of the communist cause!

No informed person believes that the communists want to see Negroes accorded equal rights and dignity or that they want to see our racial problems solved through the orderly processes of the law and constructive community action. The communists want to see us hopelessly bogged down in our prejudices and our fears. They want to see us defying the law of the land, whipping up racial hatred for political purposes. In this respect, they have a common purpose with Attorney General Cook and his kind.

TO KEEP OPINION FREE

The Southern Regional Council is a realistic organization. It was organized by Southerners and is run by Southerners who have lived with the problems of our region and know them well. Therefore, the Council recognizes the difficulties inherent in the changes now required of the South. But the people who make up the Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation believe that we can and will -- as, indeed, we must -- make the transition to a society in which citizenship is not qualified by race.

The issue here is not whether everyone can agree with this point of view -- obviously many do not. The issue is whether or not citizens can voice this and other legitimate opinions without suffering abuse at the hands of irresponsible officials.

The answer must be "yes" if we are not to have thought-control in the South. The power of state officials is great, and if misused it is dangerous to all. If any citizens can be penalized for legitimate opinions honestly held, then all citizens can be penalized at the pleasure of a few.

MEMBERS OF SRC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, PAST AND PRESENT

Name	Address	Term of Office
Mr. Morris Abram	Healey Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.	1954-1955
Mr. Francis R. Bridges	Tallahassee, Fla.	1944-1944
Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie	864 Hunter St., SW, Atlanta, Ga.	1952-to-date
Mr. Paul R. Christopher	216 Flatiron Bldg., Knoxville, Tenn.	1951-to-date
Dr. Rufus E. Clement	Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.	1944-to-date
Dr. A. W. Dent	Dillard Univ., New Orleans, La.	1952-to-date
Mr. John A. Griffin	Emory University, Ga.	1952-to-date
Mr. Leonard Haas	Haas-Howell Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.	1944-to-date
Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton	239 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta, Ga.	1951-1951
Dr. Gordon B. Hancock	Box 6056, Richmond, Va.	1944-to-date
Dr. Guy B. Johnson	Box 652, Chapel Hill, N. C.	1948-1951
Dr. Charles S. Johnson	Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.	1944-1952
Mr. C. H. Gillman	95 Merritts Ave., Atlanta, Ga.	1946-1950
Msgr. T. James McNamara	222 E. Harris St., Savannah, Ga.	1944-1951
Mr. Alfred Mynders	Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tenn.	1952-1954
Rev. V. J. O'Connell,SM	St. Louis Church, St. Paul, Minn.	1952-1952
Dr. Howard W. Odum	Univ. of N.C., Chapel Hill, N.C.	1944-1945
Mr. Edmund Preston	Richmond, Va.	1945-1945
Mr. Homer P. Rainey	Stephens College, Mo.	1944-1944
Rev. J. McDowell Richards	Columbia Theol. Sem., Decatur, Ga.	1954-1955
Dr. Harry V. Richardson	Gammon Theological Sem., Atlanta, Ga.	1952-to-date
Mr. Frank W. Spencer	Box 136, Savannah, Ga.	1946-1946
Dr. Harold L. Trigg	St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, N.C.	1947-1951
Mr. Carter Wesley	Box 3086, Houston, Texas	1944-to-date
Mr. John H. Wheeler	Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham, N.C.	1949-1951
Miss Josephine Wilkins	387 Milledge Ave., Athens, Ga.	1944-1950-1954-55
Mr. Paul D. Williams	3320 Gloucester Rd., Richmond, Va.	1945-1951
Mr. Marion A. Wright	Linville Falls, N. C.	1950-to-date
Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.	Journal & Guide, Norfolk, Va.	1944-1949
Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean	The Oratory, Rock Hill, S. C.	1953-to-date
Rev. Andrew S. Turnipseed	251 Island Ct., Mobile, Ala.	1953-1954

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia.
WAlnut 7963.

News Release

FOR A. M. RELEASE MONDAY, MARCH 5.

Following is the text of a letter sent by the Southern Regional Council to State Chamber of Commerce presidents in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia:

Dear Sir:

We write you out of a deep concern for the present threat to the moral and economic well-being of the South arising out of controversies over segregation. It is our hope that your organization, which is committed to the progress of your State, will use its influence to promote discussion and understanding between genuinely representative members of both races.

Reasonable men and women in the South are disturbed by the extremist views which now dominate the public life of our region. They recognize that we will not solve our problems or advance the interests of the South by indulging our prejudices and passions. They are distressed by the absence of leadership on the side of calmness, constructiveness, and good will. They believe that racial differences can be worked out in every community by responsible white and Negro citizens.

Yet these people of good will are all but voiceless and powerless in the emotional climate which prevails. Our public policies on segregation are being dictated by fear and hysteria. The choice before the South is falsely represented as a choice between absolute segregation and immediate, all-out integration. Defiance, resistance, nullification, repression, and intimidation are the order of the day, and it is no surprise that they bring in their wake violence, which everyone claims to abhor, Unless this trend is reversed, the South faces the prospect of grave economic and cultural damage.

In the last fifteen years, the South has embarked on an unprecedented period of economic growth: industrialization, business and financial development,

and a general rise in prosperity. Not only continued progress but the gains that have already been made are imperilled by today's secessionist policies.

Will the new industries sought by the Southern States be eager to build expensive plants in areas where the existence of public schools is in doubt, where tension and violence threaten, where public officials advocate political and economic reprisals against all who disagree with them, where the very maintenance of law and order is uncertain?

Can we hope to sell our state bonds in the national market at reasonable interest rates while the air echoes with threats to abolish the schools and other public facilities?

In the face of such conditions, can we hope to hold and attract the talent we need to develop our resources -- the ablest teachers, scientists, professional people, executives in business and industry?

Can the South hope to take its rightful place in economic, religious, cultural, and political councils while our leadership seeks to isolate us from the rest of the nation and the world?

If the South is to continue to progress as a modern industrial society, we must meet the great question of our time with maturity and responsibility. We must, as a reasonable people, weigh the alternatives before us calmly and realistically, giving full consideration to their consequences. We must chart our public course with a sane regard for the changing demands of our age, rather than blind, emotional attachment to the past.

The first step in this critically needed process is a calm sharing of views and ideas by informed representatives of both races within the South. Each community should be given both opportunity and encouragement to work out in this way its adjustment to the legal requirements of the Supreme Court decision.

For each Southern community there is a wise, workable program, neither rebellious nor precipitate, which sensible local people can agree upon. They will

need to work together to find the facts, and then they will reach a decision together. Thereafter, with surprising acceptance, the workable plan can come into effect. You and your associates represent one of the South's strongest forces for orderly procedure. We sincerely urge that you lend the resources and influence of your organization toward the carrying out, in detail, community by community, of this general plan.

draw heavy fire from civil rights groups, but perhaps less the sooner it is adopted and, quite ~~probably~~ possibly, O.of E. will have to adopt it in time anyway. Some of us would find ways to support this position. Furthermore, it would help O. of E. in its vexed relations with southern school boards; probably, it would also be gratefully received by school administrations over the country.

The lack of a clear statement from O. of E. regarding the permissible pace of desegregation for non-441 districts is a serious defect. All plans should be required to specify a date by which the district will be able to satisfy O. of E.'s criteria for signing a 441. For <u>any</u> district, the outside date would seem to be the <u>earliest</u> date allowed by a federal court in <u>any</u> of the court cases within its state. ~~O&~~ O. of E. might, in fact, consider whether the interests of clarity and certainty would not be served by its disclosing that it will in all cases accept such a date, revising it from time to time as new court decrees are made. This would put some of the burden for accelerating desegregation on the Legal Defense Fund but that is (a) the existing situation and (c) an incentive to the Fund, knowing that whatever it can win in one case as a final date will apply state-wide.

PAGE (s) MISSING

NEWS RELEASE FOR RELEASE: IMMEDIATELY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

New Book Explores Recent History of the
Civil Rights Movement and the South,
With Ominous Warnings for the Future

ATLANTA -- A million more votes in the past five years have brought Negro Southerners more fully into the country's political life, but their hopefulness cannot be "indefinitely disappointed by the routines of American democracy."

This is one of the main points of a new book reporting Negroes' struggle for the ballot in the South and its role in re-shaping the civil rights movement, the South, and the political balance within the nation as a whole.

The book, CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER, by Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn, will be published on November 8 by Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. Watters is the Information Director of the Southern Regional Council, and Cleghorn is the Associate Editor of the Atlanta Journal.

The book is grounded in previously unpublished documents, many of them rich, informal reports from the field, of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the NAACP, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Urban League, and local Negro organizations throughout the South.

For three years, before the "black power" doctrine and other developments split the civil rights movement, these organizations joined efforts under the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. The authors reveal how the project was inaugurated by rights organizations and foundations with the encouragement of the then Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, as a politically hopeful alternative to more unruly methods of claiming equality under the law.

They criticize the Justice Department for failure to make adequate efforts to fulfill a promise to protect workers in the voter registration effort. Thirteen rights workers were killed between 1962 and 1967.

They conclude that a dying "southern vote" in Congress restrained the federal government from taking more incisive action.

One of the main contentions of the book is evidence that the harshness of white resistance in tougher areas of the South radicalized much of the civil rights movement, spawned the "black power" doctrine, and turned reform efforts toward basic national illnesses such as poverty, the nation's fixation on violence, and deep-running racist attitudes.

The authors make these points, among others:

-- The growth of the Negro vote in major non-southern cities between 1940 and 1960 counter-balanced the political power of the old "Solid South" and turned the federal government toward enforcement, at last, of constitutional guarantees that had been ignored.

-- The 1964 election, in which Negro votes prevented Barry Goldwater from carrying four and possibly five southern states, broke the old "Solid South" and the influence of the Black Belt areas of the South over the rest of the nation.

-- Negroes will have to supplement traditional political methods with new approaches to make their full weight felt, partly because of a shortage of middle-class leadership.

-- Because of "ticket balancing" in the future, the growing two-party system will prove to be Negroes' greatest ally in coming into a full sharing of political power. "Barring some fluke of circumstance," the authors say, "the South's first elected Negro state attorney general or lieutenant governor since Reconstruction will be the creature of the two-party system."

Throughout the civil rights struggle in the South, public perception has been limited, the authors suggest, partly because it has usually been focused upon dramatic conflicts rather than the essence of the struggle. What has been a mighty moral struggle unique in the nation's history usually has been seen as "just one more ball game," the authors say, and unless understanding of the issues at hand deepens the nation will move increasingly toward bitterness, chaos, and denial of its own ideals.

The book recounts how many of the most militant young civil rights workers moved from belief in the best idealism of America to believing the worst about America. This erosion of faith, now seen in its national impact, mainly arose from the South's and the nation's denials of the most basic element of democracy, the right to vote.

This development came step-by-step with totalitarian-style repressions in Black Belt counties of the South; murder and brutality in the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964; and the ordeal of Selma.

The authors conclude that these rights workers' experiences with the worst poverty of the nation's poorest region bred a belief that not only was white society cruelly callous about the suffering of people, but that American institutions were incapable of curing the illness.

The book suggests that a big question in 1967 is whether the political process can accommodate demands by Negroes for removal of their disadvantage before despair and destructiveness replace a still-prevalent hopefulness among Negro Southerners.

Another question raised by the book is whether the Negro movement in the South can succeed where the northern movement has failed so far: in making the laws breathe into society and the lives of people a sense of equality and justice so that cynicism about American institutions will not grow past the point of no return.

The Library Journal says: "This book will probably stand as the definitive history of that period."

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(404) 522-7495

The first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials will be held Dec. 11-14 in Atlanta, it was announced today by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Main speakers for the four-day conference will include U. S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York, State Rep. Julian Bond of Atlanta, and newly elected Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm of New York.

In addition to the general sessions, the black elected officials will attend a number of workshops and panel discussions arranged by the Voter Education Project to enable them to fill their offices more effectively. Between 200 and 300 of the 380 black elected officials in the South are expected to attend.

Rep. Bond will deliver the opening address at an 8 p.m. dinner Dec. 11. During last summer Rep. Bond gathered case histories for a soon-to-be-published VEP booklet on how black candidates in the South conduct their campaigns.

Attorney General Clark will speak at a banquet Dec. 13. John Wheeler of Durham, president of the Southern Regional Council, will preside and VEP Director Vernon E. Jordan Jr. will introduce the speaker.

Mayor Hatcher will speak at a public forum Dec. 12 at Clark College. Students from the Atlanta University complex and the public will be invited to attend and pose questions for Mayor Hatcher and a panel of four other black officeholders.

Dr. Clark, noted New York psychologist and president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, will speak at a luncheon Dec. 12. Speaker that morning will be Dr. Samuel D. Cook of Duke University, chairman of the VEP advisory committee, who will trace the history of Negro political participation in the South.

Mrs. Chisholm, who won election Nov. 5 in New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant area, is the first Negro woman to be sent to Congress. She will address the conference's concluding luncheon Dec. 14.

With the exception of the forum at Clark College and the Dec. 13 banquet at which Attorney General Clark will speak,

all sessions will be held at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel, which will be conference headquarters. The Dec. 13 banquet will be held at the American Motor Hotel.

A luncheon panel Dec. 13 will feature five Negro candidates who recently mounted major campaigns in the South and lost. The five and the offices they sought are Maynard Jackson, U. S. Senate in Georgia; Reginald A. Hawkins, governor in North Carolina; Charles Evers, U. S. House in Mississippi; George A. Payton, U. S. House in South Carolina; and A. W. Willis, mayor in Memphis.

Three black experts on finance and taxation will appear on a panel on the morning of Dec. 13. They are Gerald Lamb, Connecticut state treasurer; Theodore Jones, Illinois director of revenue; and Alfred Pelham, chairman of Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company, Detroit.

Appearing on the panel with Mayor Hatcher will be State Rep. Robert Clark of Holmes County, Miss.; City Councilman Henry Marsh of Richmond, Va.; State Rep. J. C. Daugherty of Atlanta; and John McCown, newly elected commissioner from Hancock County, Ga.

A panel discussion will follow Dr. Cook's Dec. 12 address. Members of the panel will be State Sen. Barbara Jordan of Houston, Texas; Lawrence T. Guyot Jr., chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Dr. C. G. Gomillion,

school board member from Tuskegee, Ala.; and Joseph A. Jordan Jr., city councilman from Norfolk, va.

Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen will greet the officeholders at the first morning session on Dec. 12.

The officials will divide into five groups for workshops on the afternoon of Dec. 12 and of Dec. 13, and the morning of Dec. 14.

Purpose of the four-day meeting, which is wholly sponsored by VEP, is to bring the elected officials together to discuss mutual problems, to share experiences, and to receive information designed to help them serve more effectively. Only those officials holding elected public offices are being invited. The list includes 151 city officials, 78 law enforcement and judicial officials, 72 school board members, 55 county officials, and 30 state legislators, all from the 11 states of the Old South.

VEP has employed the Rev. John Morris, former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, to handle planning and arrangements for the conference. VEP has held somewhat similar conferences for newly elected Negro officials in Mississippi and Louisiana during the past year.

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., supports projects of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in the 11 Southern states.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit non-partisan organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

A copy of the conference shcedule is attached.

#

The Macon Telegraph
The Macon News
MACON, GA.

RECEIVED
SEP 28
Southern

September 25, 1953.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter calling my attention to the difference between the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Regional Education Board,

I already had received a letter from Dr. Ivey calling attention to my error.

Most sincerely,

Bert Struby

Bert Struby,
Executive Editor.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southeren Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

September 22, 1953

Mr. Bert Struby, Editor
Macon Telegraph
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Struby:

We greatly appreciate and much admire the run of the pamphlet in the Telegraph.

I should set you straight on one matter. We often get confused with the Southern Regional Education Board of which Dr. John Ivey is director. Our own SRC was set up in 1944, partly on the basis of the old Commission of Inter-racial Cooperation.

Here is a leaflet which propounds somewhat on it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/allo
enclosure

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

July 19, 1955

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I'm exhausted this morning, having paced the floor until 2 a.m. worrying about the way the damfool Commission handled our problem.

The enclosed clipping pretty well tells the story but not all of it. Over the weekend these things happened:

1. Paul Raymond called me and promised he would use his influence on the side of a subrosa solution, right along our thinking.

2. Long and McCarthy concluded they would vote against the ordinance if the opposition insisted on bringing it to a vote.

3. Long had interview with Hill who was very conciliatory and seemed ready to accept any sincere solution which would not compromise the absolute rights involved.

4. McCarthy talked to Morrison who assumed a much milder tone, evidently having talked to Raymond.

5. The Commissioners had dinner together just before the meeting, when Morrison insisted on making the statement you see in the clipping. Reports are he was very pigheaded about it, and that he had had a quarrel with Raymond over it.

6. One of the men named to the committee to pick the committee is violently anti-Negro.

7. What I feared would happen did happen. The Orlando Sentinel queried us for a story on the AP wire. We had, of course, to put it on. I suppose we will be

criticized for this. Passing the buck to a newspaper is the politician's favorite indoor sport these days.

8. I thought of writing an editorial telling the whole story of your visit here and the fight to get the thing settled quietly and without publicity and quoting the Richmond decision. But concluded not to.

9. Hill, of course, should not have rushed in with that statement after the Commission meeting, adding to the flames. His two week "deadline" will raise all the bristles again. Besides it just can't be met, or at least it isn't reasonable to expect it to.

If I am named to the committee, which is possible, or if I have any good friends on the committee, I am going to suggest that they call you in for consultation. Okay?

Thanks for what you did. It really helped get us as far as we got.

Sincerely,

Herbert M. Davidson/eb
Enc.

August 8, 1955.

Mr. Simeon Booker
Jet Magazine
1820 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Mr. Booker:

I was glad to be of small assistance in the Georgia feature article for Jet. I am interested in your proposed jaunt through the South.

I am enclosing a list of our state organizations and suggest that you might call on them for information about local conditions in the several states. I would also suggest that you contact Father Foley, S.G., at Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama and Father Maurice Shean, Box 895, Rock Hill, South Carolina for some added information about what is being done in local areas.

If we can be of any further help to you, please feel free to call on us.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/vc
Enc. Listof State Organizations

JOHNSON PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
1820 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE • CHICAGO 16
TELEPHONE: CAlumet 5-1000

EBONY • TAN • JET • HUE

Friday,

Dear Mr. Rouse,

Thanks a million for the help on the Georgia feature. One of the Ebony editors, Lerone Bennett, a former Atlantan (reporter on World) told me to contact your organization. So again thanks.

In a few days, I plan to take off for a jaunt in the South. Together with a photographer, we intend to move from Little Rock, Ark. all the way to Richmond, traveling by car to certain cities as well as hitting the backwoods areas.

I haven't made up an itinerary yet but would appreciate any ideas or spots you'd think would be important. Maybe you know of some tremendous interracial developments in the South or some unusual progress stories. I'm especially looking for progress and uplift pieces.

How about dropping me a quick line?

Best regards,

Booker

Simeon Booker
JET Magazine

January 26, 1956

Mr. John McCudden, Associate Editor
TODAY
1700 W. Jackson Blvd.
Chicago 12, Illinois

Dear Mr. McCudden:

Here are three pictures of the positive angle in race relations in the South. We have not been able to secure pictures on the negative side as of now but will air mail you two from this angle tomorrow.

Please return these pictures after they have served your purpose.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Information Service.

JC:mf

Enc.

January 25, 1956

Mr. John McCudden, Associate Editor
TODAY
1700 W. Jackson Blvd.
Chicago 12, Illinois

Dear Mr. McCudden:

Please forgive this delay in answering your inquiry about pictures to illustrate an article on race relations in the South. We have none ourselves, but I have been exploring possible sources. The Managing Editor of the Atlanta Daily World is canvassing their supply of photographs and promises to have a selection ready by tomorrow. I will pick out the best of these and air mail them to you. I hope this service doesn't come too late to meet your needs.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

1700 W. JACKSON BLVD. • CHICAGO 12 • ILLINOIS • TAYLOR 9-3141

RECEIVED JAN 18 1956

today | national Catholic magazine

January 16, 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your organization was named to us as one that might give us some help in the following situation: in the February issue of our magazine we are publishing an article by Millard F. Everett on the progress of the desegregation campaign in the South; Mr. Everett, as you may know, is one of the Catholic layman most prominent in that campaign. To illustrate his article, we would like several photos (he was not able to supply appropriate ones himself) showing some aspect or other both of racial discrimination and racial harmony (negroes and whites working together, public facilities marked "For Whites Only," etc.). If you could supply us with such photos or, failing that, tell us the likeliest sources for them, we would be most appreciative. We also would appreciate a prompt reply to this letter, as we have little time left in which to prepare the article for the press.

Sincerely,

John McCudden

John McCudden
Associate Editor

February 6, 1956

Mr. John J. O'Connor
c/o Commonweal Publishing Co.
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. O'Connor:

We greatly enjoyed your article in the January issue of Commonweal on the Negro voter in the South.

More and more it is clear to us that the vote is a big part of the answer to the present need. And there is the queer point that if Negroes begin to vote in good quantity in those very areas of the South where today they are most denied the vote, the members of the State legislatures from those now famously over-represented areas, would come screaming into the legislatures saying, "We have simply got to reapportion seats in the legislatures! These colored voters are about to send in some members!" And as you have heard me say, from reapportionment begins healthy policy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Vice Newspapers, Gen.

THE BOSTON HERALD

SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1966 C PAGE FOUR

Reexamining Black Power

Black power has claimed its first two victims. They are Vice President Hubert Humphrey and Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. Both men, honored veterans of the civil rights movement, succumbed, temporarily at least, to one of the most ancient of maladies: the inability to adjust to a new idea.

Mr. Humphrey in Los Angeles denounced black power as "racism" and "apartheid." Mr. Wilkins stood on the same stage and condemned black power as "black death."

But black power is nothing of the sort—at least not yet. As of now, it is just a slogan symbolizing the need for change in the civil rights movement. What that change will be is not yet clear but we believe that if the new slogan is treated with intelligence and reason, it can be a change for the good.

As Stokely Carmichael, the 25-year-old leader of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee said in a recent interview, "black power—means black people coming together and getting people to represent their needs to stop oppression." Asked to elaborate, Carmichael said black power means electing Negro representatives where possible and where it is not possible, going to a white politician and saying, "We have X number of votes. We want this road fixed right away or else we won't vote for you."

We find nothing subversive in Carmichael's remarks. On the contrary, this type of thinking is both practical and traditionally American. He is talking about bloc voting. He wants to first make the Negroes proud to be Negroes and by so doing build up a strong feeling of community interdependence. Then he wants the Negro blocs to gather all the political, social, and economic power they have and wield it in the most effective way possible. If Carmichael's plan works out, the end result could be a faster rate of achievement in the crucial areas of housing, jobs and education.

Nor should the older generation of civil rights leaders object to the young Negroes wanting to run their own show with white men supporting rather than dominating the various organizations. This should be interpreted as a sign of maturity. It means the Negroes, having won their legal rights under the old system, are now ready to work towards their goals under their own leadership like any other minority. This, too, is traditional.

American history does not show that the Irish were content to be led by Yankees or that working men were content to be led by their employers.

In short, we are suggesting that the older generation of civil rights leaders avoid the mistake of Hubert Humphrey and Roy Wilkins and resist the urge to panic at the sound of Black Power. We also urge them to try to ignore the other outbursts such as "Move on over or we'll move on over you." After all, emotional slogans are a part of any young and vigorous movement.

Instead, we suggest that the older civil rights generation reexamine this new concept of direct action and concentrate on the more thoughtful speeches of the black power advocates. These young men are surprisingly realistic and they are fully aware of both their capabilities and their limitations. And like it or not, they are destined to be the doers of the new era in civil rights. Whether they do good or evil will depend in part on whether their predecessors encourage or repress them.

The Airline Strike

January 2, 1957

Mrs. Harriet Harmon Dexter
1200 Ellis Avenue
Ashland, Wisconsin

Dear Mrs. Dexter:

I was glad to have your letter of December 26 and to learn more of your assignment from Harper's.

It has distressed me not to be able to help on your project before. As you know, the hoped-for meeting with Mr. Arnold didn't materialize. And with the abnormally heavy load our staff has been carrying, we simply haven't figured out a way to background you properly by correspondence.

A visit by you to our office would, I think, be the ideal solution. If that is possible, let me know when we may expect you. Meanwhile, I am sending you some of our printed material.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

January 2, 1957

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1200 Ellis Avenue
Ashland, Wisconsin

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Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

1200 Ellis Avenue
Ashland, Wisconsin
December 26, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In November when Harpers decided to do a book on"What Is Right With Race Relations" Mr. Melvin Arnold called you from New York to ask if your office might have some material which you would be willing to share with the author of the book? I am the fortunate one to be given the assignment. I think at that time Mr. Arnold hoped to see you in theimmediate future but I think the meeting did not take place. In the interest of time I am writing directly to you.

I have gone through your recent pregress memorandum, "Integration North and South." It was really an exhilerating experience. One does not minimize the present tensions while following your report but he does find a better perspective on the whole situation. Of course that is the kind of picture Harpers wants to give.

The question I am raising is whether or not your office would share with me some of its thinking and if possible any more detailed information it may have on some of the projects statistically reported in your book. I do not know if you have any other printed material along the line I need (if so I would be glad to reimburse you for the expense of sending it to me). I would be glad to come to Atlanta if I could have a conference with you. In particular I would like to get your slant and interpretation of present trends; your suggestions as to specific groups--churches, unions, educational institutions etc.--which you could suggest that I get in touch with. I need guiadance on the best case studies to make. I am under the pressure of time for the book is to be ready by fall. Also it is useless for each person to start at the bottom when there is excellent reasearch already available.

I am sure you get the picture of my needs and I shall be very grateful for whatever help you can give this writing project. Last fall when I was talking to Dr. and Mrs. Cleo Blackburn about this study they also suggested that I get in touch with you.

Sincerely yrs,
Harriet Harmon Dexter
(Mrs.) Harriet Harmon Dexter

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC., PUBLISHERS
Barnett National Bank Building - Jacksonville 2, Fla.

February 8, 1957

Mr. Emory Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

Here is a copy of The Wall Street Journal containing my story on Southern Labor. I would appreciate it if you called Mr. Anthony's attention to this article since I promised him I would forward a copy to him.

Also enclosed are some copies of the Union Labor News which I wish to return to Mr. Anthony.

I wish to extend my sincere thanks for the assistance given me by yourself, Mr. Anthony and the staff of the Council in the preparation of this article.

As is often the case in this business, I had far more material than I could squeeze into one article--although a typical long WSJ article at that. I have hopes that later we can cover some more of the ground. For that reason I wish to hang onto the material I have collected, at least for the time being. I will need it to "sell" my New York editors these other articles. But later I hope to ship some of the stuff off to you for whatever use you may find.

Again, many thanks for your kind assistance.

Sincerely,

Jim Soderlind

Jim Soderlind
Bureau Manager

February 12, 1954

Mr. Martin Kruskopf, Associate Editor
The Birmingham News
Birmingham 2, Alabama

Dear Mr. Kruskopf:

Herewith with pleasure a copy of the January issue of NEW SOUTH which contains the two items on libraries.

It would be a wise and proper thing if Birmingham would make arrangements to open the downtown library.

Morris Abram is a man that can go anywhere he puts his mind to. I think one of the very ablest men in the South today.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

2/12/54

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS COMPANY
BIRMINGHAM 2, ALA.

PUBLISHERS
The Birmingham News
EVENING AND SUNDAY

AGENTS FOR
Birmingham Post-Herald
A Scripps-Howard Newspaper
MORNING EXCEPT SUNDAY

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT OF THE NEWS
CHARLES A. FELL, MANAGING EDITOR
McCLELLAN VAN DER VEER, EDITORIAL EDITOR

February 11, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We have noted that the Southern Regional Council has issued two reports on the use by Negroes of public library facilities in Southern cities and towns. I wonder if we could have a copy of each of these reports; let us know if there is any charge.

In one of the propositions of a bond election approved in December, Birmingham will have available money for library building and improvement. There appears to be some debate now as to whether a new central library for Negroes shall be built, or whether that money could not best be devoted to improvement of the present main library under circumstances permitting Negroes access to its services.

I understand our friend Morris Abram has some thought of running for Congress from Atlanta this year. I hope he'll be able to do it, and do it successfully.

Sincerely,

Martin Kruskopf

Martin Kruskopf
Associate Editor

Newspapers etc
Durham Labor Journal

March 5, 1957

Mr. Wilbur Hobby
Editor, Durham Labor Journal
210 May Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Brother, Hobby:

We have not heard from you yet regarding our labor conference dealing with race relations as they affect unions. Would you please return the enclosed card as soon as possible.

We already have an interesting group of unionists from national and Southern offices signed up for the conference. It is my hope that you will be able to attend.

Thanks for getting me on your mailing list. Already I want to change my address; please send the Durham Labor Journal to Emory F. Via, Southern Regional Council, Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

I have enclosed a leaflet on SRC for your information. You may be interested to know that Paul Christopher, Director of AFL-CIO Region #8, is on our Executive Committee.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosures

File

REDBOOK MAGAZINE

McCALL CORPORATION

230 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 6-4600

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

March
20th
1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks very much for the dope on Greenville. It's going through the works here now, and I have no word on it yet.

Have you had any luck in running down our oil worker, or anybody else who may fit the other idea we're interested in?

Many thanks for all your help.

Sincerely,

André Fontaine

André Fontaine
Roving Editor

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

AF/ps

March 25, 1957

Miss Anne O'H. Williamson
Journal of Human Relations
Central State College
Wilberforce, Ohio

Dear Miss Williamson:

Mr. Fleming is away from the office this week, and this note is to acknowledge receipt of your letter and questionnaire dated February 28th. He will return on Monday, April 1st, and will be writing you shortly thereafter.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary

eab/

JOURNAL OF HUMAN RELATIONS
CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE
WILBERFORCE, OHIO

February 28, 1957

To the Director of
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

As editor of the Journal of Human Relations (a copy of which I am sending you) I am interested in securing concrete information regarding the practical aspects of your program. We are attempting to organize a special issue of the Journal presenting a cross section of the programs of social agencies. From the latest Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Relations, I can secure general data, but I am particularly interested in emphasizing definite realizations of your work.

Will you, then, fill in the accompanying Questionnaire carefully and completely so that I may be able to construct a fair picture of your Agency to the purpose indicated above?

A prompt and full response will be appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

Anne O'H. Williamson

Anne O'H. Williamson, Editor

AO'HW/evr

JOURNAL OF HUMAN RELATIONS
CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE
WILBERFORCE, OHIO

QUESTIONNAIRE
FOR
INTERGROUP RELATIONS AGENCIES

February 1957

I. Describe in brief the organization and administration of your Agency.

The Southern Regional Council was chartered in 1944 as successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, formed in 1919. The Council, consisting of a board of some 80 Southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region, is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational. The program of the Council is administered by an executive director and a central office staff located in Atlanta. Affiliated state human relations councils are located in ten Southern states. Each of these state groups has its own membership, officers and staff, and affiliation with the SRC is voluntary.

II. List significant features (activities) of your program.

The SRC has as its aim, "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region." The Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: (1) Clearing-house and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on Southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly magazine, New South, and through pamphlets, press, radio, television, conferences and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private and official leadership; (5) promotion of specific programs of action through the Council staff and affiliated state organizations.

III. Outline the extent to which your purposes are achieved.

Taking into account the realities of the region and the conditions within which we work, we feel that our organization is working with reasonable effectiveness. However, our long range objective of a thoroughly democratic South will be realized in varying degrees, community by community, and state by state over a considerable period of time.

IV. Define the most perplexing problems encountered by your Agency.

a. The failure of the political, economic, and civic leadership of the South to give constructive direction in this period of transition.

b. The failure of many responsible officials to maintain law and order.

c. The emotionalism and fears which surround the recognition of equality of all peoples.

d. The irresponsible attacks on those working for compliance of the Supreme Court school desegregation decision and related objectives.

V. To what extent is your program affiliated or integrated with other local agencies, or with state and national agencies concerned with human relations?

The Southern Regional Council works closely with other regional and national agencies concerned with Southern race relations. Recently the Council was asked by 24 social action agencies to serve as clearinghouse and coordinator of efforts in this field.

VI. Please send available descriptive literature of your program.

Enclosed:

New South, January, February, & March, 1957, issues

Next Steps in the South

Pro-Segregation Groups in the South

The South and the Supreme Court's School Decisions

The Southern Regional Council, A Brief Account of its Origins and Aims

April 8, 1957

Mr. David Koonce
The Evening Star
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Koonce:

We have just received the amount of $416.66 from the Fund for the Republic, a grant made on your nomination as one of the winners in the American Traditions Contest. We are deeply grateful to you for designating the Council as the organization to receive this award. This kind of recognition, unexpected and unsolicited, gives us great pride and encouragement.

I'd like to take this occasion too to express our appreciation for your recent article on race relations gains in the South. This airing of the positive developments in the region pointed up very helpfully the neglected side of the Southern story. The condensation of it carried by Newsweek was one measure of the interest it aroused.

It was good meeting you in Washington at the time of the American Traditions dinner. I hope our paths will cross again. Meanwhile, if there is any way that we can be helpful to you, be sure to call on us.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

LOOK

COWLES MAGAZINES INC. *Look Building, 488 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y., MUrray hill 8-0300*

April 8, 1957

RECEIVED APR 11 1957

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your memorandum on Negro Registration. I don't know whether we will do a story on the subject or not but the figures will certainly come in handy when I sit down to write my own impressions of this last trip through the South.

Now I wonder if you would mind sending me some material on your organization so that we may feature you in our LOOK Applauds section. You may remember we did the same thing for the Southern Education Reporting Service last year and the editorial board has decided that you also deserve a plug. If you have any photographs that we could use over a few paragraphs of text, I wish you would send them along.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William Attwood
National Affairs Editor

WA/jb

April 15, 1957

Mr. William Attwood
National Affairs Editor
Cowles Magazine Inc
Look Building
488 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Bill:

We're pleased and complimented that your editorial board has decided that we deserve a mention in the LOOK Applauds section. I am enclosing a couple of mimeographed items that should give you as much background as you will want to wade through. The one entitled: "The South of Promise" is the most pertinent.

I was a little puzzled by your mention of photographs - in the plural. Do you mean mug shots of me? I have some in the works, and will send them along in a few days in the assumption that this is what you meant.

It was good to see you when you were here. I only wish we had had more time to talk.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

enclosures

April 16, 1957

Mr. André Fontaine
Editorial Department
Redbook Magazine
230 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Fontaine:

Thanks for your letter. Knowing a bit about the workings of magazines, I am neither surprised nor dismayed about the fate of the Greenville idea.

I haven't been able to learn anything more about our oil worker, but I will revive the whole question here in the staff and see if we can't turn up one or more prospects for you.

I don't know whether or not you got the message that I called a few weeks ago. I was in New York for a day or two and hoped at least to touch base with you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

REDBOOK MAGAZINE
McCALL CORPORATION
230 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 6-4600

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

April
12th
1957

RECEIVED APR 15 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Unfortunately, I was unable to arouse very much enthusiasm hereabouts for the Greenville idea. So, I'm afraid the article is dead, at least for now. I'm sorry.

Have you heard from any of your people about candidates for our man of good will? How does our Texas oil worker shape up?

Best,

André Fontaine

André Fontaine
Roving Editor

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

AF/ps

KINGSLEY 6-2880

ELEANOR T. DRUMMOND
Assistant Editor

PRESBYTERIAN LIFE

Published by The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

A JOURNAL OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY · **WITHERSPOON BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.**

April 25, 1957

RECEIVED APR 27 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your valuable help. The material you sent is exactly what we need to reply to our correspondent. If this does not convince him that the NAACP is not a communist organization he is probably beyond convincing anyway.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Drummond
(Mrs. Braxton Drummond)

ETD:efc

Newspapers - general

May 1, 1957

Mr. P. B. Young
Journal and Guide
719 E. Olney Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I am endeavoring to secure some photographs that show incidents of peaceful integration in transportation, education or other areas, or which show violence, terrorism, or reaction on the part of the KKK, White Citizens Councils or other groups.

These photographs would be used along with other materials for a display at a Civil Rights Conference to be held this month in Chicago by the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO.

We do not keep this type of material at the Council, but I am endeavoring to help out the IUE for this special meeting. Locally, Mr. Bill Gordon of the Atlanta Daily World is giving me some assistance.

Anything that you can cause to be done to aid me in this request would be most appreciated.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

~~Labor~~ IUE
Newspapers et al

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Journal and Guide
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Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Newspapers

May 1, 1957

Mr. Cliff Mackay, Editor
Afro-American
628 Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Maryland

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Labor - IUE
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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

newspaper

May 1, 1957

Editor
South Carolina Labor News
P. O. Box 1032
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

I would like to start receiving the South Carolina Labor News in exchange for our own monthly publication, the New South. The most recent issue of the New South is enclosed.

Thanks for giving this matter your attention. I look forward to receiving your paper.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosure

CC: John Constable

Mf for dec
Mike

May 28, 1957

Mr. Walter B. Wheeler
Associate Director
Public Affairs Press
419 New Jersey Avenue, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

Thank you for your letter of May 14th and the review copy of Mr. Woofter's book, Southern Race Progress.

I am enclosing a list of our state affiliates. I am sure they would be glad to receive notice of the book's publication, and we shall call attention to it in our own bulletin.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl. - 1 list of state affiliates

LIncoln 4-3024

Public Affairs Press

419 NEW JERSEY AVE., S.E., WASHINGTON 3, D. C.

(Almost adjacent to the United States Capitol)

May 14, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At the request of Mr. Woofter we are attaching herewith a review copy of his book "Southern Race Progress".

Needless to say, we will appreciate it if you will call appropriate attention to the book through your magazine and other channels.

Sincerely yours,

Walter B. Wheeler

Walter B. Wheeler
Associate Director

P. S. We will appreciate receiving the list you mention in your letter of March 21st to Mr. Woofter.

March 21, 1957

Dr. T. J. Woofter
1869 Wyoming Avenue, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Dr. Woofter:

Your letter to Dr. Mitchell arrived after he had left the Council and was, in fact, on his way to Scotland.

I know he will be interested in seeing your book as soon as it is published, as will those of us who are still here.

We should be glad to supply the names and addresses of our Board members and state affiliates if you would care to have them circularized by your publishers.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

THOMAS JACKSON WOOFTER
1869 WYOMING AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

18 March 1957.

Dear George:

You will be interested in the enclosed foreword to my book SOUTHERN RACE PROGRESS which will be released late in April. You will receive one of the first autograph copies. I have made the chapter on cooperation, the climax chapter, placing it at the end. I think you will find this chapter much improved over the draft which I showed you last summer as I have added a statement about the position of the Southern Regional Council and several pages about the present situation.

If you have any advice as to the addresses of influential persons or groups who would be interested in receiving announcements from my publisher when the book is released I would appreciate it.

Sincerely

TJW

T.J. Woofter

RECEIVED MAR 19 1957

Jonathan Daniels
1540 Caswell Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

FOREWORD

Apparently almost everybody has come in late to the discussion of the segregation problem in the South. Sometimes in the South today it is treated like something that fell off the moon or was dropped almost as fortuitously by a fumbling Supreme Court. And in the North the impression is sometimes given that the South itself is one furious posse pursuing every colored man who asserts his rights.

In this great question which more than any other seems today to stir men in this country and the world, all of us in the United States need to know with much more precision just what the problem is and how we reached it. Information as a basis for such understanding is being provided. Vann Woodward swept away many masks in his documented story of Jim Crow and the strange notions about the segregation which has surrounded him. But no book I know provides such understandable personal approach to the segregation story in the lifetime of living men as this charming and challenging work by Dr. T. J. Woofter.

What he has written is in a real sense the autobiography of the Southerner who, long before the Supreme Court, was concerned about the tragic lapses which so often and so long segregation shielded. It is, however, the autobiography also of a Southerner named after Stonewall Jackson who has always loved the South in which he labored as a good deal more than merely scientific sociologist to understand and aid the underpeople.

Of course, not all Southerners have shared Dr. Woofter's working faith. Many will not agree with the ideas he expounds in this book today. But genteel Southerners (there does not seem to be a more precise word than "genteel") will recognize Dr. Woofter as a gentleman who understands his region and its problems much better than those who most loudly give the impression that only Kluxers can understand the South. Dr. Woofter does not need to scream his helpful understanding based upon forty years of creative labor in the fields about which he writes. He has, indeed, written a very quiet book but a vivid one richer in native anecdotes and homely images than in statistics. It helped me understand better this troubled South in which I live. I can think of few other books so deserving of a place on the shelf of required books for those who would understand in depth the debate which sometimes now seems to be restricted in participation to the extremists--the defiant, the vindictive, the headlong and the stubborn.

Dr. Woofter has written a book for America, but in it he has drawn the portrait of a Southerner--of many Southerners--who had this problem on their hearts long before any jurists put it into a decision of the Supreme Court. Maybe, as is said, that decision threw the fat into the fire. The heat is high. Here is also illumination.

0-0-0-0-0-0-0

June 3, 1957

Mr. A. J. Myers
U. S. News and World Report
24th and "N" Streets, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Myers:

Enclosed you will find material relative to your phone request of this morning.

I learned from our reference department that each Southern state with the exception of South Carolina and Mississippi annually issue population estimates. The figures enclosed are those most recently made available by the various state agencies concerned.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

from
ODOM FANNING

Answered

RECEIVED JUN 27 1957

Dear Battlin' Southerner,

When I got home last night, Elaine said, "Guess who's in the paper tonight. He has the misleading appearance of an harassed, slightly wistful schoolteacher; is a real conformist at heart.... is shrewd, tough, sharp.... deeply hated, and perhaps feared, yet with an ancestry reaching back into backward Georgia.... and is working when he isn't sleeping..."

Well, said I, it couldn't be ole Har'l Flemin', cause nobody, but nobody's, yet caugh' Har'l sleepin'....

But I was wrong. Interesting that we have to learn from THE KANSAS CITY STAR that you all still have only a 3-bedroom home, that you still wear a conservative suit, pick up a tan briefcase, and drive a 1954 car, arriving at 9 a.m.; and that Jane is blonde and brown-eyed and HAS A STATION WAGON! Elaine fairly shouted that. And now, you hound, she wants a station wagon!

Well, we have a new home, and that's something. We've moved to the suburbs: 7745 Reeds Road, Prairie Village 15, Kansas. Write us there. Best wishes,

Odom

ANSAS CITY STAR, MONDAY, JUNE 24, 1957.

SPEAKING OF DISARMAMENT—

—Cargill in Delta Democrat-Times.

Battling Southerner Heralds New Era in Race Relations

As Director of the Southern Regional Council, Harold C. Fleming Keeps Up His Battle for a Sane Approach to Old Problem, Despite the Open Hostility of Many Fellow Georgians.

By Bem Price.
(Associated Press Newsfeatures Writer.)

ATLANTA—Harold C. Fleming slid an inch lower in the overstuffed chair. Somehow he managed the appearance of an harassed, slightly wistful schoolteacher—which was misleading.

"I am a real conformist at heart," he said. "It's just that there are some things in the South with which I can't conform."

As director of the interracial Southern Regional council he is a shrewd, sharp and tough advocate of the moderate approach to the South's racial problem. He has become one of the men most deeply hated.

As much as any man, Fleming is emerging as a skilled leader for those Southerners who believe, however reluctantly, that the time of "white supremacy" is drawing to a close. He believes—and says so—that the U. S. Supreme court decision holding racial discrimination in the public schools unconstitutional is the law of the land.

Spokesman for Region.

Whenever U. S. government agencies want the South's racial problems explained to foreigners, it sends them to Fleming. So far he has talked to hundreds of students, editors, labor leaders and businessmen from 40 nations.

Fleming lives in suburban

were broadcast over a local radio station.

"I wanted to be a newspaperman, or a writer of some sort," he said.

So how did he wind up where he is?

"I don't know. I guess it goes back to college. I started to college, Harvard, on a scholarship back in 1940. In those days Harvard was eager to pull in people from the provinces."

When the war broke out, Fleming joined the field artillery R. O. T. C. He remained at school until 1943, when he was sent to Ft. Bragg, N. C., and ultimately to officer candidate school. He wound up on Okinawa after the fighting so

Battling Southerner Heralds New Era in Race Relations

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"I am a real conformist at heart," he said. "It's just that there are some things in the South with which I can't conform."

As director of the interracial Southern Regional council he is a shrewd, sharp and tough advocate of the moderate approach to the South's racial problem. He has become one of the men most deeply hated, and perhaps feared, by the South's more rabid pro-segregation groups.

The 35-year-old Fleming is a native Southerner himself, with an ancestry reaching back into rural Georgia, where he himself once lived. But he goes around saying such things as:

"It is no longer a matter of whether the South must solve its racial problem, but when, how and at what cost, or damage to the economy and the human beings involved."

Called a Communist.

Some pro-segregation groups equate such an opinion with communism.

"In 10 years in this kind of work," Fleming said, "you get pretty callous about attacks. There is one thing, though, that really does rile me, and that's this Communist business.

"It is hard to swallow. I see this job as one of the most important anybody can do in the battle between communism and democracy."

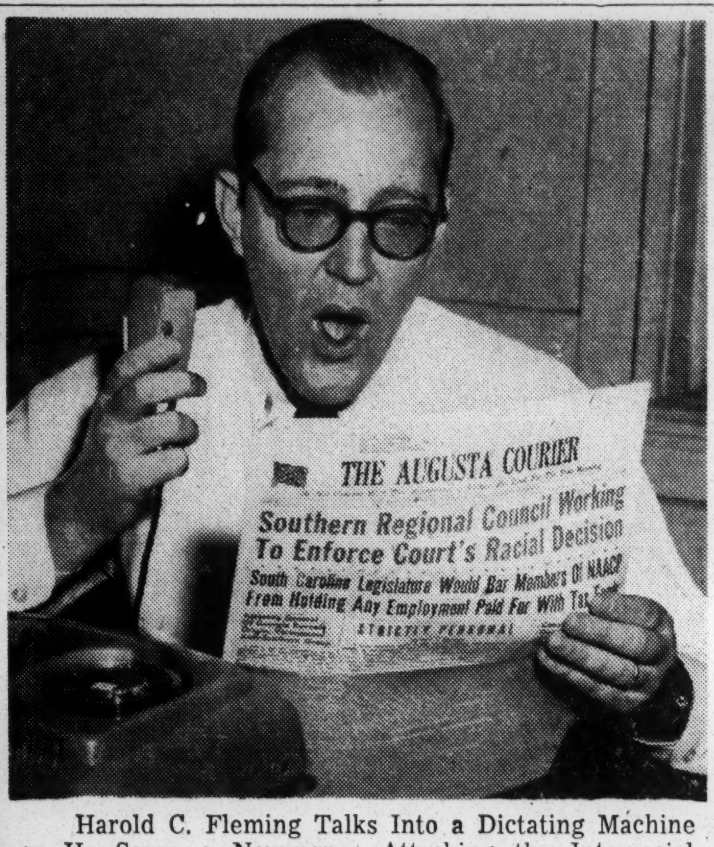
In light of the times and the current emotions over segregation in the South, Fleming must be put down as a man of considerable moral courage regardless of how you may feel about his views. For a time he and his family nearly suffered a form of social ostracism in the neighborhood.

As much as any man, Fleming is emerging as a skilled leader for those Southerners who believe, however reluctantly, that the time of "white supremacy" is drawing to a close. He believes—and says so—that the U. S. Supreme court decision holding racial discrimination in the public schools unconstitutional is the law of the land.

Spokesman for Region.

Whenever U. S. government agencies want the South's racial problems explained to foreigners, it sends them to Fleming. So far he has talked to hundreds of students, editors, labor leaders and businessmen from 40 nations.

Fleming lives in suburban Atlanta with his wife and two small boys, in a 3-bedroom home. On weekdays he dons a conservative suit, picks up a tan briefcase and drives a 1954 car to work, arriving at 9 a. m. His blonde and brown-eyed wife, Jane, has a station wagon for marketing, assorted chores and the school car pool.



Harold C. Fleming Talks Into a Dictating Machine as He Scans a Newspaper Attacking the Interracial Southern Regional Council, Which He Heads.

To all outward appearances, Fleming blends into the Southern scene. When he finds time, which is rare, he plays with his two boys, Gary Phillips Fleming, 6, and Anthony Hughes, 13 months. He works 12 to 16 hours a day, keeping in touch with council affiliates in 15 Southern states and answering his enormous volume of mail from information seekers. He co-ordinates an interracial staff of 12.

"He's working," said Jane, "when he isn't sleeping."

Roots in the South.

Fleming is the son of Lorraine Hulme Fleming and the late Howard Hughes Fleming, vice-president of one of Atlanta's largest building material firms. A large part of his early life was spent in Elberton, Ga., where the Hulmes are known as real Old South folk. The Fleming side of the family came from Oglethorpe County, Georgia.

In high school back in Atlanta Fleming was editor of the school paper, and wrote and produced plays which were broadcast over a local radio station.

"I wanted to be a newspaperman, or a writer of some sort," he said.

So how did he wind up where he is?

"I don't know. I guess it goes back to college. I started to college, Harvard, on a scholarship back in 1940. In those days Harvard was eager to pull in people from the provinces."

When the war broke out, Fleming joined the field artillery R. O. T. C. He remained at school until 1943, when he was sent to Ft. Bragg, N. C., and ultimately to officer candidate school. He wound up on Okinawa after the fighting as a captain in charge of a Negro quartermaster company.

In that job, he found, you were not only an officer, but above everything else you were the boss white man.

Close View of Problem.

"Trying to get a decent shake for your men from the brass above was rough. These men felt keenly the segregation and the fact that they got the short end of the stick."

On Okinawa, Fleming went on, the ammunition was taken from his company though the white units retained theirs and even though Japanese guerillas still roamed the island.

"Among the good things that happened to me, though," said Fleming, "was the deep admiration I developed for some of the men who, despite everything, were good soldiers and loyal right down to the core."

After the war Fleming returned to Harvard. Back at Atlanta in 1947 he heard of a special writing job with the Southern Regional council through Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution and one of the founders of the council in 1944. The council's announced aims are to provide equal opportunity for all in the South.

It was while he was at the council that he met Jane Phillips, who had come down from Vassar to work as a research assistant. They were married June 10, 1950.

For the author of the once famous "First Epistle to the Selectees," which appeared in the February 18, 1944, edition of the Army newspaper Yank, his present situation is slightly ironical. In that epistle, Fleming wrote:

"The wise man searcheth out the easy details, but only a fool sticketh out his neck."

Arizona Desert.

The ice cream clouds of thunderheads pile high,
All promising but yet withholding rain;
Freight cars to Mexico clack slowly by
Across the glittering hot plain.

Chary of shade, the spiked saguaros thrust
Their cactus arms upright in stony prayer,
Scant cover for the lizard in the dust
Who pants in shimmering white glare.

Evening will find the train across the line,
Forgotten weary click of sun-baked cars;
Cool peaks will cut a charcoal-black design
Beneath the low-hung brilliant stars.

FREDERICK EBRIGHT.

REDBOOK MAGAZINE
McCALL CORPORATION
230 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 6-4600

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

June
27th
1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing the copy you had sent us of Mrs. Albright's story. When I typed the letter about it which Mr. Fontaine wrote to you on June 17, I didn't realize that there was a manuscript that was to be returned, and I just noticed it when I started to file the correspondence.

I hope you haven't been inconvenienced by not having this.

Sincerely,

Patricia Simon

Patricia Simon
Secretary to
Andre Fontaine

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enc.

Make for Look ~~Magazine~~

July 22, 1957

Miss Patricia Carbine
Department Editor
Look Magazine
488 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Carbine:

Thanks for your letter and the welcome news that the Council is still slated for "LOOK APPLAUDS."

I'm enclosing negatives and contact prints of some shots Jay Leviton took of our Executive Committee (and staff) meeting, just concluded. You will note on the "B" sheet, faces of two of the participants are circled. For reasons I learned of too late, it would be unhelpful for them to figure identifiably in a published picture. I hope you will find one of the shots in which they do not appear - or in which their features wouldn't be distinguishable - suitable for the "Applauds" column. I've checked a few that present no difficulty.

I'll look forward to word from you at your convenience. Meanwhile, best regards to you and to Bill Attwood.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

RECEIVED JUL 12 1957

LOOK

COWLES MAGAZINES INC. *Look Building, 488 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y., MUrray hill 8-0300*

July 10, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

You are probably wondering what has become of our decision to feature your organization in our Applauds column. The fact is, the Council is very close to the top of the list, and with Bill Attwood as an avid supporter, it will probably be scheduled this fall.

I am writing to ask for a further favor regarding the photograph situation. This does not mean that we don't love your "mug shot", I simply am trying to touch all the bases by asking whether any pictures have ever been taken of the full council, or any of its members in action.

There is no hurry about this, so don't let my request do anything like interrupt your vacation.

Bill Attwood joins me in sending our good wishes. We will be anxious to hear what you think of our story on the NAACP in the August 6 issue on sale July 23.

Sincerely yours,

Patricia Carbine

Patricia Carbine
Department Editor

PC/jb

August 16, 1957

Mr. Bill Baggs, Editor
MIAMI DAILY NEWS
Miami, Florida

Dear Bill,

CONGRATULATIONS on a well deserved promotion. I am always amazed when quality gets recognized particularly when the quality is young.

I'll bet Mike Ross, the shaggy one, is pleased with this development. He, like many others of intellectual integrity and ability, holds in high regard your ability and integrity.

Newspapers have a special role in a democratic society; they must not only report the news honestly but they should help the citizenry understand the significance of the events which are shaping their future. Under your leadership I am confident that the Miami Daily News will be a constructive influence in South Florida.

In this new undertaking I wish you every success.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/s

Enclosures:
"Desegregating White Institutions" - June, 1956
"Addendum to Integration North + South. Sections, Elections And Appointments." Aug. 21, 1957
"Bus Integration Spreads" - New South Article
Newspaper Sources showing List of Negro Policemen Since MAY '56 (Brown Clips)

August 21, 1957

Mr. W. D. Workman, Jr.
915 Beltline Boulevard
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Workman:

We have done no comprehensive roundup of desegregation developments since the survey that was reported in "Integration North and South." However, we are able to up-date developments in several fields, and I am enclosing several summaries which do so.

It occurs to me that you may not have a copy of our booklet "Changing Patterns in the New South," compiled several years ago. While its contents are not entirely pertinent to your request, it strikes me that the booklet may help you background some of the more recent developments. I am sending you a copy separately.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

RECEIVED AUG 19 1957

ALpine
PHONE 2-5901

W. D. WORKMAN, JR.

Covering South Carolina News

915 BELTLINE BLVD.
COLUMBIA, S. C.

August 16, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

From time to time in the past, the Southern Regional Council has prepared "round-ups" of the status of such desegregation steps as opening of libraries, hiring of Negro policemen, firemen, etc., throughout the South.

At the moment, I wish to incorporate something of a general report of accomplishments of that type in something I am writing, and I wonder if you have recently prepared any such summary. I have copies of "New South" for all of this year and am currently a subscriber, so I have such information as is contained therein. However, if there DOES happen to be a recent compilation at hand, I would appreciate your informing me where it could be obtained, if you do not have such available for distribution from your own headquarters.

I also have a copy of "Integration North and South," in which you had a major hand preparing. The likelihood is that it will prove to be the most recent complete compilation made on the subject and I shall rely on that in the absence of anything more recent.

Thank you for your assistance,

W. D. Workman, Jr.

W. D. Workman, Jr.

for
The News and Courier, CHARLESTON, S. C. • The Greenville News, GREENVILLE, S. C. • WIS—WIS-TV, COLUMBIA, S. C.

Materials sent to
W.D. Workman:

(1) Up-dated Representation list (taken from clips)

(2) Up-dated Desegregation Higher Ed. list

(3) 21 cities transportation release, with 4 additions

(4) List of Negro policemen since May '56 (from clips)

(5) ? - ~~Anticipated public school desegregation memo (Fall, '57)~~

August 27, 1957

The A. N. Marquis Company
Marquis Publications Building
Chicago 11, Illinois

Gentlemen:

Would you please send us a copy of your 1956-57 edition of Who's Who in America and bill us accordingly.

Your early attention to this request will be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

WIRE COLLECT

September 10, 1957

MISS C. MURDOCK
EBONY MAGAZINE
1820 SOUTH MICHIGAN
CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

CAN SECURE GLOSSY OF MRS. TILLY TOMORROW MORNING.

WILL SEND AIRMAIL SPECIAL.

H. C. FLEMING

FILE COPY

EDITORIAL
Taken From: The Christian Century
Volume LXXIV, Number 40
October 2, 1957

HATS OFF TO THE WOMEN OF LITTLE ROCK

YOU HEAR IT over and over: "Just another resolution--what of it?" The belittling implied may be justified in some cases, but it definitely is not so far as the statement issued the other day by the concerned and resolute churchwomen in Arkansas' capital city is concerned. And so that others may join us in hailing the action taken by those women, we present it in full:

> The Council of Church Women of Little Rock and North Little Rock in called session September 9, 1957, go on record expressing our great concern over the situation which has developed in our communities. It is our Christian conviction that enforced segregation of any group of persons because of race, creed or color is a violation of Christian principles. The national and state bodies of the denominations which we represent are all on record with statements saying that the Supreme Court rulings regarding segregation in the public schools are in keeping with Christian principles. We reaffirm these statements of our denominations.
>
> We believe in the right of dissent and the right of those persons who disagree to follow due process of law and order in efforts to change laws with which they disagree. We believe it is the obligation of every citizen to uphold what is the law of the land, and that citizens of this state have a right to expect their elected officials to use their offices to carry out obedience to the supreme law of the land. We are shocked and dismayed that the governor of our state has placed military troops within our community to defy the order of the federal court instead of upholding the law of the land. We feel the use of troops and the failure of these troops to disperse the curious and rabble-rousing crowds that have gathered at Central High School have produced tensions. This situation, we believe, would not have arisen had the board of directors of the Little Rock public schools been allowed to carry out their plans for compliance with the law of the land.

Editorial - 2.
Hats off to the Women...

We deplore the un-Christian acts of some of our citizens expressing hatred of others, which have made the headlines in reports around the world. We believe in the sincerity and good will of the majority of citizens in our communities. We are well aware that what is happening here affects the world mission of the Christian church and endangers the effectiveness of those who represent us in mission posts throughout the world. We want our Christian friends around the world to know that, as churchwomen and Christian citizens, we want to take our share of the blame for failure to create a climate that would have made it impossible for such a situation to develop. Our experience in race relations in our communities in recent years, however, convinces us that, though many of our citizens may not desire desegregated schools, they do believe in justice and right for all citizens, and in following a course of action that would be in keeping with the spirit of democracy of the Constitution of the United States, and with the principles of the Christian faith which we profess.

We call upon the Christian citizens of our communities and of our state to join us in (1) Praying to God the Father of us all to forgive us for our failure to live as children of one Father, and praying for his guidance and wisdom for us all, and especially for those on whom rests the responsibility for the solution of the immediate situation before us. We issue this call to prayer to all who will join us wherever they are at 12 noon Thursday, September 12, in a special time of prayer and meditation; (2) Expressing our confidence in the support of the actions of the boards of directors and the administrators of the public schools of our communities in their efforts to comply with the law of the land; (3) Treating every person as we would like to be treated; (4) Refusing to be a party to any act or word or idle rumor which will give rise to tension between groups in our communities; (5) Refusing to listen to persons seeking to arouse hatred and setting group against group.

October 7, 1957

October 7, 1957

Mr. Don Oberdorfer
THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Don:

Many thanks for sending the full set of your series on the USEA. That was a whale of a good job.

As I wrote Bob Suritz, it is always satisfying to see somebody you know land in a good spot and make the most of it. Keep up the good work, and let me know any time we can supply background and information that might help you.

I am glad to add the Observer editorial staff to the mailing list for New South. The first issue you get will probably be the voting booklet which will be out in a few days.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

October 7, 1957

MEMO: To - John Constable

From: M.F.

Please add the following to the complimentary mailing list of New South:

The Editorial Staff
THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
Charlotte, North Carolina

RECEIVED SEP 30 1957

The Charlotte Observer

"THE FOREMOST NEWSPAPER OF THE CAROLINAS"

Charlotte, N. C.

Sept. 24, 1957

Dear Harold:

I understand from Bob Suritz in Rock Hill that you would like copies of the USEA series the Observer ran recently and here they are. You can make any use of them you like I'm sure, giving credit of course.

I'm spending a few months now doing editorial writing to fill in for one our guys who got a Neiman fellowship. Much to my surprise we do not get the New South up here in the Ivory Tower. Would you please put us on the list for it. If there is a charge for this to editorial staffs, send along a bill. Send the copy to:

Editorial Writers
The Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, N.C.

Meant to write you after Bem Price's fine piece on you was published. I saw Bem shortly after that and he toldme that his wife had done some work on the election survey you did that was so widely quoted and used. Says it will come out in book form.

Why don't you come up this way and see what a "moderate" state is doing? If things don't quiet down in Arkansas, however, I'm afraid they may get faubused up around here.

Best regards,

Don

Don Oberdorfer.

Board

October 17, 1957

Mr. William Baggs, Editor
The Miami News
P.O. Box 2410
Miami 30, Florida

Dear Bill:

Many thanks for your note of October 15. I am fully aware of the mass of tasks facing the editor newly come to his chair and therefore no apology is required for the delay in answering my note of some time back. I am enclosing some information on the Southern Regional Council which I thought might be of interest to you. Our nominating committee has been casting about for new blood to add to the Board of the Southern Regional Council and I have suggested your name. We already have on the Board such newsmen as Hadding Carter (Delta Democrat Times, Mississippi), Herbert Davidson (Daytona Beach News Journal), Thomas Young (Norfolk Journal and Guide), Harry Golden (Carolina Israelite), Dorcas Ruthenberg (former Sunday editor of the Louisville Journal), and of course as you know Ralph McGill was one of the founders of SRC.

For a local reference you could talk with Bill Howland, formerly of Time Magazine, now with the U of M. Could you please let me know your thinking on this by the first of November?

Seriously, Bill, your presence on the Board would be of considerable help during these critical times. There is one Board meeting per year and the expenses of Board members are paid by the Council.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR;fcl

Enclosures

Enclosures to William Baggs:

The Negro Voter in the South
Toward the South of the Future
Three Views of the Segregation Decisions
Brief Account of SRC's Origins and Aims, April 1956
The South of Promise
An analysis of the attack on the SRC in the Firing Line of May 15, 1957
Quote from Delta Democrat Times, August 25, 1957

Same Ltr. sent to: Mr. Clayton Sutton
911 Young Street
Dallas 2, Texas

Mr. Lindley Clark
44 Broad Street
New York 4, New York

October 21, 1957

Mr. Albert Clark
THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
1015 - 14th Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Clark:

Enclosed you will find a copy of our booklet, "Next Steps in the South - Answers to Current Questions", which we are sending you at the request of Mr. Ed Cony. This pamphlet contains the map which Mr. Cony discussed with you in the New York meeting covering race relations in the South.

If we can be of any further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1

October 21, 1957

Mr. Ed Cony
THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
Barnett National Bank Bldg.
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Mr. Cony:

In the absence of Mr. Fleming, we are sending the booklet, "Next Steps in the South - Answers to Current Questions", to the persons listed in your letter of the 14th.

There is no charge; in fact we'll be happy to send along anything else if the need arises.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

PA

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC., PUBLISHERS
Barnett National Bank Building - Jacksonville 2, Fla.

October 14, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for the help you and Fred gave me last week.

Our people in Dallas, Washington and New York are very much interested in the map showing percentage of non-white population in Southern counties, the one enclosed in your pamphlet, "Answers To Current Questions".

We would like to order one copy for each of those offices. Will you please bill us here in Jacksonville and send the pamphlet to the following:

Albert Clark
The Wall Street Journal
1015 14th Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Clayton Sutton
911 Young Street
Dallas 2, Texas

Lindley Clark
44 Broad Street
New York 4, New York

Do
A

Could you kindly insert a note with each one explaining that the pamphlet contins the map which Ed Cony discussed with them in the New York meeting covering race relations in the South.

Thanks again for your help. I hope we can get together on my next trip to Atlanta.

Yours truly,

Ed Cony

Ed Cony

EC/pb

Staff: EFV

October 22, 1957

Circulation Department
Baton Rouge Morning Advocate
Baton Rouge
Louisiana

Dear Sirs:

Please send me one copy of the September 30th issue of the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate.

I am enclosing 20 cents in stamps to cover the cost of this service.

With thanks.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

Enclosure.

EFV:fcl

Publication Office

November 7, 1957

Mr. Jack Neher
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
1790 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Neher:

We are familiar with Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation and think very highly of it. We have distributed copies of it to some of our key people, perhaps 200 in all, and I am afraid that our budget will not permit us to buy copies for further distribution, much as we might like to do so.

I have shared your letter with John Constable, our director of information, who edits our monthly publication New South. He has agreed to run a review of the booklet in an early issue. This would serve pretty well to call the report and its availability to the attention of our constituency.

We are interested in seeing that the report gets as wide a readership as possible and if further ideas occur to me I will pass them on to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

will review in NS

RECEIVED OCT 28 1957

Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry

Publications Office: 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

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Dr. M. M. Frohlich, Chairman

Publications Office:
1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

October 23, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

With this letter you will find enclosed a copy of PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, formulated by the Committee on Social Issues of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry. Although we feel sure that you have already seen this report, we are calling it to your attention at this time because we would like your help in putting this report in the hands of people who could make use of it in their work to improve race relations. The report is intended for school administrators, ministers, community leaders -- all, in fact, who have anything to do with school desegregation programs.

Since your organization distributes pamphlets, you may want to consider purchasing a quantity of this report for re-distribution in your area. You will find quantity rates in the enclosed brochure. If this is not practical for budgetary reasons, we would appreciate your help in informing people about this report and would be glad to provide a quantity of the descriptive brochure which you could include in mailings to your contacts. If you publish a newsletter, we would be grateful for a review.

We look forward to hearing from you when you have had an opportunity to look over this report.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Neher

Jack Neher

JN:ae

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

November 8, 1957

MEMORANDUM

To: John Constable

From: H. C. F.

Will you have Marge doctor up a list of the county-by-county figures for Mr. Broder. Also see that he is put on the list for New South and other special reports that may be of interest.

Do you think that he can be of use to us? If so, how?

Please return original ltr + file copy w/ mfr.

November 8, 1957

MEMORANDUM

To: John Constable

From: H. C. F.

Will you have Marge doctor up a list of the county-by-county figures for Mr. Broder. Also see that he is put on the list for New South and other special reports that may be of interest.

Do you think that he can be of use to us? If so, how?

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **JOHN CONSTABLE**

11/8/57

To: HCF

Re: Congressional Quarterly News Features

Have mailed copy of county-by-county figures. I think Broder ~~will be helpful~~ ~~can be helpful~~ can be most helpful by just including our materials in some of his releases.

He has been added to the mailing list.

November 8, 1957

Mr. David S. Broder
Political Editor
Congressional Quarterly News Features
1156 Nineteenth Street
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Broder:

We will be very happy to supply any information we can to the Congressional Quarterly and appreciate the invitation to call upon you when the occasion warrants.

I am sending you separately a copy of our recently published survey on Negro suffrage. This booklet does not contain the county-by-county figures which we released in mimeographed form somewhat earlier. A copy of the earlier release is also being sent.

I am placing your name on our publications mailing list, since this is the best way to insure that you will get our studies when they are published.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

WEEKLY REPORT
TRI-WEEKLY NEWS RELEASES
NEWS QUERY SERVICE

RECEIVED NOV 4 1957

ANNUAL ALMANAC
QUARTERLY INDEX

Congressional Quarterly News Features

1156 Nineteenth Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

THE AUTHORITY ON CONGRESS

October 31, 1957

Mr. Harold C.Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This letter is a two-fold request.

First, we are most anxious to obtain a copy of your recently-published survey of Negro suffrage, which, I understand, contains estimates of the number of registered Negro voters by county.

Second, we would like, if possible, to be added to the list of news agencies which regularly receive copies of your informational studies.

As you may know, Congressional Quarterly is a private news service, used by some 235 newspapers and additional thousands of universities, public and private agencies and individuals.

We would, of course, give the Council full attribution on its material. And if we may, at any time, be of service to you, I hope you will call on us.

Yours truly,

David S. Broder

David S. Broder
Political Editor

November 15, 1957

Mr. Sherwood Ross
6822 S. East End Avenue
Chicago 49, Illinois

Dear Sherwood:

After lo these many months it was good to hear from you again. I was particularly pleased to hear that you are with Ebony magazine. Ebony has been doing a good job and we are particularly pleased with the recent article by the Stokelys on the women of the South.

You asked about Paul: he is now working with the Council as Administrative Assistant. He is doing a bang-up job as you might well expect. He asks that I send you his best regards.

I was mighty pleased with Dante Fascell's stand in the House of Representatives. He is a mighty fine guy and has grown tremendously in this job. In many ways it is a blessing that it was he not I who became the Congressman from the South Florida district.

If your wanderings for Ebony bring you South by all means come see us. Our office is something of a mecca for roving journalists and the amount of material on file is only slightly short of phenomenal.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

November 18, 1957

Mr. Scoop White, Editor
Labor's Daily
701 14th Street
Bettendorf, Iowa

Dear Brother White:

At the request of Ben Segal I am sending you a few items which perhaps could be used either as pictures or special blocks to illustrate the remaining articles in Segal's series on industrialization and unions in the South. In any case, some of these bits might be useful in breaking the solid front of type which the articles as they now stand present.

I would appreciate your returning the original items with the exception of the map which you may have for your own use.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

Items included: Map of the South
LSU Professor cites Southern Union hostility - Lake Charles American Press, November 10, 1957
Southern Crafts item - News Letter of Alabama Labor Council, October 14, 1957
United Southern Employees Association By-laws
Adams-Millis Corporation document concerning formation of a union, October 17, 1956

November 27, 1957

Mr. William C. Baggs
Editor, The Miami News
Miami, Florida

Dear Bill:

Sorry to hear that you have been in a revolving door, but understand that status for I am beginning to behave like a whirling dervish myself. It is rush hither and flit yon, attend meetings and put out fires. As the Beebopster would way "it's go, go, go!"

We appreciate your reasons for not coming on the Board of SRC and certainly recognise ~~it~~ ~~but~~ ~~s~~ ~~r~~ ~~n~~ ~~o~~ ~~t~~ ~~o~~ ~~b~~ ~~e~~ ~~c~~ ~~a~~ ~~u~~ ~~s~~ ~~e~~ we are controversial. I have every respect for the soundness of your position on civil rights and civil liberties. I cannot imagine a flimsy thing such as an organization dulling your sincerity or your ability to come out publicly for or against it or the field in which it operates. The shaggy voice that used to sound off on Don Larson's TV show had a tenacious mind behind it that was never so dulled.

However, if you feel more free on the outside banging away at educating the public through wise journalism we bow to your good judgment.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

PA
FBR
(reply)

THE MIAMI NEWS

November 21, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Please excuse this delay in replying to your letter. Seems that I have been in a revolving door recently.

No, sir. I do not want to join the Southern Regional Council. At the moment, I do not belong to any fraternal, civic or social organization and, Fred, I intend to keep it that way.

Certainly, this raises a suspicion in your mind that I am reluctant to get into a controversial council. This is not so. It seems that I get into controversies of this sort just about every day. My point in declining this invitation, and I appreciate the invitation, is that when I participate as a member in an organization it dulls my sincerity and ability to comment publicly for or against the organization.

In any event, thanks again.

Sincerely,

William C. Baggs
Editor

THE MIAMI NEWS

Fla. File

WILLIAM C. BAGGS
EDITOR

December 3, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your tolerance.

When you come to Miami, please come to see me.

Sincerely,

Bi

William C. Baggs
Editor

December 11, 1957

Mr. Sherwood Darrow Ross
Associate Editor
Ebony Magazine
1820 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Sherwood:

There must be an appropriate cliche with which to begin this letter but I refrain. However, your letter of the 9th to Mr. Wright has been referred to me and it is good to be in contact with you again.

We do keep an informal file on "displaced" ministers and from that we have pulled several appropriate instances which should help in your forthcoming article. We have been careful to select instances which have been reported in the press and which concern individuals who will not be hurt (we hope) by further publicity. This information is enclosed. In the event you have not come across it, we are also enclosing a clipping from Time of May 6, 1957. This concerns the First Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations. The individuals listed therein are all good people with good information and good attitudes.

Incidentally, and in reference to the above caution, I think you should know that the resistance movements of the South carefully follow the Negro press; especially Ebony and like publications. For some courageous individuals national publicity and recognition can literally be a kiss of death. Case in point: the recent Stokely article on Southern women pictured and praised Hazel Brannon Smith of Lexington, Mississippi. Was a good article and rightfully appraised Mrs. Smith's contribution to decency. However, she and her paper, under two years

of WCC sponsored boycott, have barely been able to survive. Her picture in Ebony nearly ended the matter. Since its appearance Ebony is being widely circulated among the whites of Macon County, Mississippi, as proof that Mrs. Smith and her paper are no good for the community. Currently, we and other organizations are trying to help this editor stay in Lexington until the storm blows over. Moral: in the deep South (and sometimes in the not-so-deep South) things can be mighty tough for individuals. Articles which will be screened most carefully by the WCC should be screened even more carefully by editors responsible for said articles.

The pro-segregation movements in the deep South are now desperate. They are fighting a losing fight - sometimes slow, sometimes faster - but a losing one and they know it. But they do fight and ministers, teachers, "liberals and do-gooders" and the like, are special irritants to them for these people are the molders of opinion and the conscience of the region. They feel that these people must be silenced. And, desperate men are not particularly gentlemanly.

I choose my words carefully in order to avoid giving the impression of pseudo-dramatic undercover business; a condition with which we have both had some unfortunate contact. But I urge you, not for any specific instance but generally, to remember these things.

Trust you are going to be able to get to Atlanta sometime soon. Would enjoy a long conversation. Caroline is in Illinois, at 11 Hawthorne Court, Aurora, Illinois. Know she would enjoy hearing from you.

If you can get down to Atlanta I'll try to arrange a cross burning for you. If you can't, I'll be happy to come to Chicago anytime your magazine can pay for it; I'm still full of advice as this letter will show - in case you'd forgotten!

If we can be of any more help with factual information, let us know.

Warmest regards.

Yours in the grey flannel suit,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Enclosures : Selected items of reprisals on religious bodies and leaders.

PA + JC

December 9, 1957

Dear Mr. Wright: The editors of EBONY currently are preparing an article on integration in the church. We have noted the Time Magazine article listing your organization as a source on the number of ministers who have lost their pulpits for advocating integration.

We should like to know, if possible, the names, churches, denominations and cities involved in these dismissals. We would like to assure you that, if utilized in our report, there will be no unfavorable connotation attached to the name of any minister who was forced to surrender his pulpit.

If your organization has any other information compiled on church integration in the South, we hope we might be furnished with copies. Your considered opinion and evaluation of the topic, of course, is always appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Sherwood Ross

Sherwood Darrow Ross
Associate Editor

Mr. Marion A. Wright
President
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SDR:ds

1820 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE · CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

January 7, 1958

Mr. Donald Oberdorfer
THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Don:

I was glad to get your note several weeks ago with the news of your elevation to the Washington spot. Much as we need a guy like you turning the rocks over in the South, this ought to give your talents much greater breadth of action.

The Observer's editorial office should by now be receiving New South regularly. We will leave that hard won arrangement undisturbed, and add your name at the Washington address as soon as you let us know that you are there. We'll also send you those past publications that may have some continuing value.

I hope we have better luck when you are next in Atlanta. Let me know a little early next time and I will make sure of it.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Charlotte Observer

"THE FOREMOST NEWSPAPER OF THE CAROLINAS"

Charlotte, N. C.

Dec. 3, 1957

Dear Harold:

I'm sorry that we couldn't get together last week when I was through Atlanta but understand Herr Ashmore's plane was late in saying its epitaphs to Little Rock. I was on a stupid rush schedule too.

We have never started getting New South or any of the other poop at our editorial office but no matter. I'd rather you wait a couple months and put me on at the Washington office.

One of the things I will be doing as Washington man for The Observer is to specialize in digging out stories of general Southwide interest in an effort to give the paper more of a regional flavor. Any stories of major interest will be distributed over the Knight-owned Chicago Daily News wire service as well as sent to The Observer. Among our Southern clients are the Miami Herald (a sister Knight paper), The Louisville Times, one of the Nashville papers (The Tennessean I believe.) There are about 50 clients from coast to coast I think.

I may be that you are sending copies of all your stuff to Ed Lahey at the Knight's Washington office but I doubt it. If not, I'm going to try to get you to send a copy of the pertinent poop (I assume this means all of it) to me there when I get settled in the wicked city. I'll let you know.

If you're up this way in the next month or 6 weeks let us know. Best Regards,

Don Oberdorfer

January 22, 1958

Mr. Ed Cony
Wall Street Journal
Burnett Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Ed:

I had hoped to get this out last night but got bogged down in a meeting. I guess it doesn't matter too much since you were to be out of town for a few days anyway. Here are the answers you ask for:

Sixty ministers signed the Richmond ministerial statement. The papers are not explicit in this, but say "about sixty", and none of them carried the full list of signatures.

Following the issuance of the statement the Richmond Times-Dispatch did a survey of the Protestant clergymen - probably white Protestant clergymen - in the Richmond area as to their attitude to the statement. The enclosed clipping reports the results.

Both major Richmond papers editorialized on the ministers' statement. On January 30th 1957 the Richmond News-Leader attacked in general terms the ministers' statement. On January 31st the Richmond Times-Dispatch came forth with an ambivalent editorial on the subject, but mostly slanted toward regret that the ministers had said anything.

I am enclosing with this letter our promotional "Toward the South of the Future". In it you will find a statement of policy which rather clearly states our position in this whole matter. I am also sending you, under separate cover, "A Brief History of the Southern Regional Council".

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosures.
FBR:fcl

January 27, 1958

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
Editor
THE DAILY TIMES
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

I greatly appreciated you thinking of me in connection with the annual meeting of the Southern Niemans. I have waited this long to do anything about it because I continued to hope that I would be able to make it against the odds. Unfortunately, the odds have proved too great and I will have to miss both the meeting and the Mardi Gras. I know it will be a highly successful occasion.

I read your manuscript on the "Middle Man" from beginning to end with unabated interest. It is full of sharp insights, pithily expressed, and I hope your agent will be able to find the right outlet for it. The form is unconventional by magazine standards, and it occurs to me that you might arm your agent - if you haven't already - with justification for it. The point, as I see it, is that this whole business is so complex and contradictory that the usual slick development inevitably distorts and over simplifies. What I liked best about the piece was the way you avoided any attempt to synthesize all the parts into one gelatinous whole.

I will hang onto the manuscript if I may.

I hope we will be together again soon. Meanwhile, all the best to you and Ann.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JAN - 7 1958

SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION OF NIEMAN FELLOWS, INC.

SYLVAN MEYER, *President*
DAILY TIMES, GAINESVILLE, GA.

E. L. HOLLAND, JR., *Secretary-Treasurer*
BIRMINGHAM NEWS, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

January 6, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
61 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold,

Thirteen top Southern newspapermen traveled countries ranging from South Africa to Japan during the past year on travel grants from the Southern Association of Nieman Fellows.

In New Orleans next month they will participate in seminars and panels and will be available for questions in three sessions of four hours each. In addition, several social events have been planned in connection with the annual meeting of the SANF.

The enclosed letter will explain more about it.

This is a personal invitation to you to attend if you can. You'll be welcome to the events on the program. The discussion sessions will be open to the public.

I think the meeting will be newsworthy. It might at least indicate whether travel grants for newspapermen are worth anything to the American people and whether foundation funds for such a purpose are well spent.

I think, too, that the meeting should be interesting to people concerned with foreign affairs, the practice of journalism and the general improvement of the profession.

We're new at this sort of thing, so if there is any more information you need, please ask. Hope you can come.

Cordially,
Sylvan Meyer
Sylvan Meyer
President

NEW ORLEANS ITEM

GEORGE CHAPLIN
EDITOR

The Annual Meeting and special Institute of the Southern Association of Nieman Fellows will be held in New Orleans, February 7-9, 1958.

A stimulating program is being built around reports by Southern newsmen who have studied abroad in recent months under the association's travel grant program. There also will be a round of social occasions in the traditional New Orleans style. (Eat lightly for a couple of weeks before the Institute and Meeting).

You'll be getting a detailed program shortly. The Institute gets under way Thursday, February 6, with a 6-to-8-p.m. cocktail party for first arrivals, and goes into Sunday, February 9, with an afternoon look at several Mardi Gras parades.

Take our word: you'll have a good (and productive) time. The wife will enjoy it, too.

Right now, we need an indication of who hopes to come and when, so we can be sure of sufficient hotel rooms, etc. Please fill in the attached form and mail it NOW in the attached envelope.

Sincerely,

George Chaplin

GEORGE CHAPLIN
Chairman
Local Arrangements Committee
Care: New Orleans Item

GC:s
enc

January 31, 1958

Mr. Marlin M. Miller
The Wall Street Journal
44 Broad Street
New York 4, New York

Dear Mr. Miller:

Thank you for your letter of January 29, and your permission to reprint the article. Proper credit will be included and the reprint will be used for informational purposes only.

Again thanks.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS

44 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

January 29, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for your January 22, letter to Mr. Grimes.

You may have our permission to reprint the December 17, 1957 article "Segregation Costs" by Cail Brumley.

This approval is granted under the usual Conditions that the article be printed in full, with date of publications, and full credit to The Wall Street Journal.

We also ask that the report be distributed for information purposes only and not for use in a circularizing campaign.

Very truly yours,

Marlin M. Miller
News Editor

MM:jp

January 22, 1958

Mr. W. H. Grimes, Editor
Wall Street Journal
44 Broad Street
New York 4, New York

Dear Mr. Grimes:

We are interested in distributing reprints of the article, "Segregation Costs--Dixie Firms Find Them More of a Burden as Racial Tension Grows," by Carl Brumley in the December 17, 1957 issue of the Wall Street Journal. We will be grateful if you would extend us reprint privileges for this article.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

January 31, 1958

Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Sir:

Please send us a copy of the Princeton Alumni Weekly, volume LVIII, October 25, 1957, number 6, and bill us for cost.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

The Charlotte Observer

"THE FOREMOST NEWSPAPER OF THE CAROLINAS"

Charlotte, N. C.

February 10, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I'd be delighted to see Vernon Eagle when he's here February 26 and 27.

So inform him, please, and my best to you, suh.

Sincerely,

Pete

C. A. McKnight
Editor

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.
Friday, February 14, 1958

Religion & Race

More Southern Pastors Plead for "Moderation"; Many Fight Segregation

They Issue Books, Play Big Roles in Biracial Groups; Some Lose Their Churches But Many Take Other Side

BY ED CONY
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

A powerful voice is being raised in the South against segregation.

It belongs to the preacher, pleading with his people for "moderation" on the race issue, at the very least, and in some cases telling them flatly segregation is morally wrong and must be abandoned.

Individual clergymen in Dixie have spoken out for integration in the past, as have many denominations at the national level, but until recently the majority of Southern preachers has remained silent on segregation. Now, that pattern is changing sharply.

"Increasing numbers of clergymen in the South have been facing up to the segregation issue in the last few months," observes Mrs. Ruby Hurley, southeastern regional secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"I've been noticing this trend," concedes a strong supporter of segregation. He is Rev. William T. Bodenhamer, a Baptist minister and also executive director of the States Rights Council of Georgia, a pro-segregation group.

Religious Ranks

The impact of this trend can hardly be discounted in a region where—perhaps more than in any other area in the country—religion holds a central position in the life of its people. This is the home of "The Bible Belt," the center of revivalist upsurgings, the area that nurtured Billy Graham. A just-completed survey by the Department of Commerce finds 96% of all Southerners, 14 years of age or older, affiliated with some religious faith.

Numerically-strong denominations in the 13 Dixie states include: Baptists with 6.4 million members; Methodists, 3.7 million members; Roman Catholics, 3.7 million members; Presbyterians, 750,000 members, and Episcopalians, 600,000 members.

A variety of appeals is being made these days to these millions of church-going Southerners. In South Carolina, five ministers—three Episcopalians a Methodist and a Pres-

byterian—have put together a paperback book called South Carolinians Speak.

The ministers persuaded twelve South Carolina citizens to express "moderate" views on race relations. In their preface, the clergymen say: "The time is long overdue for a strong voice of moderation to be heard in South Carolina. Often the real question has not been, 'What Shall We Do About Segregation and Desegregation?' but, 'Shall Men Have the Freedom to Differ and Still Maintain Mutual Respect for Each Other?' "

The "moderate views" expressed by the 12 native-born Southerners include those of an attorney in Columbia willing to see buses, but not schools, desegregated to those of a doctor's wife in Gaffney who favors "gradual desegregation in the schools by starting with the first grades." All 12 appeal for a "Christian approach" to the issue.

Bouquets, Brickbats

What has been the reaction to the book, on sale at newsstands and book stores all over South Carolina?

"There's been a warm and continued acceptance of me by my people here, but for some reason they've been reluctant to mention the book," reports Rev. John Morris, one of the five compilers of the book. The 27-year-old Episcopalian minister of Dillon, S.C., notes, however, that mail reaction has been rather heavy. About 200 letters have come in from South Carolina citizens, "running about 10 to 1 in favor of the book." The book also provoked 25 editorials from South Carolina editors, "18 positive and seven negative," according to Mr. Morris' scorecard.

Thumbing through a bulky correspondence file in his home, Mr. Morris pulls out letters from two attorneys from Sumter, S.C. One writes: "Bless you. You and your cohorts have made a splendid contribution to the solution of the race problem in South Carolina. It took courage and I salute you." But his fellow townsman snaps: "In the grave and serious issue of segregation there is no middle ground. I am for complete segregation and the traditional Southern way of life. Those who are not with us are against us."

There are, of course, many Southern preachers who believe firmly in segregation. "They just don't get as much publicity as integration ministers do," says Rev. Bodenhamer, the Baptist segregation supporter from Ty Ty, Ga.

A Counterattack

But Mr. Bodenhamer spiritedly promises a clergyman's counterattack against "church leadership which in most cases has expressed itself in favor of integration" and against "church literature which has given quite a slant for integration lately."

He produces a pro-segregation pamphlet written by Rev. J. Paul Barrett, Methodist. Mr. Barrett warns against school integration which he fears will result in racial intermarriage, and then he says: "A dove is as important and valuable as a quail but who wants them so mixed until you have neither?"

One technique Southern ministers—on both sides—are employing to influence race relations is the public statement released to the press.

Sixty members of the Richmond (Va.) Ministers Association last spring publicly scolded the governor "and a majority of the legislature" for passing the so-called massive resistance laws against school integration They described such legislation as "neither democratic nor Christian" and protested that part of it "clearly impinges upon civil and religious liberty."

The preachers also advocated that "wherever possible, and as rapidly as possible, social customs violating the dignity of the Negro should be eradicated."

The initial shot by the Richmond preachers is being followed up currently by a salvo of statements. In Atlanta, 80 ministers signed a manifesto making these statements, among others:

"All Americans, whether black or white, have a right to the full privileges of first-class citizenship.

"The public school system must not be destroyed. To sacrifice that system in order to avoid obedience to the decree of the Supreme Court would be to inflict tremendous loss upon multitudes of children." These 80 ministers have in their congregations about 50% of all Atlanta's Protestants, it is estimated.

Columbus, Houston

In Columbus, Ga., 31 Protestant ministers and two rabbis signed a similar declaration. And some 700 miles to the west in Houston, 173 clergymen—Jewish, Protestant and Roman Catholic—affixed their signatures to a statement which asks "God-fearing citizens" to respect and obey the Supreme Court decision on desegregating schools. They warn that to defy the court decision "is to encourage other dangerous elements in our society to follow the same destructive procedures."

Among the signers were three bishops: John E. Hines, Episcopal; A. Frank Smith, Methodist; W. J. Nold, Roman Catholic.

The Baptist Ministers Union of Chattanooga has just issued a statement deploring "violence, hate and bigotry in any form, against any-

body." Warning against "extremists," the Baptist preachers say: "Our racial problem here in the South can be worked out only with Christian principles and by people of good will."

Dr. Herman L. Turner, Presbyterian minister who played a leading role in the Atlanta declaration, puffs on a pipe in his Peachtree Street study and reports he has received about 300 letters, 90% of them favorable, on the manifesto.

"In my own congregation, I haven't had a single negative response. You know, it's best for a minister to be on the offense, instead of the defense, on any moral issue," he philosophizes.

At Atlanta's imposing West End Baptist Church, Dr. O. Norman Shands, another signer of the statement, says: The fact I take a position not all my people agree with creates ferment and causes further thinking among my people." He says favorable comment has outrun unfavorable by a margin of three or four to one.

"Members Are More Liberal"

"Ministers are beginning to realize they have support in their own congregations. Members are more liberal than ministers realized," avers Rev. Harrison McMains, a Disciple of Christ minister and another leader in putting together the Atlanta manifesto.

But Atlanta ministers aren't satisfied to sit back now that they've gone on record, says Mr. McMains, executive secretary of the local clergymen's association. "Since the manifesto, eight white ministers and eight Negro ministers have been meeting together," he says. "We've come up with an interracial committee to consult with the mayor and other civic officials, such as the chief of police—a citizens committee to help solve any race problem that arises here in Atlanta."

All over the South, clergymen are playing leading roles in interracial groups working for integration. Many such groups call themselves "councils on human relations." The Virginia council is headed by a Presbyterian minister, the Texas council by an Evangelical and Reform minister, the Kentucky council by a Southern Baptist preacher — and to further vary the leadership, a Jesuit is president of the Louisiana council.

What sort of work are clergymen doing in these interracial groups? In Miami, Methodist Minister William Williams, full-time executive director of the Dade County Council on Community Relations, is locked in a silent struggle with Florida Gov. LeRoy Collins.

Red-headed, cherubic-looking Bill Williams says it began last October when he induced 59 local clergymen to call a conference of ministers in Miami. The objective: "To spur church people on to do more about integration, to support the Supreme Court decision, to measure up to their religious convictions," says Mr. Williams.

Waiting

At the time the governor promised he d give the keynote speech, Mr. Williams says. On November 27 Mr. Williams' group wrote Mr. Collins formally inviting him and asking him to set a date convenient for him. Ten weeks later, Mr. Williams says, he still has not been able to get a commitment from the governor.

Mr. Williams and the Dade County Council also are trying to jog the Dade County school board to make plans for integrating Miami schools so the transition—when it comes—can be made peacefully and smoothly.

A Unitarian group in Dallas, led by Dr. Robert Raible, minister of the First Unitarian Church, is similarly prodding the Dallas board of education "to lift the ban on the study and discussion of school desegregation."

In Birmingham, the Alabama Council on Human Relations, under the leadership of Rev. Bob Hughes, a youthful Methodist, is trying to promote biracial ministerial associations. "There were only four in the state last summer," says Mr. Hughes. "Now there are nine and we hope for more soon."

Mr. Hughes' group "tries to rally community support behind a preacher when he comes under fire for taking a moderate or liberal stand on race problems." One recent example occurred when a cross was burned in front of a minister's home. Mr. Hughes helped rally the local ministerial association which supported the minister's "freedom to state his convictions."

Right now, the only integrated college in Alabama is a Roman Catholic institution—Jesuit-run Spring Hill College in Mobile with 40 Negroes in a student body of 850.

Pushing the Papers

Rev. Albert Foley, a professor at the school, has supported school integration from the pulpit and before alumni groups. He also played a leading role in getting 30 Mobile organizations to pass a resolution condemning Ku Klux Klan violence. "We put this in the local papers by way of an ad, and the papers had to take notice of the problem both in the news column and in editorials," says Father Foley.

In Louisiana, where Catholics number about one million, Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel continues to work for integration of Catholic schools, despite the uproar he provoked in

February, 1956, when he called segregation "morally wrong." His statement, read at every church in his archdiocese, stirred up open revolt among many parents.

Now, two years later, the ruckus has died down, and a pro-integration pamphlet, Men of Good Will, is being distributed quietly among priests and selected parishioners in the archdiocese. Written by a New Orleans parish priest, Rev. Robert Guste, it is a 71-page piece in support of school desegregation.

Southern preachers say it isn't easy to win the minds and hearts of the staunch segregationists, some of whom are found in nearly every Southern congregation. Southern preachers therefore are moving with some caution. There is no discernible movement, for instance, to try to desegregate church congregations deep in Dixie. Ministers feel their members wouldn't have it.

Episcopalian Minister Morris sees the situation this way in Dillon, S.C.: "A clergyman should be a leader, but he shouldn't be so far ahead of his people that he's cut off from them. If I felt the schools here in Dillon should be integrated tomorrow—which I don't—but if I did, I would not be a minister here any more."

"He Won't Be There"

Mrs. Hurley of the N.A.A.C.P., despite her group's militant attitude, shows an understanding of this problem: "In the past, Southern clergy have been quiet because they are governed by their local boards of trustees or elders. A minister can't go too far beyond his people—or he won't be there to do any leading."

This appears to be precisely what happened to one of the five ministers who sponsored South Carolinians Speak. John Lyles, minister at the Presbyterian Church in Marion, S.C., was politely told he should look for another congregation because of his involvement in the book. He did so and now has a church in West Virginia.

A prominent Presbyterian in Marion and an elder in the church, insurance man Pratt Gasque, says: "We had to get rid of him. Mind you, I liked John personally, a fine young man. But people stopped coming to church. We told him when he first came we couldn't have any agitating on the race issue. We're a small church and we just couldn't stand our minister speaking out on controversial issues which tear up his people."

This is not an isolated example. "In the South we have a new class of D.P.'s—displaced parsons," says an official of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, a pro-integration group of Negro and white Southerners who work for better race relations in Dixie. "Since 1954, we've helped relocate about 15 ministers who lost their churches for supporting the Supreme Court decision or for protesting against violence," he adds.

available from

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

or from your nearest regional office

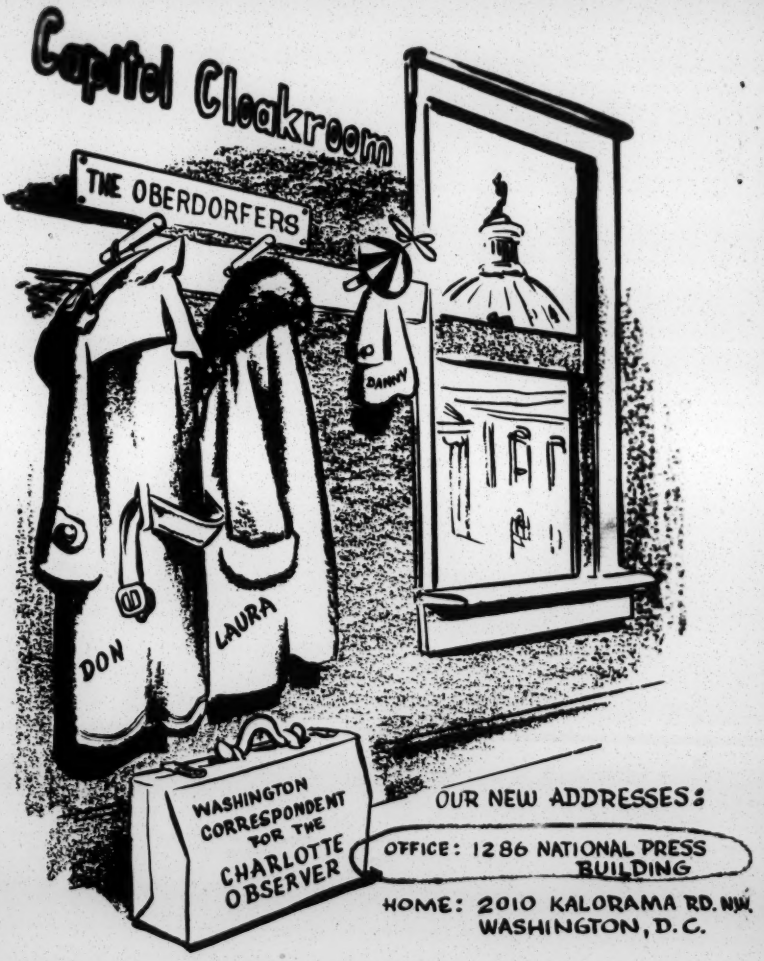
MF [MF - Pls make a card for Oberdorfer]

3/4/58

JC -

I don't remember whether ~~I~~ you know Donald ~~Oberdorf~~ Oberdorfer. He's a good guy whom I've known a long time. Should get New South + all releases + be on your list of friendly newsmen.

HCF



DONALD OBERDORFER

Dear Harold:

Let us know when you are in the area.

Regards,

Don.

March 10, 1958

The Editor
The Roanoke Times
Roanoke, Virginia

Dear Sir:

Will you please send me one copy of The Roanoke Times for Monday, February 3, 1958.

I enclose 10¢ in cash to cover the cost and postage. If the charge is more than this please bill me for the balance.

Sincerely,

Faith C. Lawson
Secretary to Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant.

FCL:s

March 31, 1958

Miss Ella Fischmann
Back Copy Department
Chicago Tribune
Tribune Square
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Miss Fischmann:

We would like the articles by Joseph Ator which started November, 1957. We are enclosing our check in the amount of $5.10 to cover the cost.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

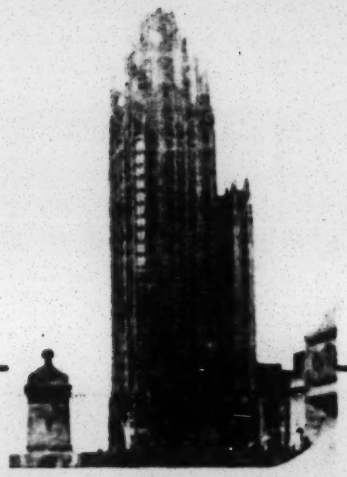
Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to the Director of
Information

/c
Encls.
CHECK NO. 1795

Check do 1995

Chicago Tribune

THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER



TRIBUNE TOWER • CHICAGO
Telephone SUperior 7-0100

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 28, 1958

Gentlemen: Attn: John Constable, Direc. of Information

Your letter dated March 25 was received.

Please be informed the copies are available and cost $5.10 including carrying charges. We hope to be favored with your request accompanied by remittance and this letter.

A self addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Ella Fischmann
Back Copy Department

EF:at
Enc.

March 25, 1958

Circulation Department
Chicago Tribune
Tribune Square
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Sir:

Please send us the series by Joseph Ator on Segregation which started in your paper about November 11.

Bill us for cost.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

ZIFF-DAVIS PUBLISHING COMPANY

434 South Wabash Avenue • Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Sir:

We regret to advise that we are completely out of stock of the January 1958 issue of FLYING.

Thank you for your interest.

Cordially yours,

Circulation Department

April 9, 1958

Ziff-Davis Publishing Company
1 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Sir:

Please send us the January, 1958, issue of Flying Magazine and bill us for cost.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

JC

We want to get the below listed magazine - it has an editorial, entitled "An Open Letter to Congress" which deals with problems in the space age - including Second Class citizenships.

Flying Magazine Jan, 1958

Ziff-Davis Pub. Co.

One Park Ave

New York 16, N.Y.

April 14, 1958

Mr. Pyke Johnson, Jr.
Publicity Manager
Doubleday & Company, Inc., Publishers
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This is a belated response to your letter concerning The Lonesome Road, and the copy of the book itself which reached us shortly thereafter.

Several of us here have read the book and thought it a very useful account of the Negro in American history. We plan to review it in our monthly publication, New South, which reaches a good many of the Southerners of both races who would be interested. While I think it would be highly desirable for as many white Southerners as possible to read the book, I am not too hopeful about that market. It strikes me, however, that proper promotion should create quite a bit of interest among Negroes. I think of such organizations as the National Council of Negro Women, the NAACP, the Negro teacher organizations in the South, libraries in Negro institutions, and the various state-wide Negro PTA organizations, as examples. If you have promotion literature on the book, or are planning some, mailings through

these channels and publicity in the various organs of these groups should be worthwhile. I would also suggest, if you have not already done so, you send review copies of such publications as Phylon, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, and the Journal of Negro Education, published at Howard University.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky

Rec'd 3/10/58

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., Publishers 575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22 ~ MURRAY HILL 8-5300

March 6, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At the suggestion of Adam Yarmolinsky of Doubleday's editorial department, I am sending you an advance copy of THE LONESOME ROAD, by Saunders Redding, which Doubleday will publish on March 31.

This book, which is the newest in the Mainstream of America series, is the story of the Negro in America. I should be most interested in knowing your reaction to the book, and if you share my enthusiasm for it, I should be grateful for any suggestions you might have for bringing it to the attention of the widest possible audience.

Sincerely,

Pyke Johnson, Jr.
Publicity Manager

PJ:jc

JC

HILL AND WANG, INC., PUBLISHERS

104 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • CHELSEA 2-0143

April 16, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are sending you 1500 circulars with our imprint as you requested in your letter of April 10. Our printer promises to get them in the mail by April 22. We are printing them with a letter "B", so we can identify orders that come in as a result of your mailing.

Sincerely,

Lawrence Hill

Lawrence Hill

SC
Please return
WF

VIA AIR MAIL

April 24, 1958

Mr. Charles Hesser
Miami Daily News
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Hesser:

In response to your telegram received this afternoon, I send you the enclosed special report. You evidently got an exaggerated account of its contents. Actually, it contains nothing that a good morgue would not have, but good morgues being few and far between we thought it would be helpful to round up the publicized statements of Southern officials and others who oppose Negro suffrage.

I have asked John Constable to see that you receive such further materials as we may issue from time to time.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (SRC Special Report: "The Move to Disenfranchise the Negro Voter")

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

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HAROLD FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONS=
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA=

WOULD APPRECIATE COPY OF YOUR SPECIAL REPORT ON
EFFECTS OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION ON NEGRO VOTING
AN REGISTRATION IN SOUTH=
CHARLES HESSER MIAMI DAILY NEWS=

Sou Sch News

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Thermo-fax copy of article in Birmingham News 4-20-58,
"Eligible voter list may soar to 900,000."

April 25, 1958

Mr. Ed Cony
Wall Street Journal
Burnett Building
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Ed:

Thought you might be interested in this.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

IN THE HEART OF TVA

MORNING-SUNDAY — ESTABLISHED 1812

THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN

SILLIMAN EVANS, JR.,
Publisher

NASHVILLE, (1) TENNESSEE

April 29, 1958

Public Relations Representative
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir

I recently received a copy of your special report, "THE MOVE TO DISENFRANCHISE THE NEGRO VOTER" which was compiled by the Southern Regional Council dated April 17, 1958, for my newspaper reference library file. I would like to request that the Nashville Tennessean Library be placed on your permanent mailing list for all reports concerning segregation, integration, and race relations. These reports are extremely valuable as sources of reference for our editorial and reportorial staffs.

Very truly yours

John R. Parrish, Jr.

JOHN R. PARRISH, JR.
Chief Librarian

JRP:nsw

May 1, 1958

Mr. John R. Parrish, Jr.
Chief Librarian
The Nashville Tennessean
Nashville 1, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Parrish:

Thank you for your letter of April 29, 1958, concerning our Special Report. We are placing your name on our mailing list for future reports and for our monthly publication New South.

We hope this material will be of some aid to you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

May 16, 1958

Mr. John Fischer
Harper's
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Fischer:

I finally had a chance to discuss with Ralph McGill the idea of an article on "Eisenhower's Southern Exposure," or "What the Birdie Told Ike in Augusta."

Ralph thinks the piece could be a good one and feels that Bill White could handle it without any trouble at all. My own feeling that this is so was reinforced by Ralph's judgment.

I enjoyed our brief time together in New York and hope we will meet again soon.

My best regards to you and Eric.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 3, 1958

Mr. Philip M. Stern
Northern Virginia Sun
3409 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington 11, Virginia

Dear Phil:

I had indeed heard that you are now a "Southern editor" and also (by way of the Alumni Magazine) that you have taken unto yourself a wife. I have tried to reach you once or twice on the rare occasions when I was in Washington, but found you away. I hope to be there again soon and will certainly be calling you.

The show-down on segregation in the Arlington schools looks to us like one of the really big and decisive developments in this whole troubled field. From what I know of Arlington, however, I should think that the chances of a local showing of responsibility and constructiveness are good. I am delighted that the Northern Virginia Sun is in such good hands.

I am sending you separately some materials on what other communities have done in preparation for school desegregation. Since you have written Weldon James, I am sure you will get the complete story on Louisville including a book by Carmichael and James. We have a supply of the book and have found it a useful program tool. The materials I am sending you deal with St. Louis, Washington, Baltimore, Milford, and a newspaper critique of Clinton; also one or two things of a more general nature.

I am also sending a copy of the book, "Schools in Transition" by Williams and Ryan which summarizes the school desegregation experience of a number of non-Southern communities. This was based on the research done during the Ashmore project, and while it does not deal directly with Southern experience, I think it contains a good bit of material that is relevant to school desegregation anywhere.

If you want to get directly in touch with people in the communities you write about, I would suggest the school superintendent in each instance as the best initial source.

I will see that you are put on our mailing list for our monthly publication, New South and other materials that we distribute from time to time.

Our Research Assistant says that the back issues of the Race Relations Law Reporter are the best readily available source of court decisions affecting Arlington. She gives the specific references:

(1) Vol. I, pp. 890-892; (1) Vol. II, pp. 59-63;
(3) Vol. II, p. 300; (4) Vol. II, pp. 810-11;
(5) Vol. II, pp. 987-991.

Call on us for any help we can render you or your newspaper.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Our Research Assistant says that the back issues of the Race Relations Law Reporter are the best readily available source of court decisions affecting Arlington. She gives the specific references:

(1) I, pp. 890-892; (2) II, pp. 59-63;
(3) II, p. 300; (4) II, pp. 810-11;
(5) II, pp. 987-991.

H. C. F.

Sent Separately:

Williams and Ryan, Schools in Transition
Grambs, Jean D., "A Guide to School Integration"(Pamphlet) Public Affairs - No. 255
"A Tentative Description and Analysis of School Desegregation Crisis: Holden, Valien, Valien - Pub. by Anti-Defamation League. (CLINTON, TENNESSEE)
"The St. Louis Story..." Valien
"The Right of Every Child" (WASHINGTON Program of School Integration) - Report by Friends Ser. Committee
"Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools"
Thermofaxed copy of "A Summary of Experience in Milford (Delaware), Baltimore and Washington... dealng with school desegregation moves.
N. Y. Times Reprint - "The Louisville Story - Told by Carmichael" Oct. 7, 1956
Reprint from Journal of Negro Education - Winter, 1955 Issue "Section B: Desegregation of Washington Schools..."

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

June 3, 1958

John, will you see that my friend Philip M. Stern, Editor of the Northern Virginia Sun, 3409 Wilson Boulevard, Arlington 11, Virginia, is securely put on the complimentary mialing list for NEW SOUTH and also on your special mailing list ~~for*any~~ of newspaper people.

Thanks.

Northern Virginia Sun
An Independent Daily Newspaper

PHILIP M. STERN
EDITOR

3409 WILSON BOULEVARD
ARLINGTON 1, VIRGINIA
JACKSON 4-3000

May 29, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Hal:

I am sure you are well aware that Arlington is one of the next hot spots in the school segregation problem, but I am not sure whether or not you are aware that I have become a "southern editor" (I was billed that way for a speech recently), being the editor and part owner of this afternoon daily in Arlington.

I am writing to you for two reasons:

First, it occurred to me that it might be useful for us to publish a series of articles on what other communities did to prepare themselves in advance. For example, I understand that Louisville took a number of steps to prepare their school staff to handle the problem -- I am writing to Barry Bingham and Weldon James in Louisville to get the low down there. I wonder if you know of other communities that made similar advance arrangements and advise me as to the best way of getting their story.

Secondly, I thought it would probably be useful for me to subscribe to, or get on the mailing list, for some of your publications. One thing I am particularly anxious to collect is the texts of the various court decisions affecting Arlington. In this connection, I have subscribed to the Race Relations Law of Vanderbilt University, but I thought you might possibly have, or know of, some other compilations.

I would also welcome any other suggestions as to how we might be useful in our community. As you can appreciate, it is difficult to know what to expect from day to day.

Hope all goes well with you. If you are ever in Washington, be sure to get in touch with me.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip M. Stern

PMS/ds

MATERIALS ~~Sent~~ Attached

The Louisville Story
A Summary of Experience in Milford (Delaware), Baltimore and Washington
N. Y. Times Reprint - The Louisville Story
The Right of Every Child
Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools
Desegregation of Washington Schools

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MARGE MANDERSON**

HCF -

Re: Mr. Stern's letter -

Materials on Baltimore, Washington, Louisville, Milford ~~II~~ are in the attached envelope. The only source for court decisions affecting Arlington: Race Relations Law Reporter, (1) I, pg. 890-892; (2) II, pg. 59-63; (3) II, pg. 300; (4) II - pg. 810-11; (5) II, pg. 987-991. We can send him a thermofax copy of ours if you think it necessary.

THE READER'S DIGEST
PLEASANTVILLE · NEW YORK

June 3, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

On page 203 of the June issue of The Reader's Digest there appears an article entitled, "Mayor Hartsfield Uses the Light Touch," which we hope will be of special interest to you.

Please accept the enclosed complimentary copy of the magazine with our very good wishes and special thanks for your courtesy and helpfulness to our Research Department at the time the article was being checked.

Sincerely yours,

Sterling W. Fisher

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

OFFICE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS • UNITED STATES AND INTERNATIONAL EDITIONS
DIRECTOR: STERLING W. FISHER

June 3, 1958

Mr. Sylvan Meyer, Editor
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

We are sending you, under separate cover, several copies of the May NEW SOUTH with the Gainesville-Hall County Ministerial Association resolution. Would you see that they get distributed to the proper people there in Gainesville?

We do appreciate your help in getting us this so quickly, also if you see need for distribution of additional copies, please let me know.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

VIA AIR MAIL

June 3, 1958

Mr. John ~~Fisher~~ Fischer
Harper and Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Fischer:

You are to be congratulated on giving Harry Ashmore's wise remarks full play in this month's Easy Chair. Some time ago I talked with Harry about the desirability of reprinting and distributing this presentation. He agreed and felt that the Harper's version would be the one to use.

This, then, is to ask your permission to reprint "The Easy Chair" for June, either by offset here or by arrangement with the magazine, as you prefer.

I appreciated your recent note and hope I can have that lunch with you and Eric when I'm in New York later this month.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

File

Northern Virginia Sun

An Independent Daily Newspaper

ARNOLD SAGALYN
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER

3409 WILSON BOULEVARD
ARLINGTON 1, VIRGINIA
JAckson 4-3000

June 5, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Hal:

So many thanks for your letter. I agree with you that there is probably a better chance of working out the integration problem smoothly in Arlington than in any other Southern community. As you no doubt know, there has been formed here an Organizing Committee to Preserve the Public Schools, which includes an exceptionally broad cross section of this community, including many whom I am sure would definitely prefer to see the schools remain segregated. All of this means the community sentiment is very strong in favor of keeping the schools open, even if this means desegregation. But, of course, you never can tell what the ardent segregationists will do. You may have heard that they have threatened to enter white students in Negro schools in order that the Negro schools will not be spared under the Virginia closing laws. Whether they will actually carry this out remains to be seen.

Sent book 6/7/58 HCF

Since you have a supply of the Carmichael-James book on hand, I wonder if you would be good enough to send me a copy. Weldon James is currently away on vacation, and I have not even been able to find out who published the book.

I am looking forward to receiving the other material you are sending me, and appreciate all your help.

Hope to see you soon.

Best regards,

Phil

Philip M. Stern

PMS/ds

File

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
Editorial Rooms

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

June 5, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

For copyright and other reasons we can't give anyone permission to reprint material from Harper's, but we always are glad to furnish reprints ourself at a nominal cost. If you would like to write Miss Jean Wright at this address, telling her how many copies you might need, she could give you prices; the cost per copy of course drops very rapidly if you should order more than 500 copies.

We were delighted that you thought Harry Ashmore's piece worthy for wider distribution--and Eric and I are looking forward to seeing you here later this month.

Sincerely,

John Fischer

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

John Fischer/cc

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1938 JUN 9 PM 11 14 (56).

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R NFA417 PD=WUX NORFOLK VIR 9 1238PME=

HAROLD FLEMING,=

EXE DIR SO REGIONAL COUNCIL=63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST

ATLA=

YOU HAVE OUR PERMISSION TO USE HOLLOWAY; S ARTICLE IN ANY WAY THAT MAY BE HELPFUL TO THE CAUSE. BEST WISHES=

P B YOUNG SR PUBLISHER JOURNAL AND GUIDE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

June 10, 1958

Miss Jean Wright
Harper and Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Wright:

At Mr. Fischer's suggestion, I am writing you for information on the cost of reprints of Harry Ashmore's article, "The Untold Story Behind Little Rock" which appeared in the June issue of Harper's.

Would you be so good as to quote the costs in quantities of 5,000, 7,500, and 10,000?

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 13, 1958

Miss Evelyn Honeywell
Assistant to the Editor
World Call
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Dear Miss Honeywell:

Thank you for your letter of June 11, 1958, concerning New South, and your request for exchange privileges. We will be most pleased to receive World Call on an exchange basis.

However, about a year and a half ago, we placed your magazine on our complimentary subscription list and the magazine should be going each month to Mr. Buckner, your editor. If you would like an additional copy sent with a definite exchange arrangement, please let me know to whom it should be addressed.

Again thanks for your interest.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lec

GEORGE WALKER BUCKNER
Editor and Chief of Staff

MISS EVELYN HONEYWELL
Assistant to the Editor

JAMES L. MERRELL
Assistant Editor

MRS. EVYLIN R. GRIBBLE
National World Call Secretary

WORLD CALL

INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE OF DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

222 South Downey Avenue,
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Telephone: FLeetwood 7-1166

June 11, 1958

New South
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for the copy of NEW SOUTH which you sent to the editor, George Walker Buckner. We have received copies now and then and appreciate getting them.

Under separate cover we are mailing to you some copies of WORLD CALL. You will note the articles that deal with race.

If it is in accordance with your policy, we shall be glad to enter an exchange with your publication. WORLD CALL is published monthly except July-August which is a combined issue. We have a paid circulation of around 74,000 a month.

Sincerely,

Evelyn Honeywell

Evelyn Honeywell
Assistant to the Editor

EH

June 14, 1957

Mr. Walter B. Wheeler
Associate Director
Public Affairs Press
419 New Jersey Avenue, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

I regret that we are not able to take advantage of your offer of the 30% discount on a quantity order of Mr. Woofter's book. I am in hopes, however, that a good many of our state affiliates will purchase the book themselves.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

JC + FBR — Advice please HCF

RECEIVED JUN 4 1957

Lincoln 4-3024

Public Affairs Press

419 NEW JERSEY AVE., S.E., WASHINGTON 3, D. C.

(Almost adjacent to the United States Capitol)

June 3, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Would your organization care to have us send copies of Mr. Woofter's book to your state affiliates? We could let you have a 30% discount on such an order.

It will interest you to know that the Southern Education Foundation has purchased copies of the book on a similar basis for distribution to state agents.

Very truly yours,

Walter B. Wheeler

Walter B. Wheeler
Associate Director

3.50
.30

1.0500
2.45

$24.50 for 10 state orgs.

June 18, 1958

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

Many thanks for sending me a copy of your manuscript. I like it a lot and hope your agent will be successful in placing it. I am honored to be the quoted authority on page 1.

I must say that, while I agree wholeheartedly with your basic premise, I don't feel quite as optimistic as your article sounds. But there has been so much gloomy analysis and prpphecy, this positive emphasis is probably needed to balance the scales.

I am sorry to hear that I am going to miss a chance to see you again this weekend. I am about to be off until Monday.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 24, 1958

Mr. Claude Sitton
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sitton:

Harold Fleming asked me to send you some background material concerning the segregation issues and especially some material on Virginia. We are mailing you, under separate cover, a packet of material which I think may be useful. We are including some specific material on Virginia, plus some newspaper clippings from the Charlottesville paper which might be helpful in evaluating the situation in that state.

We already have entered your name on our subscription list to New South.

If we can be of any help to you in your work with the Chattanooga Times or otherwise, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

GEORGE WALKER BUCKNER
Editor and Chief of Staff

MISS EVELYN HONEYWELL
Assistant to the Editor

JAMES L. MERRELL
Assistant Editor

MRS. EVYLIN R. GRIBBLE
National World Call Secretary

WORLD CALL

INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE OF DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

222 South Downey Avenue,
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Telephone: FLeetwood 7-1166

June 26, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for your letter of June 13. We are putting your name on our mailing list. I was surprised to find that it is not already ~~the~~ there.

One copy of New South is sufficient for our needs.

Sincerely,

Evelyn Honeywell

Evelyn Honeywell
Assistant to the Editor

EH

Via Air Mail

July 2, 1958

Miss Jean B. Wright
Harper's Magazine
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Wright:

We have now worked out our plans for distribution of reprints of Harry Ashmore's article in the June issue of Harper's. This is to place our order for 10,000 reprints, as described in your letter of June 17 at a quoted price of $276.00.

At your convenience, would you let me know whether it is your practice to place on reprints the name and address of the sponsoring agency and about when we might expect delivery. Since we are including in our order that of another agency, I should need to send you further information about imprint, if one can be used.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Harper's
MAGAZINE

HARPER & BROTHERS · PUBLISHERS · 49 EAST 33RD STREET · NEW YORK 16 · N. Y.

MUrray Hill 3-1900
Cable: HARPSAM

Circulation Department

June 17, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of June 10th concerning reprints of Mr. Ashmore's article, THE UNTOLD STORY BEHIND LITTLE ROCK, from the June issue of Harper's Magazine.

The cost involved for the reprints would be as follows:

5,000	copies	$179.00	plus	postage
7,500	"	235.00	"	"
10,000	"	276.00	"	"

The reprint would be an 8½ x 11" size and would carry our copyright.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Jean B. Wright

Jean B. Wright

JBW/h

116 Ponce deLeon Court
Decatur, Georgia
July 10, 1958

Mr. Roy Harris, Editor
The Augusta Courier
1300 Southern Finance Building
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Harris:

Enclosed you will find $1.00. Please send me as many copies of the very interesting June 23, 1958 issue of the Augusta Courier as this amount will cover.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

Emory F. Via

Sorry - our supply has been exhausted.

Thank you for your interest.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER
SOUTHERN FINANCE BLDG.
AUGUSTA, GEORGIA

VIA AIR MAIL July 16, 1958

Miss Jean B. Wright
Harper's Magazine
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Wright:

Thank you for your letter of July 7 and the enclosed reprint. The way in which the legend is shown will be quite satisfactory. It should read:

Distributed by:
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

If your mailing house can conveniently do so, I shall appreciate their sending 1,000 copies of the reprint to the American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York (Attn: Mrs. Kaufer). The bill should, of course, be directed to us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Harper's
MAGAZINE

Rcd 7/8/58

HARPER & BROTHERS · PUBLISHERS · 49 EAST 33RD STREET · NEW YORK 16 · N. Y.

MUrray Hill 3-1900
Cable: HARPSAM

Circulation Department

July 7, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is in reply to your letter of July 2nd. I've enclosed a copy of a reprint previously made which shows how a legend can be added to the article.

We would have to have this information before setting up the reprint. After the material is given to the press you can allow for two weeks before delivery.

I'll wait to hear from you before sending your order to the press. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Jean B. Wright

Jean B. Wright

JBW/h

Reprinted from
Harper's
MAGAZINE

PARTY OF THE SECOND PART

Criticism in Politics

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

AFTER the elections of 1952 I remained the "titular head" of the Democratic party. In our country this role is a very ambiguous one. The titular leader has no clear and defined authority within his party. He has no party office, no staff, no funds. Neither is there any system of consultation whereby he may be advised of party policy and through which he may help to shape that policy. There are no devices such as the British have developed through which he can communicate directly and responsibly with the leaders of the party in power.

Yet he is generally deemed the leading spokesman of his party. And he has—or so it seemed to me—an obligation to help wipe out the inevitable deficit accumulated by his party during a losing campaign, and also to do what he can to revive, reorganize, and rebuild the party.

Taking account of these things, I concluded to try to play my part as best I could, and with some degree of planned consistency. I enlisted a small, informal group of experts in various fields to review and evaluate critically our major public policies, most of which were of Democratic origin. I also resolved to travel extensively in order to enlarge my knowledge of the problems of a world in which the United States has such preponderant power and, therefore, responsibility. And, finally, there was the necessity of earning some money and maintaining a personal staff.

This was the background to my attempts to fulfill in some measure the responsibilities I inherited from the campaign of 1952. In speeches, articles, and lectures I expressed my view of the contemporary scene. I attempted from time to time to put before the people considered assessments of the Administration's policies. And in the mid-term elections of 1954 I played an active and rewarding part in the campaign from Alaska to the Atlantic.

Whether all this added up to responsible political leadership, I do not know. What I do know is that it added up to a staggering amount of writing and speaking—and that much of what I said was primarily criticism.

If "the duty of a loyal opposition is to oppose," I cannot see how one can offer effective opposition without giving reasons for it; and these

Reprinted from Harper's Magazine, February 1956.
Copyright, 1956 by R. Keith Kane. All Rights Reserved.

reasons are, of course, criticisms. Yet I very well know that in many minds "criticism" has today become an ugly word. It has become almost *lèse-majesté*. It conjures up pictures of insidious radicals hacking away at the very foundations of the American way of life. It suggests nonconformity and nonconformity suggests disloyalty and disloyalty suggests treason, and before we know where we are, this process has all but identified the critic with the saboteur and turned political criticism into an un-American activity instead of democracy's greatest safeguard.

The irony of this position—so often held by people who would regard themselves as most respectably conservative—is that it is nowhere more ardently embraced than in Moscow or Peiping. There the critic really is a conspirator and criticism is genuinely an un-Russian or un-Chinese activity. In fact, if I were asked to chose a single principle which underlines more than any other the difference between the Communists and the free philosophy of government, I would be inclined to single out this issue of criticism, which we in the West not only tolerate but esteem.

But for the Communists there is one infallibly correct or "objective" method of conducting politics, science, literature, the economy, foreign affairs, love affairs, plumbing, and chess. This one orthodoxy is determined by the Marxist-Leninist world view which, in its turn, is luminously clear to the leaders who happen at the moment to be maintaining themselves at the top of the hierarchy. At all subordinate levels, the only duty is to conform, and the regime continues—infallible, intolerant, and intolerable.

HE WHO GETS KICKED

THERE is nothing new, of course, about compulsory conformity. It has long, frighteningly long, antecedents. Tribal society and archaic civilization and the great Asian cultures—in other words, the overwhelming mass of mankind in time and space—have also believed in a fixed social order, guided by those in authority which individual men and women are expected not to criticize but to accept. Since the beginning of time governments have been mainly engaged in kicking people around. The astonishing achievement in modern times in the Western world is the idea that the citizen should do the kicking.

So when a large segment of our fellow citizens in this empirical nation develop a strong distrust of criticism, they are reverting to one of humanity's oldest and most deeply rooted instincts. They are abandoning an attitude of mind which one society and one only has managed to evolve—our own free society. And they are suppressing an attitude toward authority and its exercise which has been as characteristically American as baseball.

Here in the West our traditional attitude is that criticism is neither a menace nor an aberration. It is an essential principle of social development. The reason for this is, I suppose, that no civilization has ever had so haunting a sense of an ultimate order of goodness and rationality which can be known and achieved. We even take the goal of a perfect society seriously. Our attitude toward criticism springs, I believe, from our unique belief in man. We believe that in every human being is implanted reason and the capacity to search for and recognize the truth.

But we also believe that this divine spark, this godlike reason, is in tough competition with other needs and drives in the human psyche, including the drive for power. Everyone has it in him to reach for truth and discover it. Similarly, everyone has it in him to distort truth and subject it to his own often dubious ends. The gifts are delivered impartially. Governors and governed are equally equipped and equally vulnerable—the only difference being that the temptations to misuse power are greater for those in positions of power, and likewise their obligations not to mislead their sovereign, the people, are also greater.

How, then, in the face of all these risks and hazards, can truth be advanced and a better order of things achieved? Is not the answer to refuse no man his part in the search and to believe that, if the search is honest, out of all the questioning and searching, the fuller, better answer will emerge? "Great is the truth and will prevail!"—provided no arbitrary limits are set to the probings and searchings of the human mind. That such a process implies criticism is obvious. Criticism is simply the method by which existing ideas and institutions are submitted to the test of principles, ideas, ideals, and possibilities. Criticism, in its fairest and most honest form, is the attempt to test whether what is, might not be better.

This sense of man's balanced greatness and fallibility in the search for truth has made ours a profoundly questing civilization. The Greeks gave us the Promethean myth: of man challenging not impiously but rationally the eternal gods. They laid the foundations of all ordered inquiry in the Socratic method, the method of advancing

upon truth by constant critical questioning and by the rejection of the irrational and illogical as the inquiry proceeds. The Jews gave us the extraordinary figure of Job who, virtually alone of all the figures of antique religion, insisted upon questioning "God's ways with man." Our modern world found its voice in Goethe's Faust, to whom no social order was finally satisfying. And it has always seemed to me singularly appropriate that one of the great symbolic occurrences in our American political history was that honest, fierce, and dignified exchange of criticism known as the Lincoln-Douglas debates in my home state of Illinois.

WHAT MAKES CRITICISM "CONSTRUCTIVE"

THE tradition of critical inquiry and discussion informs our entire civilization. Our scientific progress is based upon a final belief in rational order, coupled with trial and error in establishing that order. At its finest, our religious tolerance is based not on a denial of a spiritual order, but upon the belief that man's dignity demands that he should make his own search—and find, through freedom to know and to see, the truth which he has it in him to find. And in the field to which fate seems particularly to have assigned me—the field of politics—I claim that our political institutions reflect, profoundly and dynamically, the critical view of life. As Walter Bagehot said: "It was government by discussion that broke the bond of ages and set free the originality of mankind."

We believe that it is better to discuss a question even without settling it than to settle a question without discussing it. And to conduct the discussion the party system has sprung up, based upon the premise that no one political organization has a monopoly of truth and reason. (The totalitarian principle is the exact opposite —that all truth lies in the single party.) The fact that no one planned the party system—that it arose both in Britain and America spontaneously from the conflict of ideas, not of men—suggests how natural an expression it is of fundamental attitudes in the Western mind. The party in power, not possessing infallibly all the answers and being exposed, moreover, to the pressing temptations of power, requires the constant check of critical opposition. Equally, the opposition, mindful that it must be able in due season to take over government, should shun irresponsible criticism.

In this manner, the critical tension between the parties tends to keep both closer to the line of responsibility and honest policy-making. The critical dialogue between them is the means of enlightenment to both. The administration in power and the opposition alike are essential to the healthy functioning of the political system. In no other society has the problem of power been so ambitiously, yet subtly, resolved. Self-criticism and self-examination are the indispensable—and not-so-secret—weapons of democracy.

But in thus asserting the role of criticism in our public life, I have to make one reservation. The function of criticism as the means of defining virtue and advancing the general welfare can be realized only if its purpose is honest. Scientific research contributes nothing to the advancement of learning if a scientist knowingly falsifies his findings to advance his career or to satisfy "the Party line." Religious freedom is weakened by prophetic frauds and cheap exploiters of emotionalism. Above all, in politics, criticism divorced from honest and constructive purpose ceases to be a proper instrument of democracy. Criticism, as an instrument not of inquiry and reform, but of power, quickly degenerates into the techniques of deceit and smear.

The fact that the totalitarians have made the most blatant use of such techniques should not blind us to the fact that their malevolent appearance is not unknown among the democracies. When, for example, in the elections of 1951 some British Labor party candidates cried that Churchill was a warmonger, they were using not criticism but mud to maintain themselves in office. Yet that was good clean fun compared to the long campaign in this country of some Republicans to discredit the intelligence, the honesty, even the loyalty, of Democratic leaders in order to capture or keep public office. But such criticism, which is calculated to obscure facts and drown reason in a tide of passion, bears no relationship to legitimate criticism which appeals to facts and reason. It debases the democratic process.

This matter goes deeper than the feuds of parties or the day-to-day tactics of political campaigning. If criticism is distorted into calumny, mud-slinging, and doubletalk—or if at the other extreme criticism is silenced in a reverential hush —it is not simply this or that party or this or that political figure that must suffer. It is the Republic itself.

No one can suppose that America, in spite of its great achievements and visible well-being, has yet reached the Beatific Vision. No one can suppose the system so perfect that, as a Duke of

Cambridge once remarked, "any change in whatever direction for whatever reason is strongly to be deprecated." Since there *is* constant need for change and constant room for improvement, since there is scope for better and wider horizons in our daily life, I would ask by what other mechanism they can be achieved if the spirit of constructive criticism is stifled or abused.

That "a nation without means of reform is without means of survival" is as true today as it was in the time of Burke; yet no reforms have ever been accomplished in free society without full, searching, and vigorous criticism.

At all times, such criticism has been resented. At all times, the attempt has been made to discount it by attacking and vilifying the motives of the critics. But democracy has never been saved either by smears or silence. Today, when mass literacy, mass communication, and growing concentration of ownership of press and radio make conformity the easy option, it is all the more imperative to enliven the attitude of questioning, based upon honest concern for the well-being of the Republic, and upon respect for the honesty of other people's critical approach.

For, paradoxical though it may seem, free criticism can flourish only in a society where mutual trust is strong. The spirit of criticism shrivels when citizens distrust their neighbors and the give and take of confidence gives place to the silence of suspicion. The neighborliness, the charity, the very goodness of a society can best be measured by the freedom with which men may honestly speak their minds. Criticism is therefore not only an instrument of free society. It is its symbol and hallmark as well.

Distributed by:

NATIONAL STEVENSON FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

69 West Washington Street

Chicago 2, Illinois

July 18, 1958

Mr. Victor K. Ray, Editor
Union Labor Bulletin
Donaghey Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Ray:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the most recent issue of our publication, New South, and a special issue on Negro voting.

We would like very much to receive the Union Labor Bulletin on an exchange basis.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

July 18, 1958

Mrs. W. C. Kendrick, Editor
The Journal of Labor
Room 100
Atlanta Labor Temple
345 Washington Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Kendrick:

Here is a copy of the most recent issue of our publication, New South, and a special issue on Negro voting.

I look forward to receiving The Journal of Labor on an exchange basis.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

ESTABLISHED 1869

The Chattanooga Times

DAILY AND SUNDAY

July 18, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you very much for the background material on segregation. I am sure that it will prove most useful.

Although the Southern Bureau of The New York Times has been situated here in the past, it has been moved to Atlanta. My address there is: The New York Times, Room 542, Atlanta Journal-Constitution Building, 10 Forsythe Street.

Sincerely yours,

Claude F. Sitton

Claude F. Sitton

VIA AIR MAIL

July 24, 1958

Miss Anne Perkins
Religious Book Department
Harper & Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Perkins:

Thank you for your letter concerning the impending publication of Martin Luther King's book. I shall be very happy to have either galley proofs or an advance copy of the book and will read it with interest. Certainly we will help in any way we can to encourage a wide readership in the South. We can give it some notice in our monthly publication, and can urge our associated state councils on human relations to make it known to their members and friends. In addition, I will be glad to suggest the names of a few strategic persons in the South who might profitably be sent advance copies.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

HARPER & BROTHERS

PUBLISHERS SINCE 1817

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N.Y.

July 18, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

On Sept. 17 Harpers will publish Martin Luther King's STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM. From advance reviews warm praise from Southern newspaper editors and Church leaders have been heaped upon the book. It is our hope that the book be placed before every reader of conscience in America.

To this end we need your help. We hoped that you might be able to give us some ideas about promoting the book, especially in your area. Your name was given to us at the suggestion of Dr. Oscar Lee of the National Council of Churches.

Unfortunately, as yet we do not have many extra copies of galley proofs, but we hope to send one to you. Perhaps later, we could send a few copies of the book to key leaders you designate.

I hope you will help us.

Yours sincerely,

Anne Perkins

Anne Perkins
Religious Book Dept.

CABLE ADDRESS : HARPSAM • TELEPHONE : MURRAY HILL 3-1900

Northern Virginia Sun

An Independent Daily Newspaper

PHILIP M. STERN
EDITOR

July 24, 1958

3409 WILSON BOULEVARD
ARLINGTON 1, VIRGINIA
JACKSON 4-3000

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Hal:

In my earlier correspondence with you, I believe I mentioned my interest in receiving Southern School News. Can you enter a subscription for me, and bill me?

John Alexander has been here to see me and has mentioned an article in a recent edition of Southern School News ~~about~~ by a man named Albright from the University of Kentucky on the effect of intergration on school standards. I wonder if you are familiar with that article, and whether you could send me a copy.

Best regards,

Phil

Philip M. Stern

PMS/ba

July 29, 1958

Mr. Philip M. Stern, Editor
NORTH VIRGINIA SUN
3409 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington 1, Virginia

Dear Phil:

I have written Southern School News asking them to enter a subscription in your name and bill you for it.

I'm pleased that you and John Alexander got together. Enclosed is the June issue of SSN. The article by Albright, which John mentioned, appears on page one.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
encl. June issue Southern School News.

July 29, 1958

Mr. James S. Best
Harper & Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Best:

As I wrote one of your colleagues the other day, I shall be very happy to have an advance copy of Dr. King's forthcoming book. We plan to call the book to the attention of those on our mailing list through our publication, New South and through other organizational channels.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

HARPER & BROTHERS

PUBLISHERS SINCE 1817

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N.Y.

July 24, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

No doubt you have been hearing about the forthcoming book by Martin Luther King, Jr., STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM: The Montgomery Story.

I have been talking with Mr. C. Oscar Lee and he suggests your name as one who may be able to give us help with this title.

In fact, I should like our Southern representative to talk to you the next time he is in Atlanta which, unfortunately, will probably not be until the book is to be printed on September 22.

Meanwhile I shall try to get either a bound set of galley proofs or a finished book to you in the next few weeks. I should think that many of the members of your organization would be eager to see the book and to lend their support. I will be open to any suggestion you may have as to how we may distribute the book to them.

Sincerely,

James S. Best

James S. Best

JSB/eaj

CABLE ADDRESS : HARPSAM • TELEPHONE : MURRAY HILL 3-1900

July 25, 1958

Miss Patricia Carbine
Department Editor
LOOK Magazine
488 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Carbine:

In July of last year the Council forwarded to you negatives and contact prints of some shots Jay Leviton took of our Executive Committee and staff meeting. There are now occasions when it would be convenient to have these if you have no further use for them.

If there remains a possibility that you will have need of them, of if turning them up proves to be a matter of difficulty, please ignore this request. If however, they can be returned without difficulty we would be grateful if you could do so at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/hs

July 29, 1958

Southern School News
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Gentlemen:

Mr. Philip M. Stern, editor of the Northern Virginia Sun (3409 Wilson Boulevard, Arlington 1, Virginia) has expressed interest in getting Southern School News. Please enter a subscription in his name and bill him at the Arlington address just given.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

July 29, 1958

Mr. Harry W. Ernst
Charleston Gazette
Charleston, West Virginia

Dear Mr. Ernst:

We wish to reprint your excellent article, "Press Meets Prejudice With Humor, Enlightened Coverage, and Backbone," in the July issue of Quill magazine. If we secure permission, the article will be reprinted in an early issue of New South, a copy of which is enclosed. We are also writing Quill for their permission.

We appreciate your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lec
Enclosure: New South, October 1957

October issue of New South (1957)

July 29, 1958

Mr. Charles C. Clayton, Editor
The Quill
35 East Wacker Drive
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. Clayton:

We would like your permission to reprint the article, "Press Meets Prejudice With Humor, Enlightened Coverage, and Backbone" by Harry W. Ernst, in the July issue of Quill. We are also writing Mr. Ernst for his permission.

Enclosed is a copy of our magazine, New South, in which the article will be reprinted should you and Mr. Ernst grant us permission.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

HARPER & BROTHERS

PUBLISHERS SINCE 1817

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N.Y.

August 1, 1958

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your letters on King's book. We should have review copies within ten days, and the minute we do, you will be mailed one.

Any promotion youcare to give it in New South would be just fine. And if there are any names you would like to submit now to receive a few complimentary copies, I will add them to the list. They should be people, like yourself, who would be interested in seeing the book had a wide reading through their groups.

Sincerely,

Anne Perkins

Anne Perkins

CABLE ADDRESS : HARPSAM • TELEPHONE : MURRAY HILL 3-1900

Will Campbell
Malcolm Calhoun
John Marion
A. C. Miller
Scott Bell
(Send Sou. Directory w/ marked names?) Mark Lutz

— worthwhile to send back to Dabbs —

August 5, 1958

Mr. Harry W. Ernst
The Charleston Gazette
Charleston 30, West Virginia

Dear Mr. Ernst:

Thank you for your letter and permission to reprint your Quill article. I have also received a letter from Mr. Charles C. Clayton with Quill's permission.

Pursuant to your request, I have put you on our mailing list for our monthly publication and for special reports we occasionally put together.

I of course, will send you some copies of the issue in which your article appears.

Again thanks.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

The Charleston Gazette
The State Newspaper
Charleston 30, W.Va.

July 31, 1958

Mr. John Constable,
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Constable:

I'm flattered. Thanks for the kind words about my Quill article.

You're welcome to reprint it and I hope the message influences some editors. Please send me several copies of the issue it appears in.

And I also would like to hear some more about the Council's activities. Please put me on your mailing list.

Sincerely yours,

Harry W. Ernst

Harry W. Ernst

August 5, 1958

Mr. Charles C. Clayton, Editor
The Quill
35 East Wacker Drive
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. Clayton:

Thank you for your letter and permission to reprint Harry Ernst's article from Quill. We of course, will credit Quill as the original source, and I shall send you several copies of the magazine.

I have taken the liberty of putting you on our mailing list for our publication and special reports.

Again thanks.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

THE
QUILL
A Magazine For Journalists

35 EAST WACKER DRIVE
CHICAGO 1
PUBLISHING OFFICES
•
ADDRESS REPLY TO
CHARLES C. CLAYTON
EDITOR
805 Taylor Drive
Carbondale, Illinois

August 3, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Constable:

I am glad you liked Harry W. Ernst's article in the July Quill. I have had a number of favorable comments on it.

I am glad to give you permission to reprint the article. If possible it is nice to have the Quill be credited for it.

Sincerely,

Chas. C. Clayton

Charles C. Clayton
Editor

August 8, 1958

Mr. John Fischer, Editor
Harper's Magazine
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Fischer:

Enclosed is a colorful exchange of correspondence between the Rev. John B. Morris of Dillon, S. C., and Federal District Judge George Bell Timmerman, Sr. As you doubtless know, the judge is the father of the outgoing governor of South Carolina and has jurisdiction over the Clarendon County school case.

Morris thought, correctly in my opinion, that the correspondence sheds interesting light on the psychology of a Southern Federal judge whose loyalty to race prejudice overrides all else. Accordingly, Morris wrote Timmerman asking if he would object to the correspondence being made public. Timmerman wrote in reply, "I have not the slightest objection to anyone publishing the complete exchange of letters between us in the chronological order in which it occurred, commencing with your letter to me under date October 22, 1957, and ending with my letter to you of January 21, 1958, which last letter was in reply to your letter of January 17, 1958."

Morris subsequently discussed publication with the Washington Post and Times-Herald. Finally, the Post reluctantly concluded that the space requirements were prohibitive. Morris has asked me to explore other possibilities.

Despite the length and repetitiveness of the letters, I thought you might be interested. The Lemley decision in Arkansas put the attitudes of Southern judges in the lime-light, and other rulings seem

to be contributing to this interest. Moreover, the correspondence has - at least for me - a kind of grisly fascination.

I shall be looking forward to your reaction to this admittedly off-beat suggestion. Meanwhile, I'm sending you a copy of the booklet South Carolinians Speak so that you can see what all the shooting was about.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
encl. Morris-Timmerman correspondence

August 14, 1958

Miss Anne Perkins
Harper & Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Perkins:

Mr. Fleming, who is away from the office, has asked me to relay the following information in response to your letter of August 1.

Enclosed is a directory of "Organizations and Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South." Suitable and worthwhile promotion for Mr. King's book would probably develop from any of the organizations and persons listed therein. We have checked the names of several persons who would be especially appropriate for your purpose.

In addition, you might like to send a copy to Mr. James M. Dabbs, president of the Southern Regional Council and author of the forthcoming book, The Southern Heritage. His address: Rip Raps Plantation, Mayesville, South Carolina.

If we can be of further help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Directory)

LOOK

COWLES MAGAZINES INC. *Look Building, 488 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y., MURRAY HILL 8-0300*

August 19, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your letter arrived while I was vacationing and I have just now caught up with the editor who now handles LOOK APPLAUDS. His name, incidentally, is Joseph Morshauser so you may have it for your file.

The Applauds feature has unfortunately been forced out of many, many of our current issues because of space problems. As a result, the items that have been approved by the Editorial Board, such as the SRC, are piling up in a terrific jam.

Since this is the case, I am sending you the contacts and negatives which you forwarded last year. You may be sure that when Mr. Morschauser is able to schedule your organization, he shall then be in touch with you to "borrow" the pictures and negatives -- so be sure to hold on to them.

Sincerely yours,

Pat Carbine

Pat Carbine,
Department Editor

P.S. Thanks very much for your patience and cooperation.
PC

DAGENS NYHETER

SWEDEN'S LARGEST DAILY NEWSPAPER

TELEPHONE: 22 40 20 | HEAD OFFICE: STOCKHOLM - SWEDEN | CABLE ADDRESS: DAGSNYHETER

Aug.25th, 1958

STOCKHOLM

Dear Marge and John,

I am so depressed of the last development in Little Rock. First I thought it was a way for the moderates to force Washington - Mr Eisenhower och Mr Rogers - to make up their minds, telling them that 1961 is their main interest (the election) while the integration is the schoolboard's. I am not quite sure now, in spite of Harry S. Ashmore's article in Harper's Magazine. What is happening? I should be very thankful for a short guidance in the facts behind the actual events. It there are any facts behind.... I am for the moment occupied in writing a summary of the interresting observations of Kenneth B. Clark in your June New South as one side of the situation (it is a pity that the sea mail takes a long time to reach Stockholm.).

You must have wondered of my articles from my visit. I made them in my spare time and it took time - I had so much to read and study before to make no mistakes -and the editor of my paper, professor Herbert Tingsten, very good leader writer, was all of sudden himself in the South. We found that we had written of the same things and I was allowed to publish my articels in a magazine -no one wanted them spoiled of this silly - but in fact good- situation of two members of the same paper describing Little Rock. I saved my writings to an actual situation - that happened in June - shorted a little and had them published in a small but highly respected Weekly of

a workers' union, "Abbetaren". I have been too busy this summer to make a translation but I hope you can find someone reading it for you as the elderly nice lady-librarian at Nashville University, Medical Departement, who I know know Swedish a little, a friend to Wallace Westfeldt's wife as far as I understand.

I hope to hear from you and am sure that you are working hard in "the underground" as I had said in my articles. If you have more material about your work and the Little Rock situation, I would be very glad to have it. I mean it is important to know more of the integration question also here in Sweden than the "official" new agencies and my paper's New York correspondent can give. I am interested in learning more as you understand.

Hope you have had s o m e time for swimming and relaxing this summer. I will have holiday from the middle of September, not quite sure where I am going, maybee to Southern Europe as Italy where there still is warm and nice.

Love from Birgitta

My greetings to John Hope II, Bruce and the Westfeltds if you meet them. And to your nice working group at Auburn Avenue.

P.S. Can you do me a favour? I promised Mr Shoemaker to send him my writings but it is easier to send all in the same envelop. Can you give them or send them to him , I would be thankful.

August 25, 1958

Miss Beryl D. Kneen
Religious News Editor
Northern Virginia Sun
3409 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Miss Kneen:

Enclosed is a copy of the pamphlet in which I think you are interested.

It was published by the Anti-Defamation League. Additional copies may be secured from ADL, or from us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 ("The South Speaks Out for Law and Order...")

Northern Virginia Sun

An Independent Daily Newspaper

JACKSON 4-3000

3409 WILSON BOULEVARD
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA

August 19,1958

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have been referred to you by the National Civil Liberties Clearing House in my search for a pamphlet referred to recently in an editorial from a Philadelphia newspaper.

The pamphlet is without title, but is referred to as being published by seven church-associated organizations ,including the National Council of Churches of Christ", and is said to contain 46 quotations on racial affairs,from southern and border newspapers. We have queried the National Council, the Civil Liberties Union, the Conference of Christians and Jews and other groups who might give us a clue, but no one knows of the pamphlet.

The quotes in the editorial give moderate views from Macon News, Macon, Ga.; Moultrie Observer, Moultrie, Ga.Lee County Bulletin, Auburn, Ala.; The State, Columbia, S.C.; the Anniston Star, Anniston, Ala, and the Delta Democrat-Times, Delta, Miss.

We would like to get hold of the whole pamphlet, but no one we have tried knows where it was published.

If you can supply us with it, or give us any clew about its source, we would appreciate it.

The National Council of Churches and other groups I have queried would like very much to see it also.

Sincerely,

Beryl D. Kneen

(Beryl D.Kneen)
Religious News Editor

August 26, 1958

Circulation Department
Capital Times
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Sirs:

Please send us the issues of your newspaper which contain the series on the South by Leroy Gore. The third of this series appeared on July 1, 1958.

Please bill the Southern Regional Council for any cost involved.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lec

August 26, 1958

Mr. Sam Taylor
Journal of Labor
Room 100, Atlanta Labor Temple
345 Washington Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Taylor:

My sincere apologies for not being in touch with you earlier regarding a congratulatory ad in the Journal of Labor. As the person chiefly in touch with the labor movement for the Southern Regional Council, your request was referred to me.

We do not have a policy of placing advertising even of this worthy congratulatory sort. You can understand the practical implications alone for an organization which works in twelve states and is related to many organizations. We exchange, for instance, with approximately fifty labor papers.

My travel schedule and having placed the memo on your request in too secure a place have occasioned this delay. For this I am deeply sorry.

I do want to extend congratulations to the Journal of Labor for its long service to the Atlanta area labor movement, and to wish it the best in its continued good works.

I look forward to receiving the Journal in exchange for our publication, New South.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

August 27, 1958

Mr. Arthur Riordan, Managing Editor
IUE, AFL-CIO NEWS
1126 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Brother Riordan:

By some accident in the mailing process I not only received my own copy of the August 18th IUE NEWS but also those of Cary Haigler and Charles Gillman. I noticed that their addresses were incorrect and I thought you might like to have their current addresses. They are as follows:

Carey E. Haigler, Director
Region #5, AFL-CIO
1106 Independence Building
Charlotte 2, North Carolina

Charles H. Gillman, Director
Region #6, AFL-CIO
1026 Hurt Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

I thought you would not mind my intervening in this process since I have some appreciation of the difficulties in maintaining a mailing list and since I feel that both of these men should be receiving your paper (which of course they may be doing).

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

(Dictated by Mr. Via but signed in his absence.)

EFV:ls

September 10, 1958

Mr. C. Edmund Fisher, Editor
The Advance
15 Union Square
New York, New York

Dear Edmund Fisher:

It was good to see the digest of the ten year report of the Hillman Foundation (Advance, 7/15/58). The work of the Foundation is a credit to Hillman's memory and to the Amalgamated.

We are appreciative of the mention given to the Southern Regional Council. A typographical error did appear which I felt should be called to your attention in the event of any comment from other sources. The total contributed to SRC was $7,200 (rounded to $7,500 in the Foundation's narrative account) and not $75,000.

It's good to get the Advance and I trust that you are now receiving our New South regularly.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

September 10, 1958

Mr. Bob Senser, Editor
WORK
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Bob:

First, my sympathy and best wishes in the matter of your back. Secondly, you can imagine that I was interested to read on the same day the enclosed clips; one from you and the other from the editor of the Woodworker. Could it be that there is some occupational hazard which the Guild should take under advisement?

Thanks again for your good efforts and for your really helpful paper. I am enclosing for your information three items which may be of interest: a list of the Board members of the Southern Regional Council, an editorial from the Richmond Times-Dispatch, and a recent summary of the State-Federal conflict in Virginia. The charges which the editorial answers are a real harrassment even though they constitute only a small part of the problem which we are up against. It is rare that irresponsible attacks can receive such a clear-cut answer.

My continued best wishes to you from down here.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
encls:

September 16, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Sweet, Managing Editor
The Catering Industry Employee
525 Walnut Street
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Mr. Sweet:

I have read the latest issue of The Catering Industry Employee with great interest and would like to receive this magazine regularly. I am enclosing the September issue of our monthly publication, New South, which I trust you will be interested in receiving on an exchange basis.

I am also enclosing two other pieces of material which will perhaps be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
encls. New South
Congressional Record
State vs Federal Authority in Virginia

WORK

Published by the Catholic Council on Working Life

21 W. SUPERIOR ST. • CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS • DElaware 7-0143

September 18, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Thanks for your words of sympathy. All is well, thanks to a couple of good doctors.

I had forgotten that you are now in Atlanta. It would be enlivening to have a bull session with you on the direction of the South today. If you have any thoughts to get off your chest on this please don't hesitate to write us a letter. You might look for an article which will appear in the next issue - it is about a New Orleans priest who is quite outspoken. If that stirs up any reaction in you I hope you will pass it along to us.

Thanks very much for your material. I generally find the Council's publications very interesting.

Incidentally, I met a colleague of yours, a Mr. Routh, at the Catholic Interracial Conference here. He was on the program and did a mighty good job.

Fraternally yours,

Bob S.

Bob Senser

572

September 23, 1958

U. S. News & World Report
United States News Publishing Corp.
2300 N Street N.W.
Washington 7, D. C.

Gentlemen:

We would like to subscribe to "U. S. News & World Report" for one year.

Enclosed please find our check for $6.00.

Very truly yours,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/bcc
Encl.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

(return, please)

HCF, EFV, PA, JC

Sept 29, 1958

I called (collect - PA) Mr. Sweet regarding his proposal to Shishkin and suggested the idea had merit but that the percentage of Negroes was not the only - indeed not the most important criterion in deciding how to move - where or when.

I out-lined the Orr plan to him and suggested that something like it might be put into effect in certain communities this first year, others the next and so on.

over

Rather than a one dimensional — % of Negroes — measuring stick I suggest a more complex one based on a community profile with at least the following items in the index:

1. Degree of urbanization
2. Degree of industrialization (unionized)
3. Local History of Race Relations
4. Presence of Intergroup Relating Agencies
5. Editorial position of Newspaper
6. Percentage of Negroes in Population.

Sweet will redraft letter to Shishkin based on this and will send copy to Will Campbell and SRC

Catering Industry Employee

Official Journal of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union (AFL)

ED. S. MILLER, General President JACK WEINBERGER, General Secretary-Treasurer

MANAGING EDITOR
FREDERICK B. SWEET

Room 1021 • 525 Walnut Street • Cincinnati 2, Ohio • PArkway 8164-5

September 25, 1958

Dr Frederick B Routh
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr Routh,

Occasionally a rank-and-file citizen has an idea which could, cast out in the right direction, prove fruitful in approaching large but troublesome problems. I've had a thought which might fall in this class of ideas. It is embodied in the attached draft of a letter to Boris Shishkin of AFL-CIO's Department of Civil Rights.

The letter has not yet been sent Shishkin. Before doing so I decided to try the idea out with Marshal Bragdon of our Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee. He's a knowledgeable person in this field of intergroup relations, and I thought his reactions might be helpful. His reaction: the idea has merit, but it ought to be submitted to the experienced judgment of the Messrs. Routh & Fleming at Atlanta. Hence this letter.

Among my doubts & reservations:

This idea seems so obvious an approach that it may have been considered and rejected in responsible quarters. It may, in short, have no merit at all.

Is it asking too much to employ the diversity characteristic of U. S. life in an approach to school integration, enlisting Federal, state and local agencies of government, as well as non-governmental agencies, in a prepared plan of attack on this explosive issue? I may say that my experience tells me that the broader the social surface used to bear the weight of social change, the firmer the foundation for the new structure.

Would it tend to vitiate an otherwise useful proposal on this subject to have it initiated by AFL-CIO? I'm inclined to think so, and that another, more readily acceptable group, should bell this cat. Perhaps the National Council of Churches? The Southern Regional Council itself? Some prominent citizen of Florida?

Since this idea is the product of a Yankee mind, and since it requires first of all acceptance if it has merit, perhaps it ought to be simply laid in your lap to be used in any way that promises nourishment and flowering.

Mr. Bragdon has expressed the thought, perhaps even a hope, that you and Mr. Fleming will find this interesting enough as a suggestion to be willing to discuss it by telephone on Monday. If so, I shall be at my desk Monday afternoon after 2 o'clock EDT should you wish to call me collect. Time is, I suppose, of the essence in view of the succession of court orders, school closings and other things making for tensions here and there.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Sweet

Frederick B. Sweet

Catering Industry Employee

Official Journal of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union (AFL-CIO)

ED. S. MILLER, General President JACK WEINBERGER, General Secretary-Treasurer

MANAGING EDITOR & DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS FREDERICK B. SWEET

Room 1021 • 525 Walnut Street • Cincinnati 2, Ohio • PArkway 1-8164 or 1-8166

NEW PHONE NUMBERS
MA. 1-0300, 1-0303-4

September 25, 1958

Mr. Boris Shishkin, Director
Civil Rights Dept.
AFL-CIO
815 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Boris:

Some time ago -- about two years, I guess -- I sent you a set of maps of the southern states. These maps had their counties colored green, yellow and red. The green counties, as I recall, were those with Negro populations of 0 to 9.9 percent; the yellow from 10 to 29.9 percent, the red over 30 percent. Reason for sending you the maps was that I thought the figures might prove a useful guide to Livingston's shop in planning the organization of Dixie with "all deliberate speed" -- working from green to red areas in order to minimize local hostility, give unionism a chance to prove itself under optimum ethnic conditions before moving into the tougher territory.

It occurs to me, now that Governor Collins has publicly asked for a Federal-state approach on the school tangle, that AFL-CIO might lay up mitzvahs for itself by proposing -- perhaps to Collins directly -- the following:

1) That Florida's State Dept. of Education invite the U.S. Dept. of Justice and the Dept. of Health-Education-Welfare, to join them in working out a plan employing the principle expressed by those maps.

2) That the Dept. of Justice and its courts agree that a state plan, begun at once in counties of least Negro population, and building from year to year to counties with greater Negro population, be accepted as meeting the requirement of "all deliberate speed."

3) That the whole plan be projected as taking no more than five years to effect, on some such basis as this: First year, counties with 0 to 5 percent; second year, counties with 5 to 15 percent; third year, counties with 15 to 30 percent; fourth year counties with 30 to 50 percent; fifth year, the remaining counties.

4) That as part of the "contract" between state and Federal government, the U. S. Dept. of H-E-W's Office of Education will assist state and county systems in recruiting teachers and school administrators qualified by experience and temperament to help

effect the integration change smoothly and with a minimum of friction.

5) That as an additional part of this "contract" the U.S. will help plan, in advance of integration in each county, a community orientation plan involving churches, civic groups, PTAs, unions, farm groups, youth groups, etc.

6) That, on their part, the state government undertake to assist in effecting this change by using its influence to eliminate causes of friction and separateness in the daily customs of its communities -- Jim Crow busses, water fountains, rest rooms, waiting rooms, elevators, theatre seating, football games etc. etc. in order to help remove the little things which exacerbate Negro feelings and foster the sense of superiority among white citizens.

If this makes any sense at all, it might be effective for your Civil Rights Dept. quietly to call together a group of people representing: the National Council of Churches, the Catholic Social Welfare Conference, ~~American Jewish Committee~~, the United Chests & Councils of America, General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Education Association, Southern Regional Council to lay before them such a proposal and to invite their partnership in such a project.

If the courts would accept such a plan, and if Collins is sincere, then he could certainly score with such an approach in terms of his own national reputation as a "moderate" in this matter, a consideration which will surely not be lost on the Governor.

While this suggestion will be opposed by all who say "Never!" and will be attacked by all who say "Now!", it strikes me as a practical, reasonable solution to a grave problem which -- at present rates of progress -- will take many more than five years to solve.

William Lloyd Garrison once said of those who counselled caution and a go-slow approach to Abolition: "Gradualism in theory is perpetuity in practice." I'm sure the court did not intend its "all deliberate speed" doctrine to be interpreted in that manner. It seems to me the proposal here is gradual enough to meet "moderate" requirements, yet is a practical answer for those who fear perpetuity ~~for~~ OF the present system.

Fraternally,

Frederick B. Sweet

FBS:jb

P.S. I'd like your permission to circulate copies of this letter to a dozen other friends.

NAT'L COMM REL ADVISORY COUNCIL

Bragdon suggestion

Herbert Fleming, Ex Dir.

October 1, 1958

Mr. Harry W. Ernst
Charleston Gazette
Charleston, West Virginia

Dear Mr. Ernst:

Thought you might be interested in an editorial from a newspaper in the other Charleston concerning your ~~editorial~~ article we reprinted. This is not the first time we have had a lot of sour grapes from the News and Courier.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

October 3, 1958

Circulation Department
Chicago Daily News
400 West Madison Street
Chicago 6, Illinois

Dear Sirs:

We understand your newspaper is running a series of articles by Samuel Lubell. The third of these articles appeared on October 1. We would like to obtain a copy of the papers in which each of these articles appeared.

Please bill us for any cost.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Air Mail

October 9, 1958

Mr. Harry W. Ernst
The Charleston Gazette
Charleston, West Virginia

Dear Mr. Ernst:

Here is a copy of your letter printed in the News and Courier. Well done!

Thanks for the reference to New South. We do appreciate it and are surprised that Mr. Waring didn't reply more vociferously to your suggestion.

Again thanks.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

The Charleston Gazette
The State Newspaper
Charleston, W. Va.

October 4, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thanks for the copy of The News and Courier editorial. Someone already had sent the office one, so I wrote Mr. Waring a letter-to-the-editor protesting his editorial's distortion of my article.

If it ever appears, would you please send me a copy?

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Harry W. Ernst

Harry W. Ernst

October 17, 1958

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson
Daytona Beach Morning Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Herb:

I am embarrassed that I did not send the note I wrote you thanking you for the courtesies extended me on my last visit to Daytona Beach. Inadvertently, it got shoved in the desk drawer and only came to the surface recently. Anyhow, and belatedly, my thanks for a pleasant evening.

I will be delighted to have dinner with you on the night of the 10th. Harold, unfortunately, has previous engagements on both the 10th and 11th. One thing though, I insist that you and Liliane be my guests.

We look forward to seeing you both.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Daytona Beach Evening News
DAYTONA BEACH MORNING JOURNAL
The Sunday News-Journal

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

Oct. 7, 1958

Dear Harold,

Would you be good enough to reserve a twin bedded room for Liliane and me at the Piedmont the night of Nov. 10? Probably stay three nights. Also, will you and your wife and Fred Routh be available to be our guests at dinner on the night of the 11th? You pick the place.

As ever,

Herbert

Herbert M. Davidson/eb

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Res- Piedmont Hotel - 10th & 11th

VIA AIR MAIL

October 24, 1958

Mr. K. M. Chrysler
U. S. News and World Report
2300 "N" Street, N. W.
Washington 7, D. C.

Dear Mr. Chrysler:

A check of our files reveals very little in the way of county-by-county population figures since the 1950 Census. Enclosed are published between-census estimates for Georgia, Arkansas, and Kentucky (which is probably not in your range of interest). As you will see, the Arkansas figures are for age 21 and over only.

I take it you are planning to compute the change from rural to urban by totaling the county figures in each category and comparing with the comparable totals for 1950.

Sorry we can't be of more help.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

(see additional ~~—~~ materials sent over)

Additional enclosures sent to Mr. Chrysler
October 27, 1958

Population Figures (Estimates):

Alabama (mid-year, 1957)	
Arkansas (1956) From:	Ark. Business Bulletin, Feb. 1957
Florida - July 1, 1956	From; Fla. State Board of Health Board of Vital Statistics
Louisiana - 1957 From:	La. State Dept. of Health, Div. of Public Health Statistics
Georgia - July 1, 1957	
Virginia - July 1, 1956	
Tennessee - July 1, 1957	
N. C. - July 1, 1957	

October 29, 1958

Mr. Eric Larrabee
Executive Editor
American Heritage
551 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Eric:

Delighted to have word of you on your new stationery. From what I know of American Heritage and you, the new position sounds exactly right.

I am long overdue for a meeting with your associate Bob Reynolds. It seems to me that we have been corresponding about such a get-together for a year or more. The fact that you two are in the same bailiwick will give me an added incentive when I am next in New York.

I can't claim that American heritage is flourishing down here just now, but it does constitute the hope of a fair number of dissenters like me. So do make an effort to include Atlanta in your travels. Jane and I will maintain a hopeful expentancy.

All the best to you and

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AMERICAN HERITAGE

551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

October 8, 1958

Dear Hal,

Don't be startled -- you couldn't be more surprised than I am, but twelve years is a long time, and here we are.

My new associate Bob Reynolds has apparently been in touch with you, over a project of his on Catholic policies in the South. I can aver he is an agreeable fellow and add his hopes of seeing you sometime to mine.

We had a nice long four weeks between jobs, and spent it in California. Perhaps there will be more chances to get around, from here, and if you and your wife don't come up more often we'll have to come see you.

Best to you both,

Eric

Eric Larrabee
Executive Editor

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

October 31, 1958

Mr. Donald Oberdorfer
Washington Office - Charlotte Observer
1286 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Don:

Thanks for sending me your series on Norfolk. This is good stuff and is in fact the kind of thing our fellow Atlantians ought to be considering.

I am glad you are planning to dig in on the work of the Civil Rights Commission, especially with relation to their state advisory groups. Henry Shine was here recently and told me of your conversation with him. When you get ready to move on this, I will be glad to help if I can.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

JOHN S. KNIGHT, *Editor and Publisher* MEtropolitan 8-2844

KNIGHT NEWSPAPERS, INC.
WASHINGTON BUREAU
1286 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING

Oct. 24.

Dear Harold:

This is belated, but I thought you might enjoy a squint at my Norfolk series. Article number 4 may be of special interest.

I've been watching the Civil Rts. Commission work on their advisory groups and hope to do a good piece on it, maybe for some magazine. I'd like to get your help when and if the time comes to dig in [redacted] on information.

Best regards,

Don.

Don Oberdorfer.

November 10, 1958

Mr. Edward S. Skillin
Editor
The Commonweal
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Skillin:

Because of my high regard for Commonweal, I'm sorely tempted by your invitation to do an article on the present situation in the South. But recent experience warns me that I had better decline.

The very matters I would be writing about have made such heavy demands on the Southern Regional Council that I can't conscientiously take on even a modest writing assignment.

I regret not being able to say yes and hope you will give me another chance at a less frenetic time.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts

386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

EDITORIAL OFFICES

October 31, 1958.

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We were talking with George Hunton the other day, and he was kind enough to suggest that you might be willing to write an article for The Commonweal on the present situation in the South. Where do things stand now, particularly as regards the school situation, and what can be done, as you see it, to keep things moving in the proper direction?

We are thinking in terms of a moderate length article of from 2000 to 2500 words, and if you like the idea and could manage it by the middle of December, we should be most grateful to you. In the meantime, we would be most happy to hear what you think of the suggestion.

With sincere appreciation and every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Edward S. Skillin

Edward S. Skillin
Editor

ess.f

November 10, 1958

Mr. James S. Best
Director of Advertising and Promotion
Religious Books
Harper and Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Best:

This is in belated acknowledgment of the galley proofs of What's Right with Race Relations, and of the advance copy which has just arrived.

We shall be glad to carry favorable notice of the book in our publication New South and in the bulletin to our associated State Councils on Human Relations.

I trust you are also promoting the book among religious organizations - particularly the church women's groups.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED OCT 23 1958

HARPER & BROTHERS

PUBLISHERS SINCE 1817

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N.Y.

October 21, 1958

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

At the suggestion of Dr. Oscar Iee, I have sent you under separate cover a galley proof of an important book which we will publish on November 26: WHAT'S RIGHT WITH RACE RELATIONS by Harriet Harmon Dexter.

Please do not be put off by the somewhat optimistic-sounding title. I think you will find it a realistic work and one that, we would like to hope, you could recommend to the people with whom you work.

I would very much appreciate receiving any suggestions you may have about special promotion and distribution of the book to those in your organization.

Sincerely,

James S. Best

James S. Best
Director of Advertising
and Promotion
Religious Books

JSB:pak

CABLE ADDRESS : HARPSAM • TELEPHONE : MURRAY HILL 3-1900

Memo:

To: HCF

From: EFV "What's Wrong with Race?"

Re: "What's Right With Race Relations," by Harriet Dexter

:

On the whole this book is a good one, useful for many groups and individuals. For the most part it does not deal with what is generally considered the mainstream in organized work in race relations. Although a number of national and Southern agencies do receive mention in the book, very little is given about their most significant programs, their general orientation, or their methods of operation. For this reason, primarily, I feel that the book badly needs ~~the~~ a preface which will explain what it is that the book attempts to do in putting forth case after case of positive actions taken by individuals or by voluntary groups, or even the positive side of fairly negative happenings. The preface should also include an indication of what the book does not attempt in reporting even the positive side of what is going on in race relations work.

The stuff on the South is frequently quite thin. Perhaps the only aspect of desegregation that is included in this work which does deal with the mainstream is in the desegregation of higher education. Here Miss Dexter does go into a number of the leading court cases and deals briefly with some of the leading participants. I feel that it is something of a major oversight given what I take to be the book's own orientation that she has largely omitted the role of Southern white women, especially church women and especially such groups as the Fellowship of the Concerned and various state United Church Women's groups.

Other than my above comments I feel that real shortcomings of the book lie in a number of factual errors. These errors do not necessarily destroy the worth of the book, but some of them badly need correcting. I few which I uncovered are listed below. Obviously, some of them are just typos but even some of these are important.

(Errors):

1. p. 30. A report of Negroes registered to vote allegedly based on a 1955 NAACP report indicates that for the Southeastern states the registration dropped from 22,000 to 8,000. Since there are some 30,000 registered Negroes in Atlanta and the Southeastern total numbers in access of 1,000,000 this hardly seems to be an accurate figure.

2. p. 32. I wonder if an Alabama Circuit Judge prior to the Civil War received a salary of $13,500. This is contrasted to the reported reconstruction salary figure of $36,000.

3. p. 32. "The intellectual South once it regained control of its politics, reasoned that the surest way to prevent a repetition of Negro office holding was to strip the Negroes of all political power."

4. p. 106. The author states that the President of the United States issued an injunction. This is a judicial function.

5. p. 111, in the last line a quote from the 1954 Supreme Court decision the word "inequal" appears where it should be "unequal."

6. On page 118 she says that no school bell had ever called white and Negro students in seven states. "Public" should be used to modify school bell for accuracy.

7. p. 121,"Colbert Cartwright, local civic leader and press correspondent,..." This is Bert's full identification.

8. p. 160, line 6, I wonder if sport fan isn't supposed to be sports fan.

9. p. 188, "White Council Citizens" - in context this was not wholly incorrect but certainly awkward.

10. On page 208 she speaks of the mob which blasted Hattie Cotton school in Nashville.

11. At approximately p. 60 the author indicates a portion of the Lockheed employment history. Unfortunately only the problem and lack of opportunities for Negroes is stated. I feel the general intention of the book would be better served by including the subsequent developments which were that a number of new job classifications

were opened to Negroes in some depts. of the plant could honestly be called integrated. Also it should be recognized that the push for this move came from the NAACP

In this section she mentions the International Harvester plant in Memphis and in Louisville. I'm afraid that her report of the Memphis situation indicates more peace and greater success than the facts would warrant.

12. On p. 67, in talking about the Argo plant in Illinois it sounds as if the union grievance committee is a channel for releasing racial tensions; this may be the case, but this is not the normal function of a grievance committee.

13. On p. 67 the author says,"The fact that in one four year period, 1949-53, union membership increased by nearly a million from 1,500,000 to 2,400,00 indicates that fair union practices and sound management policies are paying off." If she is talking about total union membership her figures are obviously way off since 16,000,000 is closer to the total. If she is talking about Negro membership I would have no statistics but I would guess that the increase would be due to the organization of plants that had Negro workers either as all or part of the work force and would not be an indication of Negroes flocking to unions because of good practices. Also, does she really mean to imply that management's policies are paying off for management by increasing the number of persons in the labor movement?

14. On p. 61 the author states that twelve states and 61 cities have FEP laws of some sort and that 60,000,000 are protected by these laws. Since the total labor force in 1956 was 70,000,000 I doubt that 60,000,000 workers were covered by FEP ordinances. Furthermore, at least 16 states, I think, have FEP laws. I would not claim that my list is complete but such a listing should include: Cal., Col., Conn., Ind. Kansas, Mass., Michigan, Minn., N. J., New Mexico, N. Y., Oregon, Penn., R. I., Wash., and Wisconsin. The total population as of 1950 was something like 72.7 million.

15. On p. 69 the anecdote about Mrs. Doyle who was a payroll clerk in a laundry states her wages at $64 a month. A wage at which she worked presumably for 10 years. No date is given. The figure sounds too low even for a Negro laundry

worker especially hired in as a payroll clerk for any time during the past 10 years, certainly.

16. p. 71, at the bottom, an intriguing typo where the author has "union league" I wonder if she does not wish to have "urban league"?

17. p. 73 she lists a number of things which happened in N. C. as if they were done by the state of N. C. I doubt that this was the case.

18. p. 73 she mentions the Atomic Workers union regarding the move to do away with the dual lines of progression. The official designation is the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union, and it is known by the shorthand designation of Oil Workers union.

19. On p. 73 in referring to signs of progress she mentions one Negro policewoman being hired in Alabama. It sounds as if this is the sum total of the police hiring story in the South.

20. p. 79 "Sheriff Lohman of Cook County, Illinois, has stated that labor around Chicago can handle the incoming tide of Negroes, for the present at least, but that housing is a daily threat to the peace of the city." I cannot tell whether "labor" refers to the labor market or the labor unions, or just what.

21. p. 79 - In referring to the business of Atlanta she states that Atlanta insists in segregated business, evidently referring to Auburn Ave. Somehow this statement seems misleading at best.

22. On p. 81 the author indicates that the entire population of the U. S. could be housed in ½ of the area of N. Y. City if it were at the density of East Harlem where in one-one-half square miles 300,000 people are congested. I am told that N. Y. has a square mile land area of 315.5. One-half of this would be ~~108~~ 158 and if divided by the unit measure of 1½ sq. miles you get something like ~~72~~ 105, which when multiplied by 300,000 would come to something like ~~21.6~~ 31. million. This colorful example fell flatly upon its face.

Also in the manuscript there a few minor matters of interpretation even within the framework of this work which I think might be pointed out.

1. On p. 5 in talking about Mrs. Welch, a singer, in trying to show the progress in time between 1948 and 1957 in the treatment of this public Negro person, the author compared 1948 Memphis with 1957 Baltimore. Each was treated as a Southern city on the matter of appearace on a public platform, hotel accommodations, etc.

2. In the early part of the book she referred a Japanese who had relocated in Chicago being overjoyed at finding a job at Chicago's International House. The author seems to accept that this was an indication of true employment opportunities for a minority group. Somehow employment at the International House doesn't strike me as proving anything about employment patterns in Chicago.

3. Page 66, bottom, "a fine featured Negro" ; on p.81, here Baltimore and Atlanta are contrasted on several scores in a way which I feel the attempts to make them comprable in areas where they should not compared, if one is simply attempting to contrast one Southern city with another.

On p. 107 she indicates one-sided reporting by the press in the Little Rock situation and gives as her reason the fact that the press didn't cover all those moves toward integration in other parts of Arkansas. Though this is a real point, it is not quite on the nose of the problem of news coverage of a situation such as Little Rock.

On p. 192ff she mentions by name several non-famous inter-racial couples. Some of the marriages have gone on the rocks, some seem to have current difficulties, and of course a number of the difficulties have been overcome. I would raise the question, without knowing what sort of advance clearances she has received, as to whether these persons want this kind of personal publicity.

There you have it, Doc, with my blessings.

EV

VIA AIR MAIL

November 14, 1958

Miss Elfry Zaeyen
Doubleday and Company, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Zaeyen:

This is to reply to your letter of October 29th.

We are glad to give our permission for the material specified to be quoted in the forthcoming volume The Southern Temper by William Peters. The material is not copyrighted.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

W. C. F.

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., Publishers 575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22 ~ MURRAY HILL 8-5300

Oct. 29, 1958

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We plan to publish, early next year, a volume called THE SOUTHERN TEMPER by William Peters; a new estimate of the Southern Crisis. The volume will probably sell for $3.95 and is a regular trade edition.

This letter, then, is to request your permission, covering the United States, Canada, the Open Market as well as book club and reprint editions of our volume, to include the following material:

> 750 (seven hundred and fifty) words from The Negro Voter in the South, a booklet by Margaret Price;
>
> 220 words from "Boycotts Can Cut Two Ways" by William Gordon, which appeared in the New South, April, 1956;
>
> 140 words from "The New Negro and the Tallahasse Protest" by W. Gordon, which appeared in the New South, September 1956.

We do hope that you will be able to grant us permission to use this material and shall be equally grateful if you will let us have the appropriate copyright notices for the respective selections.

We shall look forward to hearing from you at your early convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Elfry Zaeyen

Elfry Zaeyen (Miss)
PERMISSIONS

EZ:al

Bill Ott of telegraph — may [illegible]

December 4, 1958

Mr. Bert Struby
Macon Telegraph
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Struby:

The enclosed article by Jim Montgomery of the Atlanta Constitution has perhaps already come to your attention. Mr. Fred Patterson of this city felt that the article deserved greater state-wide distribution and secured permission from the Atlanta newspapers (through Mr. Eugene Patterson) to have the piece re-run in such other papers in the state as could be interested.

I agreed to be in touch with you on this matter, but missed you by phone today and am writing you so that you will have the information tomorrow. Several other papers have agreed today to run the article, but none overlap with your general circulation area.

I hope you will be able to make use of this article and, if possible, send me a tear sheet when it appears. It is our thought that it would be run straight without any indication as to who secured permission to reprint, etc.

I may call you tomorrow (Friday) to get your reactions, or I would be happy to have you call me collect if there are any questions.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:ls

December 8, 1958

Mr. William Ott
Macon Telegraph
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ott:

Emory Via of our office has asked me to send you some material concerning industrial and economic aspects of desegregation. Enclosed is a number of New Souths' and several other items which might be of interest to you in this matter.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosures

December 24, 1958

Mr. Norman Cousins, Editor
The Saturday Review
25 West 45th Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Cousins:

As one who often finds himself identified with the loose fraternity of Southern liberals, I was troubled by your editorial on the "plight" of this special breed.

The Alabama lady whose views you dutifully report deserves respect for her evident sincerity and concern. I am the first to agree with her that the Southern liberal has a hard row to hoe and, when genuinely liberal, has a special claim to the label. But the occupational disease of Southern liberalism, particularly in its diluted forms, is self-pity. Your Alabama spokesman unfortunately appears to be suffering from an acute case.

How nice it was in the good old pre-Warren days when we could work within the comfortable, uncontested framework of "separate-but-equal" for better treatment of our Negro friends. How very nice that some of our important business and local government leaders, though fiercely committed to the status quo, gave us their tolerant support. And how very, very nice that we could meet together - non-segregated, of course without fear of unpleasant consequences.

Well, times have changed. This unreasonable, fast-moving world won't wait for our genteel palliatives to raise the Negro imperceptibly to our level.

An increasing number of Negroes won't wait, either, for so doubtful and glacial a process to work. Not that we're being asked to do anything sweeping or abrupt -- merely to make a token start, some kind of showing of honest intent to extend equal rights under law to all our people.

Sure, it's tough to stand for even so moderate a process against the vicious backlash of a social and political order that's dying hard. It's painful for a Southerner to act on his recognition that the nation has life-or-death stakes involved in the application of the Bill of Rights, at least in principle. But then it never was easy to be a liberal in a society convulsed by the imperatives of social change; not anywhere, anytime.

Maybe some of the liberally minded folks in the Deep South will just have to suffer a spell of anguish and impotence while the waves of history wash over the defiant shores. A few of the hardier ones will continue (as they are, even in Alabama) to meet interracially and to speak quietly but firmly for principle, even at the price of ostracism and reprisal.

But let's not kid ourselves that we could remake our outmoded race relations if only a moratorium were declared on national pressures for civil rights. We had a lot of time without such pressures and we barely made a dent on our racial injustices. It's not time we need, but more determination, understanding, and leadership at every level in this country.

The lady from Alabama is right in deploring doctrinaire judgments from the North. The answer, however, doesn't lie in a suspension of all judgment or an abdication of responsibility for a set of problems that affects every American from Grand Falls to Key West.

No, don't condemn us out of hand; but don't baby us either. Remember that in our best moments we're not Southern liberals at all, just people uncomfortably addicted to American ideas.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

February 20, 1959

Circulation Department
The Birmingham News
Birmingham, Alabama

Gentlemen:

Please send to us the following back issues and bill us for the same.

Sunday and Monday, February 15th and 16th.

With appreciation,

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

MP/mf

February 23, 1959

McClellan Van der Veer, Editor
The Birmingham News
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Van der Veer:

The Southern Regional Council is now engaged in research for a continuing survey of voter registration in the South.

We hope to release a portion of this study in the very near future, and we would like to include county-by-county voting figures in the Southern states. To date, we have official figures from six Southern states.

Our purpose in writing to you is to request permission to reprint the county-by-county for Alabama figures contained in your copyrighted article of February 17, 1959. Proper credit would, of course, be given to the Birmingham News.

Any consideration you may extend us in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/bcc

March 2, 1959

Circulation Department
The Birmingham News
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Sir:

Please send us a copy of The Birmingham News for Friday, February 27, 1959. If there is a charge for this, please ~~let us know.~~ Bill us. Change on original

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

VIA AIR MAIL April 14, 1959

Mrs. Priscilla Robertson
Box 426, Route 1
Anchorage, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Robertson:

I am sorry to hear of the unhappy fate of the Humanist. You and your associates are to be admired for your determination to carry on under a new banner.

We shall be happy, of course, to tell you anything about New South that might be instructive. Our total printing currently is 6,200 copies, for which the average cost is $475.00. The printing is done for us by a local firm, Higgins-McArthur Company. I might add, parenthetically, that we get excellent service from the printer in such matters as layout and typography.

As you may have noticed, New South has depended heavily on reprints; thus the editorial function has not been as demanding as it might be. This is almost wholly the responsibility of our Director of Information, John Constable, who also has other duties. Of course, other staff members may occasionally suggest material or, especially in the case of the research assistant, prepare original material. One full-time clerk now maintains subscription records, keeps stencils up-to-date, and handles promotional mailings under Mr. Constable's direction. For New South and his other duties, Mr. Constable has the half-time services of a secretary; this would include proofreading as well as correspondence and copying.

Once a month, several members of the clerical staff are mobilized for the stenciling, stuffing, and mailing operation. (We have an addressograph machine, but no postage meter.)

Three further things should be said. First, we have traditionally paid little attention to New South's self-liquidating possibilities. We regard it not only as a subscription publication, but also as program material; thus some of its circulation is selectively complimentary. Secondly, we have heretofore given far too little attention to promotion; the position of full-time records and promotion clerk has only recently been established. Thirdly, we feel that New South should carry more original articles, especially articles reporting the results of SRC's fact-finding and research interpretation. Again, the recent addition to our staff of a research director should facilitate this.

I am suggesting by all of this that your magazine might easily prove sounder economically than New South.

If we can supply any further information, call on me. Meanwhile, the very best of luck to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Box 426, Route 1
Anchorage, Kentucky
March 26, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

A sad thing has befallen the Humanist magazine . I was fired, and 16 of the associate editors resigned in a gesture of protest. One of the things that makes us sad is that Mr. Wright had promised to write for us this spring.

This letter, however, has another purpose. It happens that all these 16 editors want to start another magazine. We are used to working together and feel that the spirit of The Humanist as we carried it on ought not to bee lost. Unfortunately, we have very little money. One of the reasons for the shake-up was that in the interests of editorial freedom as we conceived it, we had angered the largest Humanist donor.

If we wanted to start up again on our own in a very small way, New South appeals to us as having the sort of format which we might conceivably encompass. Would it be too much of an imposition on the friendship which your organization has shown to ours to ask you what the printing costs of New South might be? Where do you have it printed? Of course, the costs are a function of circulation and it would be interesting to know what yours is. Ours naturally would start rather low. Another piece of information that would be helpful is how many people work on this magazine and what their functions are.

With very many thanks for your kindness,

Sincerely yours,

Priscilla Robertson

Priscilla Robertson

6200 copies

PR:rds

$475

May 7, 1959

The Editor & Publisher Company, Inc.
1475 Broadway
New York 36, New York

Gentlemen:

Please send us the latest issue of the International Year Book Number and bill the Southern Regional Council for cost.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

May 11, 1959

Mr. Ed Cony
Wall Street Journal
Independent Life Building
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Ed (if you're still there):

Glad to have your reminder on the Little Rock statement, especially since it elicited a farewell note. The High Piscy and the ex-WSJer are on hand and send their best wishes. We've enjoyed both the professional and the more relaxed aspect of our association, and hope it will continue in some fashion after your move to New York. I'd enjoy a chance to lunch with your brass on one of my visits to the big town -- or failing that, just lunch with you. Once you're settled in, drop me a note on the outlook, and we can make plans. As you know, I get to New York for a few days at average intervals of a month or two.

Our only copies of the L. R. Chamber of Commerce stories were thermofaxed, so I have to send you typewritten copies, as enclosed. Tell Cal Brumley that we are getting some good stuff from Virginia, which we will be sending him as soon as it's processed. I'm more convinced than ever that there is a WSJ story in the making along these lines.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
Enclosures

L.R. C of C -

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS

INDEPENDENT LIFE BUILDING
JACKSONVILLE 2, FLORIDA

May 6, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is just a note to remind you that you were going to try to locate that comment from the Little Rock Chanber of Commerce to the effect that they wished they had taken some action to head off closing of the schools. At least that is my memory concerning the subject the Chamber was talking about. If you could run us off a copy on that dandy little machine of yours, we would be most appreciative.

It is beginning to look as if I won't get up to Atlanta again before leaving for New York so I will say goodbye now and thank you once again for all your help.

It occurs to me, Harold, that if you ever get up to New York you might like to have lunch someday with some of our brass. I know they would be interested in talking about race relations in the South with you, and it might serve to stimulate their interest in our doing some more stories on the subject out of Jacksonville. And besides, I would like to see you.

Yours truly,

Ed Cony

Ed Cony

ERC/pb

P.S. Say goodbye to that ex-W.S.Jer former and also to the High Episcopalian - if he is still about.

The Economist

PUBLISHED WEEKLY
IN LONDON, ENGLAND

WASHINGTON OFFICE
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4. D. C.

18 May, 1959

Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta
Georgia

Gentlemen:

Our editor in London has expressed an interest in your publication, "The New South." We would appreciate it if you would give us the subscription rates for this publication, and, if possible, send us a sample copy. If you are unable to send us a sample, please send us one issue and bill us for it, including mailing charges, to:

The Economist (of London)
1055 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

Francoise A. Costa

Francoise A. Costa
Washington Office

June 18, 1959

Mr. James Mills, Editor
Birmingham Post-Herald
Birmingham, Alabama

Since the letter to President Eisenhower by Carleton Purnam has been published in your newspaper, we thought you might be interested in seeing this reprint.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Same note mailed to:
The Wall Street Journal
The New York Times
Washington Star
Richmond Times Dispatch
~~/Birmingham Post-Herald/~~

June 19, 1959

Circulation Department
Charleston News & Courier
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

Please send us a paper for June 17. We are enclosing ten cents to cover cost.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to the Director
of Information

/c

June 23, 1959

Miss Lucile Bluford, Editor
CALL
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Miss Bluford:

Mr. Gregory Shinert, executive director, Missouri Commission on Human Rights, writes us that an excellent answer to the Carleton Putnam letter appeared in your paper. Mr. Shinert does not remember the date but thinks you might have a reprint of the answer which was written by four priests.

We would appreciate a copy of this answer if you have one available.

Please bill us for any cost.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

July 27, 1959

Mr. Milton Beckerman
Editor
Natchitoches Enterprise
Natchitoches, Louisiana

Dear Milton:

I recently ran across some mention of your name in connection with the petition of the Louisiana Civil Liberties Union and the backfire therefrom in your case. I have often wondered where you went and what happened to you. I am not surprised to find that you are continuing the good fight.

I have recently come with the Southern Regional Council in the capacity of Director of Field Activities. I will be making trips to Louisiana from time to time and perhaps we can get together. My regards to your wife and family.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

August 7, 1959

Mr. Don Oberdorfer
Knight Newspapers, Inc.
Washington Bureau
1286 National Press Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Don:

I was glad to get your note the other day and wish I could cast up some-thing that would help. Although we advised closely with Commission staff members of the Southern state committees, for obvio s reasons this should remain unpublicized. Besides which, I know of almost nothing of a colorful or anecdotal sort concerning the organizing effort, As I saw it, the operation involved mainly patience and perseverance in approaching people who might be suitable and willing to serve.

Enclosed is a copy of an article from the Citizens Council's publication ridiculing George Harris's foray into Mississippi in quest of a committee. Of course, it's a loaded and distorted account, but interesting as an example of the CC'S polemical technique.

The big question, it seems to me, is whether the Commission will realize full value from all the time and effort put in on establishing the state advisory committees. It was a gigantic organizing effort, and so far the unstaffed and un-

financed state committees have yielded little that I know of. There are laudable exceptions here and there, but it will take a lot of guidance and work by the Commission staff to enable the committees really to pay off. This, in my opinion, is one of the really strong arguments for extension of the Commission's life.

Have you interviewed Frank Bane, who worked with the Commission on some of the Southern states? He's an interesting fellow and knows state politics and "power structures" inside out, by virtue of his long experience with the Council of State Governments. He's also a Southerner -- a Virginian, to be exact.

I hope the piece pans out well and will be looking forward to seeing you when you're home in September.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl
Encls. - 1.
THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL
"Official Paper of the Citizens' Councils of America"
March, 1959 - Jackson, Mississippi

JOHN S. KNIGHT, *Editor and Publisher* MEtropolitan 8-2844

KNIGHT NEWSPAPERS, INC.
WASHINGTON BUREAU
1286 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING

RECEIVED AUG 4 1959

Aug. 3

Dear Harold:

I'm putting together a magazine piece on the Civl Rights Commission, timed for the final report or about that time.

The piece will show how the three Northerners and three Southerners on the divided commission got together on a quiet role for the outfit after a series of early disagreements.

As part of this, I'm looking for anecdotes about how the commission operated so quietly (almost stealthily) in setting up its Southern advisory committees.

Any little incidents or facts you could pass along in the next couple of days would be generously appreciated. There may be some things you gleaned that you're not all tied up on.

Naturally, I'm also working at the other end to come up with data here.

Don't know who'll buy this piece, but am going to let the Reporter look first.

Best,

Don Oberdorfer

PS Hope to see you in late September on a visit home.

PPS – Any other ideas or facts will be appreciated. FYI, the report will be really strong on voting, less so on housing & education.
D.

August 7, 1959

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
Editor
The News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Daniels:

As you have requested, I am enclosing a brief biographical sketch for Mr. Marion A. Wright.

If we may be of further help to you, please do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MMF

THE NEWS AND OBSERVER
JONATHAN DANIELS, EDITOR
RALEIGH, N. C.

M.F.

August 6, 1959

Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

I would be grateful if you would give me a little biographical material on Marion A. Wright, of Linville Falls, N. C., a copy of whose speech before the National Community Relations Council in Detroit, Michigan, you sent me today.

Sincerely,

Jonathan Daniels

Separate mailing:

Jim Montgomery Pamphlet
Private school pamphlet - Green-Gauerke
Nashville Tennessean reprint on Little Rock
"L" Reports to date

Name added to "L" Report mailing list

August 17, 1959

Mr. Nelson Poynter
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mr. Poynter:

I was very glad to learn from Benjamin Muse that he recently had an opportunity to discuss with you the Council's "Leadership Project" and his efforts in that direction. As he suggested, I am sending you recent publications and reports that have grown out of the project. You will be receiving them regularly in the future.

I recall with pleasure our discussions in New York last year and hope we will meet again soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ST. PETERSBURG TIMES

ST. PETERSBURG

FLORIDA

•

NELSON POYNTER
Editor and President

August 20, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 24 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for your letter of August 17.

It was a real pleasure meeting Benjamin Muse, and I'll look forward to the publications which you are sending.

Sincerely,

Nelson Poynter

Nelson Poynter

August 25, 1959

Mr. Robert G. Hoyt, Editor
The Kansas City-Saint Joseph Register
P. O. Box 1037
Kansas City 41, Missouri

Dear Mr. Hoyt:

Recently we received two copies of the article, "The Erosion of Human Liberty in Our World," written for your July 24, 1959, edition by Norma Krause Herzfeld.

We want to thank the person responsible for sending the copies and to express our appreciation to Miss Herzfeld for her good feature concerning the Council's work.

If we can be of any help to you or your organization, please let us know.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

August 25, 1959

The Changing Times
Kiplinger Magazine
1729 "H" Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Would you please send us three copies of the current issue of your magazine and bill us for the costs involved?

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Kiplinger Magazine
1729 H Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Would you please send us three copies of the current issue of your magazine and bill us for the costs involved.

Thank you.

Sinc. PA

Newspaper General

August 25, 1959

Mr. Ted Bromfield
Warren County Sentinel
Front Royal, Virginia

Dear Ted:

In a recent conversation with Harold Fleming Claude Sitton of the New York Times passed on some news concerning the Front Royal situation and indicated that you could make use of additional copies of the private school pamphlet published by SRC. We are sending you fifty copies air express.

I have seen several wire service stories on Front Royal probably inspired by you. We also found the Norfolk feature last Sunday to be interesting. Things seem to be moving rapidly. I feel very far away here in Atlanta and miss seeing you, John, and others in Front Royal. I hope you will keep me posted on any developments not in the press. Good lubk.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

September 3, 1959

Mr. Joseph Hansen
The Militant
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Hansen:

We have mailed you, under separate cover, two copies of "The Negro and the Ballot in the South," for review as you requested.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

THE MILITANT

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

CHELSEA 3-2140 · 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE 265 NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

Sent 9/3/59

September 1, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Aubrn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs;

We would appreciate receiving a copy of THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT IN THE SOUTH by Margaret Price for review. Two copies of the review will be mailed to you.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Hansen

Joseph Hansen

JH/bd

Via Air Mail

December 23, 1959

Mr. Ed Cony
The Wall Street Journal
44 Broad Street
New York 4, New York

Dear Ed:

Your note of too many weeks ago was most welcome. I have waited this long to answer only because I was planning a quick trip to New York and hoped at least to talk with you by telephone then. As it happened you were having some time off that day.

I'm glad to learn about the WSJ collection and the inclusion of three segregation pieces. Maybe we can extend the sales beyond the relatives, at least by one or two copies.

We don't see much of your cohorts in Jacksonville. Cal Brumley showed up some time ago, but had to leave in a hurry because of a death in the family. Doubtless he will be back to pick up the loose ends one of these days -- the Carribean and other glamorous areas permitting. Now that you're belatedly restored to our mailing list, keep an eye out for future stuff on the economic angle -- most likely to appear in the mimeographed mailings called "L" reports.

I am finding my way to New York fairly often these days and will hope to see you before long. Meanwhile, my best regards and a joyeux Noel.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS

44 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

Nov. 25, 1959

Dear Harold,

New South arrived early this week. Thanks for putting me on the mailing list. I thought the Richmond News Leader was taken apart rather delightfully by the Arkansas Gazette and the Lynchburg News.

You might be interested in this small piece of intelligence: A collection of stories and editorials from the Wall Street Journal is just now coming out. Among three stories on segregation is a condensation of that industry integration piece of mine. I don't know how significant this is, but the book was prepared with the cooperation of WSJ brass.

Priced at $6.50, I fear it won't make much of a literary ripple. After all, there are only so many relatives of our staffers.

How are you? Drop me a line when you get a minute, or better still call me the next time you're in New York.

Yours truly,

Ed Cony

P.S. Please excuse the miserable typing job--a disease of the trade

HA 2-3115

file

EDGAR A. GOSSARD
editor

EDWARD R. WRIGHT, JR.
executive editor

Concern

P.O. BOX 871 • NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

Put on N.S.
BCC

January 12, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for your recent letter concerning an exchange subscription with CONCERN. We will be glad to place you on our mailing list and will look forward to receiving New South.

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Wright jr.

Edward R. Wright, Jr.

ERW:em

January 5, 1960

Mr. Edgar A. Gossard, Editor
CONCERN
P. O. Box 871
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Gossard:

I have just finished reading your excellent Christmas issue of CONCERN. We would be interested in seeing your publication regularly and wonder if you would care to exchange with us.

A copy of our latest issue of our monthly publication, NEW SOUTH, is enclosed for your consideration. We would appreciate it if you see fit to exchange with us.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lec
Encl.

Please change your mailing list as follows:

FROM: Mr. Coleman A. Harwell
Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

TO: Mr. Edward D. Ball
Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

Thanks,

THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN

L.E.C.
Please Check
Cat 9. pulled (put in new file)
(1-27-60)

N.S.

The Cheraw CHRONICLE

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY'S LIVELIEST NEWSPAPER

BILLHEADS . . . TAGS . . . CIRCULARS . . . FORMS

LETTERHEADS . . . ENVELOPES . . . CARDS . . . INVITATIONS

Post Office Box 191
Cheraw, S. C.
Phone 7287

Printers - Publishers

January 25, 1960

Mr. John Constable,
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for your letter dated Jan.22, seeking permission to reprint in the New South my speech of last fall before the Pageland Chamber of Commerce.

Of course you have my permission, and I hope that it will be of some assistance to you in the Southern Regional Council in your good work.

I would prefer, however, that you omit those paragraphs which I have marked through on the enclosed copy of the talk. I think my reference to "tranquilizers and the [redacted] jug" would be inappropriate for wider circulation of the talk and would have no place in it.

Because the talk is rather long, I would suggest, in fact, that you omit all that first introductory part and just begin with [redacted] that portion under the heading civil rights committee. You could rewrite a short introductory paragraph, which would explain that I am talking [redacted] to the Chamber of Commerce about the committee and about moderate planning to meet the region's problems. I'm sure I'll be satisfied with whatever brief introductory paragraph you might want to write and will leave that to your discretion.

I am also enclosing an [redacted] editorial which I wrote two weeks later after the News and Courier took out after me for the Pageland speech. If there is any portion of that [redacted] editorial, as well as of the talk, you want to use, go right ahead. I'm sure I can trust you not to quote out of context so as [redacted] to change the meaning of the message.

I enjoy getting The New South each month, and I wish each of you success and good health.

Sincerely yours,
A. M. Secrest
A. M. Secrest

Newspapers

March 15, 1960

Mr. Henry Brandon, Chief
North American Bureau
The Sunday Times of London
3501 Rodman Street, N. W.
Washington 8, D. C.

Dear Mr. Brandon:

Thank you for your request for our latest report. It is being sent to you under separate cover.

We also have added your name to our press list and you will recieve our reports as they are released.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Newspapers

March 21, 1960

Mr. Frank Crowther
Associate Editor
Daily Tar Heel
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Crowther:

William Allred of the University sent me a copy of your recent open letter to Governor Luther Hodges. We appreciate the kind comments concerning the Council.

Enclosed is a copy of a Special Report we did on the sit down protests in which I thought you might be interested. Would you be interested in receiving our other releases and materials from time to time?

I would be interested in ~~exchanging~~ exchanging our monthly publication NEW SOUTH for the DAILY TAR HEEL; and if you would so desire I could place your name on our records to receive all other materials.

Again thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lec
Enclosure

Publicity

March 30, 1960

Mr. Charles A. Wells
Editor and Publisher
The Wells Newsletter
152 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Wells:

You may address the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools, which is now known as the Women's Committee for Open Schools, at P. O. Box 122, Pulaski Heights Station, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

CHARLES A. WELLS, *Editor and Publisher*. Editorial Address: 152 Madison Ave., New York 16

March 27, 1960

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Can you give me an address for the Womens' Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools - an organization of Little Rock Citizens which recently published the survey titled "Little Rock - The City, Its People, Its Business."

I believe this survey was called to my attention through your organization.

Thank you. Yours very sincerely,

Charles A. Wells

caw/mr

Subscription [redacted] a year $2.00

Published twice monthly except June, July and August when it is published monthly.

BETWEEN *the* LINES

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

The Wells Newsletter

Reports on inner trends and forecasts of significant developments, vital information that is free from the political, economic and military pressures that afflict the usual news channels. **Between The Lines** is dedicated to the belief that only in following the Christian concepts of truth can we avoid the violent changes inherent in war and communism and move towards the brotherhood of man in the nuclear age.

April 13, 1960

Mr. Robert F. Campbell
Editorial Page Editor
Piedmont Publishing Company
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Campbell:

This is to thank you for the copy of Dr. Clarence H. Patrick's study, which you sent us at the request of Colonel Muse.

It is also most kind of you to have Mr. Bost give us an account of the lunch-counter situation in Winston-Salem. We are longstanding admirers of your newspaper and would welcome an opportunity to reciprocate your help.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL
PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY, WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

April 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In accordance with my telephone conversation with Colonel Muse, I enclose a copy of Dr. Clarence H. Patrick's study of the lunch counter situation in Winston-Salem.

Reporter Sid Bost of the Twin City Sentinel will send you an account of the lunch counter protests here within the next few days.

Sincerely yours,

Robert F. Campbell

Robert F. Campbell
Editorial Page Editor

Copy sent to John Perry
Gov. Collins' Office
Tallahassee, Fla.

File copy

A STUDY OF THE LUNCH COUNTER SITUATION IN WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

By

Clarence H. Patrick

Chairman, Department of Sociology

April 2, 1960

Note: This study was requested by a group of interested citizens in Winston-Salem.

A STUDY OF THE LUNCH COUNTER SITUATION IN WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

THE LARGER SCENE

The question of beside whom people sit at lunch counters is only one of the problems of the larger southern scene--a rapidly changing scene of which we are all inextricably a part. All but gone are many of the conditions and ways of our fathers and grandfathers. The South as they knew it, the land of cotton, sharecropping, salt pork, meal and molasses, has largely given way. The South today is one of the fastest, if not the fastest, changing regions of the United States. Trim modern factories, schools, hospitals, churches, and homes are springing up everywhere. The result is inevitable--a changing people. Among both Negroes and whites a new type of generation has appeared which stresses the importance of status, freedom, and human dignity.

More and more, to the new generations, the patterns of adjustment, or accommodation, which were an integral part of the Old South are no longer regarded as acceptable or workable. Ancient and established customs and tranditions are being modified. Old ways are breaking down faster than new ways are being established. Many of these changes have not appeared uniformly either in degree or time in all parts of the South; changes are occurring at a more rapid pace in some states than in others. There are significant differences even between the various sections of some states.

THE LOCAL SCENE

Winston-Salem has a population of approximately 120,000 people, Negroes numbering about 55,000, and whites 65,000. By both Negroes and whites it is generally recognized as being a community where reasonable racial harmony exists. Our citizens take considerable pride in that fact. The city, on the basis of fair-play and expediency, has, when the occasion arose, been willing to break "the cake of custom." Numerous and significant changes have been made in customs involving interracial relations--some voluntarily and others by request, some freely and others grudgingly. The important fact to note is that they have been made, and all without incident.

The following are some of the alterations in interracial customs which the city has made: integration of the following: the public schools (if only token), public libraries, city buses, ministers' conferences, the public golf course; removal of signs indicating separate restrooms and drinking fountains in public buildings; abandonment of separate seating arrangements at the Reynolds Auditorium, ~~and~~ the Coliseum, the baseball park, and community center; employment of some Negroes as mail carriers, police officers, ~~mail carriers~~ and members of the fire department. Both Salem College and Wake Forest College have concerts and lectures that are open to the public and all people are seated on an integrated basis. Each school invites and entertains integrated learned societies and other educational groups. Wake Forest meets and entertains on its campus debating and athletic teams.

WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS

The lunch counter demonstrations and "sit-ins" by Negro students which have occurred this year in Winston-Salem and numerous other cities are evidences of the new generation. The desire for lunch counter service on a non-segregated basis is a genuine desire. However, it would be short-sighted not to recognize it as a symbol of a more far reaching matter, the desire of the Negro to be treated no differently from anybody else in public. The Negro does not want to be singled out for differential treatment--segregated service. To him segregation is a form of ostracism implying inferiority. Thus he is asking for the same treatment--no better, no worse, not even equal if it is separate. This all adds up to the fact that the new generation Negro is jealous of his self respect, dignity and honor.

PUBLIC OPINION (LOCAL)

What the variety stores will do or can do about the lunch counter situation depends considerably upon local public sentiment. Obviously, their success as business concerns rests largely upon a favorable public opinion. It often is difficult to know what the public actually thinks. Some segments of this community have expressed their sentiment on the lunch counter problem. A number of people have spoken publicly, petitioned, and written. (See appendix.) As this study progressed it became evident that we needed to find out what the people who trade at the variety stores think. Thus, two types of interviews were used to obtain the opinions of the stores' customers. One was a brief interview which elicited a spontaneous, off-the-cuff response. The other was a depth interview, involving more time and more probing questions, which obtained a considered opinion. The study began with the depth interview which was used again (with the same results) when we saw the responses to the two types of interviews varied considerably. The persons interviewed were white customers chosen at random during shopping hours.

The responses received to the following statement (made in both types of interviews) were:

> The variety stores want to find a workable solution to the lunch counter problem. If they decide to open the lunch counters and serve everybody without regard to race:

	790 Brief Interviews		52 Depth Interviews	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1. Would you accept the plan?				
Yes	368	47	38	73
Undecided	39	5	1	2
No	383	48	13	25
2. Would you continue to trade at these stores?				
Yes	700	89	49	94
Undecided	16	2	1	2
No	74	9	2	4

In interpreting the results of this survey caution must be exercised. It cannot be said that people will always behave in terms of their stated opinions. In fact, it is well known that people generally behave more liberally than their commitments would indicate. For example, several years ago the army polled sample groups of men in several divisions to discover how the attitudes of men who had served with Negroes differed from those who had not. In divisions where there were no Negroes, 62 per cent of the soldiers said they would dislike very much to serve in mixed companies. Of white soldiers who had actually served in the same companies with Negroes, only 7 per cent said they disliked it very much.

POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION

The lunch counter problem must be settled eventually on some basis. Finding an acceptable and workable way out of the dilemma will be more difficult for some communities than others. In any case the alternatives are limited. Serious consideration, for very practical reasons, cannot be given to some suggestions that have been advanced. For example, a stand-up policy, that may work satisfactorily at a snack-bar, does not seem feasible for a lunch counter. A sandwich and a drink can be handled while standing up. Managing to eat a plate lunch in a standing position would be awkward, to say the least. Thus the choices of action in Winston-Salem are few, possibly three or less.

One course is to maintain segregation. That policy would probably result in continued demonstrations, tests of strength, development of an atmosphere where potential violence would be latent; it also could alienate a large segment of our Negro population.

A second choice is to eliminate the lunch counters. For a community to follow the principles and philosophy which such a course implies could be disastrous. It would mean, if we were consistent, that we would keep on abolishing something each time a problem arises--and we can be sure problems will continue to arise. The end result of this course might very well be that few, if any, of our basic community services, agencies, and institutions would be left.

A third, and final, alternative is equal treatment to all at the same lunch counters on a sit-down basis. If our citizens are as sensible and manifest the same attitude of fair play and good manners as they have in the past, this plan could succeed.

Without a large measure of tolerance and willingness to make adjustments, it probably would fail.

APPENDIX

MOTION OF MINISTERS' FELLOWSHIP

On March 7, the interracial and interdenominational Forsyth Ministers' Fellowship passed a motion to endorse the city's Unitarian Fellowship's statement in extending "sympathy and admiration" to Negroes involved in lunch counter sit-down demonstrations in Winston-Salem.

PETITION OF COLLEGE PROFESSORS

On March 8, the following petition signed by 60 Wake Forest faculty members was sent to the managers of five local stores where "sit-ins" had occurred:

> We, members of the Wake Forest College faculty, speaking as private citizens, urge the managers of local stores operating lunch counters to exercise their legal right to open such counters to all customers without reference to race.
>
> Although the stores in question are privately owned, they invite the patronage of the general public. In stores open to the general public, no customer has, and certainly no customer expects, the privileges of the private club. The customer recognizes that he shops and lunches "in public" rather than "in private" when he is in your store. More and more, our citizens are accepting the view that "public" segregation on the basis of race is unfair to Negro citizens, that it robs them of their dignity as individuals and as a group, that it is undemocratic, and that it is un-Christian.
>
> Any change of habit or custom requires "getting used to," but we feel that the citizens of this community will accept the change rather quickly once it is put into effect.

EDITORIAL OF LOCAL PAPER

On March 17, a local paper, The Twin City Sentinel, carried the following editorial:

WHEN LUNCH COUNTERS REOPEN, THEY SHOULD SERVE ALL CUSTOMERS

Negroes who seek service without discrimination at lunch counters in Winston-Salem variety stores now have the backing of two substantial groups in the community. Last week a majority of members present at a meeting of the Forsyth Ministers Fellowship expressed "sympathy and admiration" for the lunch counter protest. On Tuesday, 60 members of the Wake Forest College faculty, speaking as "private citizens," asked the managers of five stores to open their lunch counters to all customers, regardless of race.

Winston-Salem's experience in the field of race relations tends to support the belief of the Wake Forest faculty members that the community would accept the change rather quickly, once it is put into effect. This community, moreover, has avoided the disorder that has accompanied the lunch counter protest in other Southern cities. One reason we have not had serious trouble here is that the store managers have had the good judgment to keep the lunch counters closed most of the time since the protest started, rather than to try to operate them on a segregated basis.

It may be wise to keep the lunch counters closed here for the time being. But it is logical to suggest that when they are opened again that they be opened on a desegregated basis.

Such action will not solve all of Winston-Salem's race problems. They cannot be solved here or anywhere else by a single stroke. But such a move would tell the Negro citizens that the white community is receptive to reasonable requests for removing racial discrimination. That in itself could advance the cause of good race relations in the community.

A private business, of course, has the legal right to serve or to refuse to serve any customer. Unwanted customers can be arrested for trespass if they disobey an order to leave the premises. But arrests for trespass are not the answer to the lunch counter protest.

The current protests are directed at business establishments that cater, in all departments except one, to customers without regard to race or color. The Negroes thus can logically complain of unfair discrimination when they are segregated or denied service at the lunch counter.

Winston-Salem has already moved away from enforced segregation in its public school system, on city buses, on its public golf courses and in Memorial Coliseum. Desegregation in these areas has been accomplished with little or no fanfare. It is an accomplished and accepted fact. We could reasonably expect a similar result if lunch counters were added to the list.

TABULATION OF LUNCH COUNTER INTERVIEWS

(Made in four variety stores in Winston-Salem, N. C., March, 1960)

Responses to the following statement:

The variety stores want to find a workable solution to the lunch counter problem. If they decide to open the lunch counters and serve everybody without regard to race:

	790 Brief Interviews		52 Depth Interviews	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1. Do you think most people would accept that plan?				
Yes	253	32	36	69
Undecided or Don't Know	113	14	14	27
No	424	54	2	4
2. Do you ever eat at these stores?				
Yes	628	79	41	79
No	162	21	11	21
3. Would you accept the plan?				
Yes	368	47	38	73
Undecided or Don't Know	39	5	1	2
No	383	48	13	25
4. Would you continue to trade at these stores?				
Yes	700	89	49	94
Undecided or Don't Know	16	2	1	2
No	74	9	2	4

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Bost, Sid
Twin City Sentinel
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

REGARDING:

Account of lunch counter situation in Winston-Salem

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Collins, Gov. Leroy
(Material addressed to Mr. John Perry - April 22, 1960)

April 27, 1960

Mr. Sid Bost
Twin City Sentinel
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Bost:

This is to express our appreciation for the helpful account of the lunch-counter situation in Winston-Salem which you were kind enough to do for us.

I hope you will accept the small honorarium enclosed as a token of our thanks for your time and effort on this.

Please convey our thanks and regards also to Mr. Campbell.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Check #1495; $35.00)

cc: Mr. Benjamin Muse

Publication

May 4, 1960

Miss Joan Shalleck
Editorial Assistant
CURRENT
177 East 71st Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Shalleck:

In accordance with your correspondence with Dr. Dunbar, we have placed CURRENT on our exchange list. We look forward to receiving CURRENT.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

CURRENT

177 East 71 Street New York 21

YU 8-7900

April 26,1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
New South
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta,Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We should like to be placed on your complimentary mailing list to receive your publication regularly. We shall of course, be more than happy to reciprocate.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Shalleck

Joan Shalleck
Editorial Assistant

JS/rs

via air mail

May 11, 1960

Mr. Cabell Phillips
1701 "K" Street
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Phillips:

As a footnote to our telephone conversation this morning, enclosed is a copy of "A Report on Nashville," written by Wallace Westfeldt for the Nashville Community Relations Conference. Westfeldt is a first-rate reporter on the Tennessean.

Of course, this was written while the lunch-counter dispute was still unresolved and inflamed. But you should find it helpful as background in deciding whether or not to do a piece on Nashville.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

May 19, 1960

The Atlantic Monthly
8 Arlington
Boston 16, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

There was been a great deal of interest expressed in the article in your May 1960 issue, "A Southern Point of View," by Mrs. Eliza Paschall of Atlanta.

We are interested in reprinting this article and would be very grateful for your permission to do so. Appropriate credit would, of course, be given to the Atlantic Monthly. We have discussed this with Mrs. Paschall and have her permission.

Thank you for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

Answered 6/6/60

OFFICE OF THE
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

8 ARLINGTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASS.

The Atlantic Monthly Press

May 20, 1960

Dear Hal:

I thought you weren't doing any writing! Or so you told me. But your piece in The Reporter is a dandy, and I hope this is a harbinger of more to come. Don't forget that I have long been interested in seeing work of yours for our Press, and that the magazine, too, is eager for the sort of thing you could write about the South. How about it?

Don't you think that a book on "the Negro vote," with particular emphasis on the South, is badly needed? Who votes, and who doesn't? If not, why not? What can we look forward to as more Negroes vote? What is going to happen -- what indeed is happening -- to the political structure of the South?

Now, who is better informed than you on this subject, and who could write a better book? Will you kindly answer me that?

Yours ever,

Peter

Peter H. Davison
Executive Editor

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY
8 ARLINGTON STREET
BOSTON 16

OFFICE OF THE
PUBLISHER

May 24, 1960.

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Certainly the ATLANTIC will be happy to concur in any permission Mrs. Paschall gives you to reprint her ATLANTIC article, "A Southern Point of View."

Sincerely yours,

Donald B. Snyder

DBS:h

GPA

Georgia Press Association

24 IVY STREET, S. E. • JAckson 4-7751 • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 28, 1960

Mr. Harold C.Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Since Mr. Walters is on vacation this week I am taking the liberty of acknowledging your letter of June 23 for him.

I am sure that you will hear from him regarding your new publication written by Messrs. Spearman and Meyer as soon as he returns to the office.

Sincerely,

Julia Dyar

Mrs. Julia Dyar
Assistant to Mr. Walters

d/

June 29, 1960

Mr. Thomas Waring
Editor
The News and Courier
Charleston, South Carolina

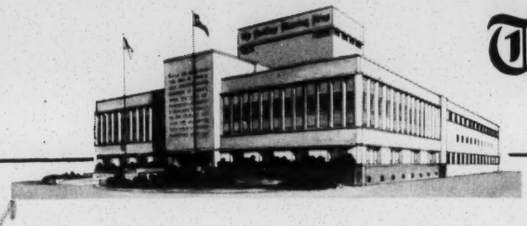
Dear Mr. Waring:

You may already have seen a copy of the enclosed publication. If not, in view of the News and Courier's inclusion in Walter Spearman's analysis, you may find it of interest.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Press pamphlet)



The Dallas Morning News

TEXAS' LEADING NEWSPAPER

RADIO-TELEVISION STATIONS WFAA • TEXAS ALMANAC

July 4, 1960

L. C.
L. E. C.
Please do
pmc 7/25/60.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Your releases on various matters reach me regularly addressed either as William B. Ruggles, The Dallas News, or William B. Ruggles, Editor of The Dallas News or William B. Ruggles, Editor of the Editorial Page, Dallas News.

Your service has been highly appreciated and, I am sure, will be of continuing value to the newspaper. As I retire from the editorial page on July 5, I suggest that all future releases and correspondence should be addressed to Dick West, Editor of the Editorial Page of The Dallas News.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Wm B Ruggles
William B. Ruggles

The Dallas Morning News 75th ANNIVERSARY 1885 · 1960

OLDEST BUSINESS INSTITUTION IN TEXAS

July 11, 1960

Mrs. Alice Fox Pitts
Executive Secretary
American Society of Newspaper Editors
P. O. Box 1053
Wilmington 99, Delaware

Dear Mrs. Pitts:

We are interested in obtaining a list of names and addresses of some members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. We wish to send them copies of the enclosed pamphlet.

If you could supply us with a roster of the members, we would appreciate it.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/bcc

Cr. L-Report #18

July 13, 1960

Mr. Richard Harwood
The Courier-Journal
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Harwood:

Thanks for your note concerning our report Number L-18. As you will have observed, this report was based entirely on the brochure published by the Rounsaville Radio Stations. We checked back with them on the population figures and learned that they had taken the figures from an estimate made by the Radio Advertising Bureau, which provides the service to radio stations for the calculations of rates. These are the figures supplied by the Bureau for the "marketing areas" around the cities named. How far off the estimates may be will be revealed by the 1960 census figures. In the meantime, Rounsaville stands by the Bureau estimates.

We are far from certain that the estimates are not greatly inflated and will be greatly relieved when the Census Bureau rescues all of us from this kind of guess work.

I, too, enjoyed our talk last fall and hope that our paths will cross again. Do call on us anytime we can be of service.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BARRY BINGHAM *President & Editor-in-Chief*

MARK F. ETHRIDGE, *Publisher* LISLE BAKER, JR., *Vice Pres. & Gen. Mgr.*

The Courier-Journal
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES
LOUISVILLE 2, KY.

July 5.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your Council reports have been very informative andm useful. I have a question, however, about Report No. L-18 (June 29) which deals with Negro buying power. Are the Negro population figures for the five Southern cities correct ?

The Louisville figure, I think, should be 74,251, rather than 174,251. I suspect the Nashville and Tampa figures are likewise in error--the first digit should be dropped.

I enjoyed talking with you last fall in connection with my trip for information on the Highlander Folk School. If I can repay your helpfulness in any way, don't hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely,

Richard Harwood

Richard Harwood.

The estimate of 174,251 Negroes in the Louisville marketing area was taken, as our report indicated, from the Rounsaville Radio Stations brochure. It is, of course, only an estimate, and subject to the qualifications accompanying any estimate. Rounsaville had taken it from an estimate made by the Radio Advertising Bureau, which provides a service to radio stations for the calculation of rates. There are two things, I think, which ought to be said for it. First, it applies to the "marketing area," which includes not only Louisville metro, but also Bullitt, Meade, Nelson, Oldham, Shelby, Spencer, Trimble, one-fourth of Anderson, one-half of Hardin, and one-third of Henry Counties (Kentucky); and Harrison, one-third of Crawford, one-half of Scott, one-half of Washington Counties (Indiana). Most of the Negro population, however, was estimated to be in the metro area (153,331), and so these outlying counties do not greatly affect the accuracy of the estimate. On the other hand, Rounsaville did apparently, we find on checking through their figures, count Clark and Floyd Counties (Indiana) in their non-metro total, whereas they are both in Louisville metro and presumably included there: thus, on their own estimates, their figure may be too high by 3,659. (No similar mistake was made in the case of Nashville and Tampa-St. Petersburg.) Second, the estimated total population of Louisville metro used by Rounsaville, and not shown in our report, was 711,300. This compares very well with the preliminary census returns of 718,028 for Louisville metro, and does at least suggest that the racial estimate is related to a conservative population estimate.

(H.F. - Rounsaville is mailing me a copy of the Radio Advertising Bureau brochure.)

August 5, 1960

Mr. Frank Trippett
Capitol Press Room
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Frank:

We've read your articles on "massive resistance" with pleasure and admiration. Even Col. R. E. Lee Baker himself couldn't have done better.

If there's no objection, we'd like to reproduce the two articles as one of our L-Reports. Could I trouble you to give or get the necessary permission for us?

Next time you get to Atlanta, I hope we'll have a chance to get really acquainted. Meanwhile, best regards.

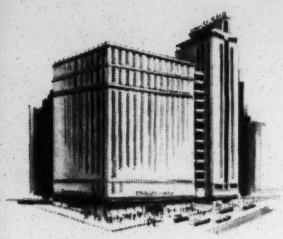
Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

PRL

CARLING DINKLER
PRESIDENT
CARLING DINKLER, JR.
VICE-PRES. AND GEN. MGR.



THE
Dinkler Plaza

GEORGE FOWLER
VICE PRESIDENT AND MANAGER
ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA
POST OFFICE BOX 1702

DINKLER
ENTERPRISES

HOTELS
THE DINKLER PLAZA
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
THE DINKLER-TUTWILER
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA
THE DINKLER-JEFFERSON DAVIS
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA
THE DINKLER-ANDREW JACKSON
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
MOTOR INN
THE BELVEDERE AND
THE BELVEDERE ICE RINK
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Wednesday.

Dear Mr Fleming,

I am very grateful to you for seeing me at such length this afternoon and also for the material which I found waiting for me. This is just to thank you on both counts, and to say what an interesting and valuable afternoon it was for me. I hope the papers didn't suffer too much.

Please thank Mr Rilling, too, for all the help he gave me over

New Orleans.

Yours very sincerely
Margaret Cruikshank.

ODOM FANNING
Technical Public Relations
7745 REEDS ROAD
KANSAS CITY 15, MISSOURI
TELEPHONE NIAGARA 8-2408

August 11, 1960

Acknowledged Personally by H-C-F

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

I'm sure Elaine wrote you and Jane that we were touched and sentimented by your generous gesture in having the party for all the old members of the Party. It was a dramatic way to plink the heartstrings and intice a poor old PR man to sell out in Prairie Village, Kansas and move, at his own expense, back home. Believe me, I'm tempted. I've been wondering what kind of college accounts I might get in Georgia--Piedmont? Bessie Tift? Shorter? (Don't tell me that's no Longer there.) A few colleges would be fairly easy to manage, what with my know-how in fund-raising and such. One college, one race-relations outfit, one company, one trade association, and one world--that would give me five days work a week, and that would be enough.

Next week I'm off to New York, on a visit to magazine editors (official business), and to a foundation and a newspaper publisher (job possibilities). The latter could bring me to Atlanta to work, but first I've got to determine if they have a job and want me. I've heard that they have a job in Atlanta, you see.

Elaine wrote, I presume, that Bem was here the day after we returned. Bem seems happy (for Bem) in his work. He, too, is nostalgic for Atlanta. If he could get a high-pay, low-energy job there, he'd be back, too. Fleming, you've got a racket and don't see to appreciate it. And soon you'll be air-conditioned, I hope, and just a stone's throw from the Atlanta Newspapers, Inc. Don't get fat and lazy.

Sincerely,

Odom

August 29, 1960

Mr. William Beecher
The Wall Street Journal
1015 - 14th Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Beecher:

We are placing your name on our mailing list for future reports of the Council. This does not include our monthly magazine NEW SOUTH, a copy of which is enclosed. It will include all our news releases, reports and pamphlets other than NEW SOUTH.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC., PUBLISHERS
1015 14th Street, N.W. – Washington 5, D.C.

Wednesday, Aug. 24

Dear Sirs:

Received your special report on School Desegregation for the period 1960-61. Find it very interesting.

I cover the Supreme Court for the Journal and would find it helpful to receive other documents of this sort as they come out. Would appreciate being placed on your mailing list.

Thanking you for your courteous attention, I am

Sincerely,

William Beecher

William Beecher

August 31, 1960

Mr. Jameson Jones
Motive Magazine
Box 871
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Jones:

Thank you for your recent letter and the copy of the May issue of Motive. If you can spare us twenty-five (25) copies of the latter, we can make good use of them.

We are pleased that you liked Wallace Westfeldt's treatment of the sit-ins and are planning to reprint it in the October issue. We shall look forward to receiving it after publication.

With all good wishes to you and for the fine job you are doing with Motive.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MOTIVE MAGAZINE
box 871 / nashville 2 / tennessee / cypress 1-6930

8/22/60

August 18, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director of Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We were greatly impressed by the latest piece that Wally Westfeldt has written on settling the sit-ins in Nashville. I talked with George Barrett over the telephone seeking permission of the Nashville Community Relations Council to reprint the article, and he said that he would send the word of our interest on to you, since the Southern Regional Council had taken part in the project, also. Wally Westfeldt gave his own permission and so we have the article well in the works for the October issue of our magazine.

I want to let you know that the article is scheduled for October, and that we will send two marked copies of the issue to you as soon as it is available. If you should have use for any additional copies, we would be glad to supply them.

I am enclosing a copy of the May issue of motive, in which we had some material on the sit-ins. This will give you some idea of what our magazine is like. We happen to have a supply of the May issue on hand, and would be glad to send a quantity to you at no charge at all, if you would like to have them for any reason.

With personal good wishes, and with high appreciation for your own leadership in your writings in this area, I am,

Cordially yours,

Jameson Jones

Jameson Jones

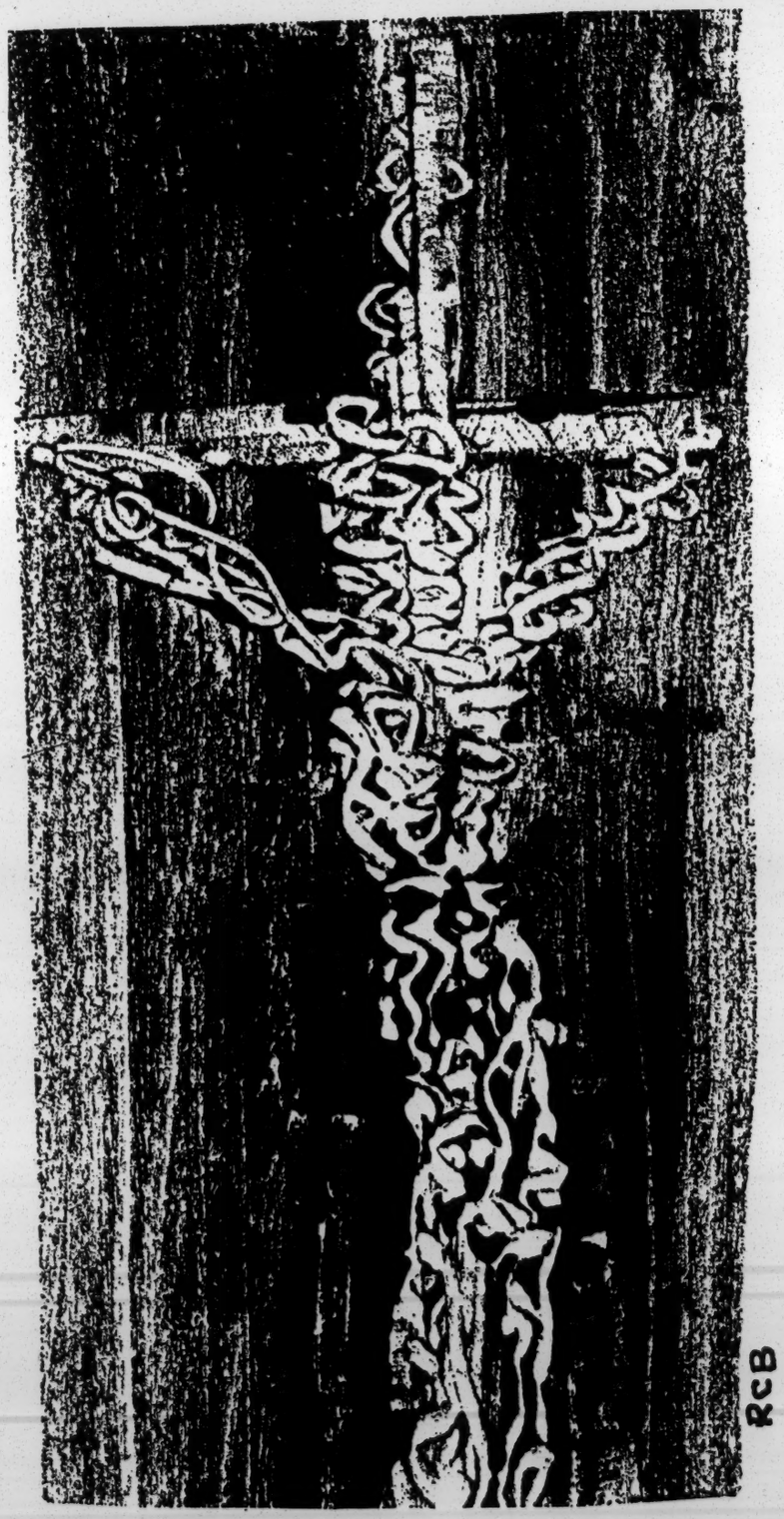
wl

enc.

jameson jones: editor / margaret rigg: managing editor
the division of educational institutions of the methodist church

may 1960 .... motive

issues



PEOPLE around the world are aware of recent sit-in demonstrations at lunch counters in the South. At least six issues are involved in the demonstrations.

The central drive in the demonstrations is toward justice. Justice in the literal sense of what is right. Negroes of the South know quite well that God, in his creation, and the Constitution of the United States, in its founding of a nation, have granted them full citizenship, freedom and dignity. Regional and local customs, state and local laws have hindered their full citizenship, denied their freedom, and often so slandered their personalities that the maintenance of dignity has been an almost impossible task. The problem now is how to achieve the justice to which the laws of God and of their nation entitle them.

The American principle of democracy under law is on the side of the Negro people in their efforts to achieve equality. The Christian principles of human equality and freedom under God are also on their side. Trite but false stereotypes concerning the Negro have left the white man comfortable with double standards of citizenship, morality and justice. The lunch-counter movement declares one standard of citizenship, of morality, and of justice for all.

There is a human issue, grounded in common sense. Stores of the South have welcomed the Negro customer, accepted his money, and even let him try on new clothes, and yet refused to serve him coffee at the lunch counter. Occasionally, a store has offered Negro customers segregated and quite inferior food facilities (for example, a small room,

in the sit-ins

BY JAMESON JONES

one table, with sandwiches and beverages out of vending machines). Rest rooms, where available for Negroes at all, are usually inferior to their counterparts for white customers. Often they are almost inaccessible, as when in a subbasement. Many Negro shoppers consciously regulate their hours in town, seeking to avoid a need for food or rest. Common sense would say that a people who spend so much, as Negro shoppers do, and are accepted as freely in clothing sections of a store, ought certainly to be accepted as freely where beverages and snacks are served. The Negro is tired of shopping on present terms, tired of waiting for a place to sit and get refreshment, tired of waiting for the changes to come.

So, the sit-in demonstrations began, with students asking for service at traditionally segregated lunch counters and restaurants. As a southwide movement, it has spontaneity. Yet, there have been leaders in cities across the South who have spent months in anticipation of such a movement.

THE first major issue in the sit-in movement is ***method.*** As the Negro in the South has considered possibilities for social change, several methods present themselves. One is violent revolution, but fortunately it has never been seriously considered. The ballot box offers a legal and proper method of achieving change, but ballots are often denied to Negroes through illegal or highly questionable tactics, and when cast their effects are sometimes slight. (In the democratic primary in Nashville in early April, after sit-in demonstrations, Negro voters expressed a significant change of support by a four-to-one majority.) In recent years, the most effective and most generally accepted method has been that of going through the courts. In suits, test cases, and patient work on criminal cases, victory after victory has been won for the champions of human rights and equality. In a major way, such victories are due to the brilliance and legal skill of Negro attorneys whose devotion to the cause has pushed aside any thoughts of adequate financial compensation.

However, the sit-in movement has made nonviolence its method, and so has written a new chapter in American history. The basic idea is that orderly, well-dressed, quiet persons, who are disciplined and committed to the method, ask courteously for the service to which they feel entitled. When refused, they do not object. When called names, they keep quiet. When hit, they do not strike back. Even when hostile white youth pull hair and snuff out burning cigarettes on the backs of Negro girls, the girls do not retaliate. They pray and take what comes, in dignity. And even when the demonstrators (and not the attackers) are jailed, they sit quietly.

The method is old. Gandhi applied it on the largest scale in this century, and Martin Luther King and his associates pioneered in its application in this country, bringing changes to Montgomery, Alabama. After the events in Montgomery, its Negro leaders formed a Southern Christian Leadership Conference, offering guidance and resources to persons in the South who want to apply the method of nonviolent action in their own cities.

Nashville is an example of what happened. Over two years ago, several Negro ministers organized a Nashville Christian Leadership Council, independent of but affiliated with the larger southern group. The ministers met regularly, often only a handful, to talk about ways of achieving more freedom and equality in Nashville. They sponsored workshops on the method of nonviolence. They went in committees to ask store owners and managers to desegregate their lunch counters. Conversations and meetings with merchants brought only ***no,*** sometimes a hostile no, other times a courteous no, but still ***no.*** Attempts to negotiate were made again and again, but with no success. Then when sit-ins started in North Carolina, their example spread to students in Nashville, and the workshops and disciplined discussions of the Nashville Christian Leadership Council had already provided the philosophy and training in the method by which the students could proceed. The Nashville Christian Leadership Council is the leadership group, co-ordinating all efforts and organizing the Negro community in faith, in act, and in financial support of arrested students and of the whole movement.

Method is an issue, and many persons have disagreed with its philosophy, but few there are now who question its effectiveness.

THE second issue is that of ***speed.*** Many white persons recognize that changes are coming, and that lunch counters and other public facilities will be desegregated, and yet they say, not so fast. The Negro community includes many persons

willing to wait patiently for change, who without voicing their hurts or objections have lived as the dominant white communtiy expected them to live. A small minority of people in the South resist all change, but most recognize that change is coming. The question is when, how fast.

Students in their sit-ins are saying quite clearly, "you're going too slow." Both to the whites in power and to the Negroes of their own community, they speak. Student leaders have called for direct action that will hasten the speed of change.

The third issue is that of ***morality.*** What is ethically right. What is just before God. Sin is a reality in the midst of human relations, not just in the South, but everywhere. Prejudice, discrimination, hatred are still flowing like great rivers. Student demonstrators are insisting that there is a moral issue before all people, both white and Negro. Prejudice and hatred are found among us all. Judgment is upon us all—for our evil thoughts, for our evil acts, for accepting the injustices of the ***status quo,*** for failing to speak when we could speak, for failing to live by the commands of God to love neighbor and give the cup of cold water to the thirsty one. All of us have responsibilities that the flowing rivers may be waters of justice and righteousness in all human relationships.

Merchants have responded differently to the problem of "morality." When interviewed by a committee about integrating lunch counters, one Nashville merchant said, "I agree that there is a moral issue, but we do not run our store according to moral issues. We run it by the cash register." Another manager told the committee that there is no moral issue, only an economic issue.

AND that is the fourth: ***economics.*** By and large, the merchants have stood together on the belief that to integrate lunch counters would mean economic losses for their stores, and so they have refused to integrate. In Nashville, Negroes have responded according to economic beliefs of their own. They have declared that the merchants' business would actually increase after lunch counter integration, but lacking opportunity to prove their point, they have worked on another point: namely, that with segregated counters now, business will be worse than ever.

So, Negro professors and economists brought charts and statistics into mass meetings of Nashville Negroes, indicating that while Negroes do not provide the majority of business for downtown Nashville merchants, they do control the difference between profit and loss. Negroes began talking about "economic withdrawal from evil," recalling Old Testament verses about God himself withdrawing from his people (for example, see Hosea 5:6). They talked about stewardship, and a right use of possessions.

At one mass meeting in early March, an economist told how stores had been stocking merchandise for months, expecting it to sell in pre-Easter days. "Now," he said, "let them keep the stuff. I can't think of a single thing that a Nashville Negro needs to buy downtown between now and Easter except possibly new shoes for the growing feet of a child." Soon, Negroes were saying, we can hold on to our money long past Easter. By the first of April, Negro leaders said that their economic withdrawal was 90 per cent effective. And the manager of one variety store told a personal friend that his business was off 60 per cent. Only an occasional Negro was seen along Fifth Avenue, once Nashville's most crowded shopping street. Said a Negro economist: the vote by ballot and the vote by dollar are what the man downtown understands.

The question of economics may be difficult to answer, but in place after place, the balance of power is shifting. Negroes have discovered what difference their dollars make.

The issue most frequently discussed is that of ***law.*** When a merchant opens a place of business for the public, he must operate according to certain basic laws. English Common Law is part of the valid legal heritage of American law, its usage preceding written civil law by centuries. One of its ancient provisions is relevant to the present situation. Common Law, as it pertained specifically to innkeepers, declared that an innkeeper must serve any person who honestly sought his services and was willing to pay, so long as the person met basic requirements of decent dress, sober conduct, and general courtesy. This law was accepted as American law, until in certain sections of the country innkeepers and other merchants began to be concerned about the meaning of such a law about persons of minority racial groups. Then state and local laws arose,

aimed directly at circumventing or thwarting the ancient law. Some Negro attorneys in the South believe that when cases of the lunch-counter type are brought through the court system, the verdict will be in terms of Common Law. Thus, a merchant opening his doors to the public cannot refuse any of the public who enter soberly with honest intentions of buying. Thus, what may appear to some as law because of local or state ordinances, may not be law at all. This the courts will decide.

However, confusion about the law becomes painfully obvious in the Nashville situation. There, no law exists that prohibits Negroes and whites from eating together in a restaurant; however, there is an administrative decision of the conservation commission forbidding owners to serve white and Negro customers together, but this is not law.

On the day of the first Nashville sit-ins, police told store managers they could not interfere unless there were incidents. The day before the next sit-ins, students talked with the chief of police about their plans, and were told that the only applicable law was a city ordinance concerning disorderly conduct. The merchants asked the mayor of Nashville to stop the sit-ins, and later the mayor said he told the merchants, "that in my opinion and after consultation with my attorneys, the opinion was that as long as their business was open to the public any member of the public had a right to come in and request service and I could not interfere with this right." The mayor also said that it was their opinion that the law is broken when anyone insists on remaining seated at lunch counters after they have been closed to all members of the public.

Nashville's students were arrested first on charges of loitering and disorderly conduct. In court, loitering charges were dropped immediately, and 79 students convicted for disorderly conduct. They have appealed. Later, the same students were arrested again on charges of unlawful conspiracy to commit acts injurious to public trade and commerce. The validity of this law for the sit-in cases will depend on the court's interpretation of it and on the effectiveness of the students' defense against it. The students maintain that they did not intend to harm or disrupt business, but instead to increase it. They say they sat at the lunch counters to buy food, and not to stop anyone else from doing so.

THE real legal question is whether the owner of a private business inviting customers from the general public has a right to restrict parts of the public from the use of parts of his business. The precedent of Common Law, according to some attorneys, will necessitate a ***no***. Others, emphasizing the private nature even of a public business, think they can win a ***yes***.

The issue of law has nowhere been so sharply discussed as on the campus of Vanderbilt University, an independent and private school in Nashville. Its chancellor (president) is Harvie Branscomb, a New Testament scholar who was dean of the Divinity School of Duke University immediately before coming to Vanderbilt. He took a significant step forward, as a southern educator, in providing for the admission of Negro students to certain schools of the university.

One of the students accepted by the Vanderbilt Divinity School was James M. Lawson, Jr. For four years he was vice-president of the National Conference of Methodist Youth, then for three years was a missionary of The Methodist Church to India. He did three semesters of seminary work at Oberlin, then transferred to Vanderbilt. In addition to studying for a bachelor of divinity degree, he worked part time as southern regional secretary for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a national organization founded on religious principles for peacemaking among peoples and nations. Active in the formation of the Nashville Christian Leadership Council, Lawson became projects chairman of the group. He is ordained a minister by the Lexington Conference of The Methodist Church. Professors and fellow students at Vanderbilt testify to his brilliance, his friendliness, his genuine warmth and depth. His wise and quiet counsel is as valuable in serious discussions as his excellent pitching arm on a softball field, and several no-hit games testify to the latter.

Immediately after Nashville's first major sit-ins, the mayor met with a large group of Negro ministers to discuss the situation. Jim Lawson summarized for the mayor what the ministers had been saying. When he spoke about the law, and their feelings about it, the mayor became quite agitated and said he hoped that he had misunderstood Lawson, and one or two in the group shouted that he had. But the mayor left the meeting in anger, and his version of what Lawson had said became the quoted version in the press and was the basis for Chancellor Branscomb's statement that Lawson was being expelled from Vanderbilt because of his announced program of deliberate violation of the law. And expelled from Vanderbilt he was—lacking only four hours of credit for completing his B.D. degree.

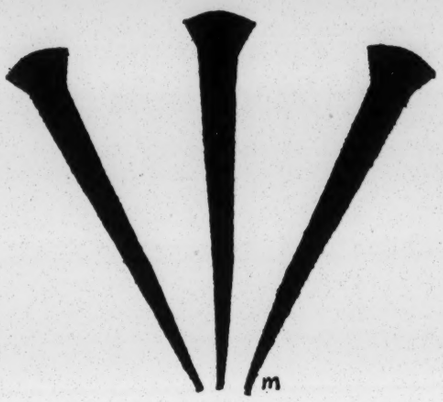
Lawson declared: "Under no circumstances have I ever made, or will I ever make, the categorical statement that students should violate

the law. These are not my words. Defiant violation of the law is a contradiction of my entire understanding of and loyalty to Christian nonviolence. When the Christian considers the concept of civil disobedience as an aspect of nonviolence, it is only within the context of a law or law enforcement agency which has in reality ceased to be the law, and then the Christian does so only in fear and trembling before God." Ministers in Nashville declare that Lawson did not say in the meeting what he has been quoted as saying. Lawson's point is that when the law ceases to be law, and is only a gimmick for the suppression of the Negro, then he would not restrain students from opposing it.

A LEAD editorial of ***The Nashville Banner*** charged Lawson with "out-Kaspering Kasper" and being "the ramrod of strife directed from the outside." The ***Banner*** charged him with "contemptuous challenge of civil authority" and "incitation to anarchy."

As it happened, the executive committee of the Vanderbilt University Board of Trust gathered the next day for a winter meeting to discuss financial matters. The committee discussed Nashville in general and James Lawson in particular. Participating as members of that executive committee were the president and publisher of the ***Banner,*** and the president of one of the large department stores where students had held demonstrations. The executive committee took action, without hearing from Lawson, without consulting the faculty of the Divinity School, most of whom promptly signed a strong statement protesting the action. (When Lawson was jailed on the conspiracy charge, the faculty quickly raised from their own pockets more than enough money to pay his $500 bail fee.) Details of the expulsion are complicated, and we cannot here present even the major ones.

As this is written, April 8, Chancellor Branscomb still has never met Lawson personally or talked with



him about his role in Nashville events. Neither has Lawson ever received written word nor official notice of his expulsion. In the words of the ***Christian Century,*** "the administrative officers of the university have acted with indifference to the basic principles and best traditions of Anglo-American jurisprudence." The executive committee "received and accepted charges against Lawson, placed him on probation, issued him an unacceptable ultimatum which permitted no compromise, and arbitrarily expelled him. At no point was he permitted to defend himself before his judges and accusers or to select a representative who would do so in his behalf." The ***Century*** declares, "Chancellor Harvie Branscomb's rebuke of James Lawson as a participant in a campaign of mass disobedience of law was based on an assumption, not on fact. It has not been determined whether or not the sit-in demonstrators are violators of the law."

In late March, president of the Board of Trust Harold S. Vanderbilt wrote: "To date, no member of the board has either voiced disapproval of the action taken by the executive committee in the Lawson case or requested that a special meeting be called to reconsider the matter. Consequently, neither the chancellor nor I can see any justification for calling such a meeting but, in recognition of the right of appeal, the case will be placed on the agenda of the regular spring meeting of the board, and an opportunity given to the members of the board to discuss it." That meeting is set for May 20-21.

AND now we come directly to the sixth issue related to the sit-in movement: the ***university question.*** The student movement in the churches has long realized the basic issue of the nature and meaning of a university, and the movement's discussions should have new relevance and depth. What is the task and function of a university? What is its relation to society and the culture around it—to be a mirror reflecting values and standards of society, or to be changer and transformer? What is the meaning of freedom, both for the institution itself and for the individual administrator, teacher or student?

In recent days, state institutions in the South have revealed how strong is the control of the state over their affairs. Witness incidents and attitudes at Negro schools in Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina. Private, church-related institutions in the same states have enjoyed a freedom that state schools seem not to know. In the minds of many, the opportunity to be prophetic, in the biblical sense, has given church-related schools a more understandable reason for being. Remember, however, that church-related schools and also independent schools like Vanderbilt must look to generous and devoted businessmen who provide both talents and money for the support of the institutions. As theologian Roger Shinn pointed out in ***Christianity and Crisis,*** businessmen and industry get only a portion of the gratitude they deserve. Yet, when those businessmen are given powers to control education beyond their own ability, or are permitted to make decisions without adequate time for study and consultation with faculty and responsible leaders, then, in Shinn's words, "higher education is in a desperate situation."

For the student Christian movement, there are real discussions ahead concerning the nature and

role of a university, both internally in its educational task, and externally in its relation to culture and the world at large. For educators, there are big questions concerning adequate financial support for institutions but without jeopardizing the freedom they must have for responsible and creative education.

Now, in haste, seven general comments concerning the present situation:

1. The method of nonviolent action has won wide approval as an effective and Christian approach to the problem of achieving social change. We will see more of it.

2. The Negro community in the South has dramatically presented the facts of its plight to the conscience of the white community. The meaning of second-class citizenship for Negroes is clearer now than ever before, and white people are taking a stand for justice and democracy in increasing numbers.

3. There is a new unity in the Negro community—more mature and authentic unity than ever before in history, some observers say. Mass meetings sponsored by the Nashville Christian Leadership Council are filling churches with a genuine cross section of Negro people—laborers and maids, merchants and office workers, professors and doctors, students and the retired. They are together.

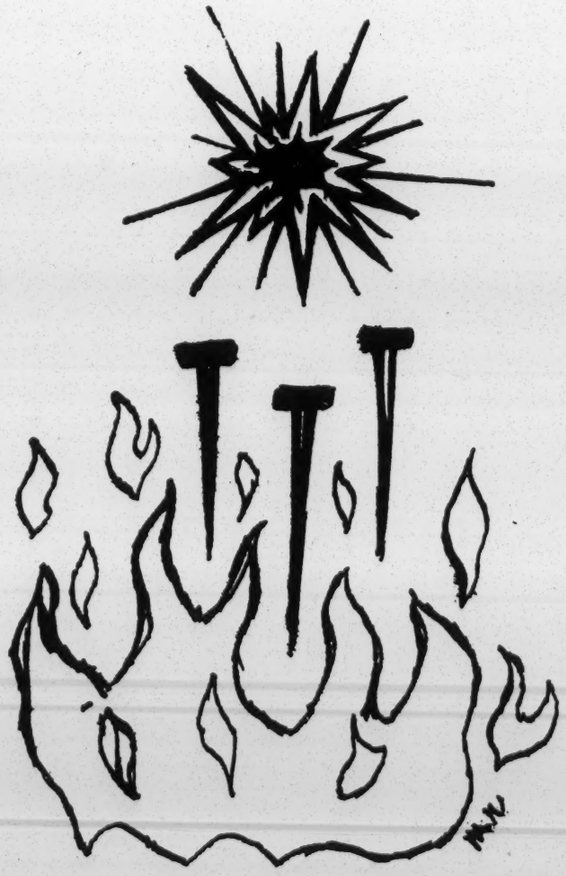
4. The Negro community has demonstrated once again the power of a committed minority. Spiritually, economically, politically, they have power and will use it with increasing effectiveness. Some Negroes are surprised at their power, as are many whites, but it is evident.

5. There is a new leadership among Negroes, largely represented by younger adults, vocal, mature, intelligent and well educated, well disciplined and deeply committed. Martin Luther King and James Lawson, both in their early thirties, are examples of this leadership.

6. Students have played a significant role. With courage and prophetic insight, they have made their witness as they saw fit. Often against the wishes or direct orders of their parents. Largely, these witnessing students have been Negroes, but joined by small numbers of white students. White student groups on southern campuses have supported the demonstrators. The support of James Lawson among divinity students at Vanderbilt has been notable. Outside the South, students on many campuses have acted in support of the southern movement, and related questions have come to life on nonsouthern campuses. A southern California campus had a "stand-up" demonstration, when students on campus stood for their meals to express sympathy with southern sit-ins. The student faculty assembly at Boston University passed legislation outlawing discriminatory clauses in constitutions of social organizations. Also in the east, a fraternity house president resigned when the house refused to take a more liberal stand on its membership practices, specifically when it approved and then withdrew bids to three Negroes and two Jewish men. As James Lawson writes in this magazine, the so-called "silent generation" has just been waiting for the right time to speak.

7. The movement in the South operates from a Christian base. Ministers and churches are the key.

In sermon and hymn, in scripture and prayer, there is a proclamation of the gospel of love and reconciliation among men whom God has made. There is a vitality of faith and witness that reveals power, born not of hatred or envy, but of love and concern that all men might be free under God to live and eat in harmony together. The story is not yet over, and will not be over, until their vision of a kingdom of God, so fervently proclaimed, is at last made real.



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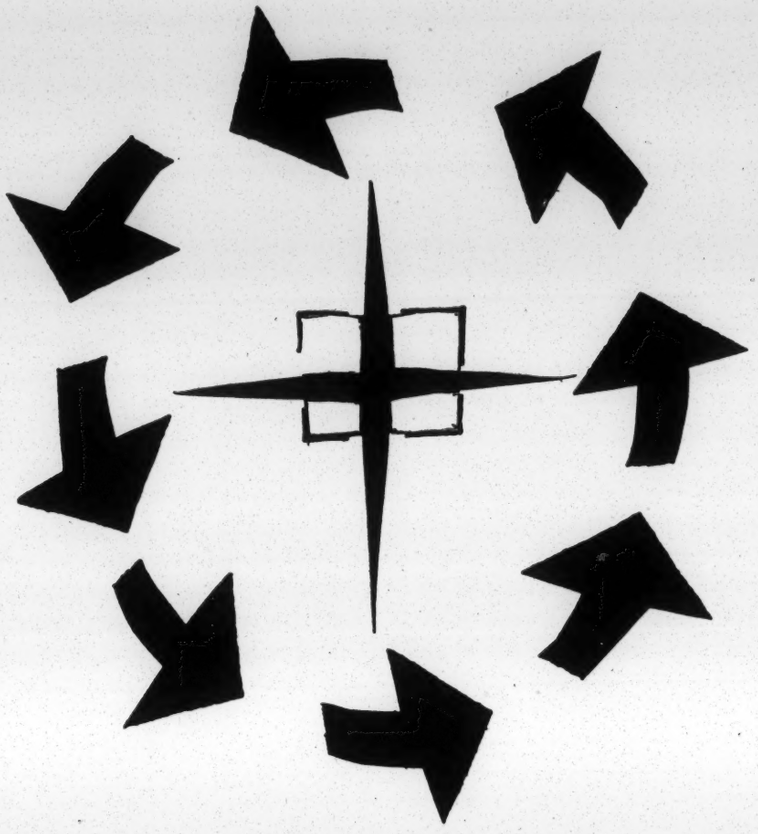

THE "sit-in" movement has leaped from campus to campus, until today hardly any campus remains unaffected. At the beginning of this decade, the student generation was "silent," "uncommitted," or "beatnik." But after only four months, these analogies largely used by adults appear as hasty clichés which should not have been used in the first place. The rapidity and drive of the movement indicates that all the while American students were simply waiting in suspension; waiting for that cause, that ideal, that event, that "actualizing of their faith" which would catapult their right to speak powerfully to their nation and world.

The witness of enthusiastic, but mature young men and women, audacious enough to dare the intimidations and violence of racial injustice, a witness not to be matched by any social effort either in the history of the Negro or in the history of the nation, has caused this impact upon us. In his own time, God has brought this to pass.

But as so frequently happens, these are enigmatic moments. Enigmatic, for like man in every age who cannot read the signs of the times, many of us are not able to see what appears before us, or hear what is "spoken" from lunch-counter stools, or understand what has been felt behind jail cell bars.

Already the paralysis of talk, the disobedience of piety, the frustration of false ambition, and the insensitiveness of an affluent society yearn to diffuse the meaning and flatten the thrust of America's first major nonviolent campaign.

One great university equates the movement to simply another student fad similar to a panty raid, or long black stockings. Many merchants, zealously smothering their Negro customers with courtesy for normal services, anticipated an early end to the unprecedented binge. Certainly no southern white person and few Negroes expected the collegiates to face the hoses, jails, mobs and tear gas with such dignity, fearlessness, and nonviolence. In fact, under any normal conditions, the mere threat of the law was sufficient to send the Negro scurrying to his ghetto. Even astute race reporters accentuate the protest element as the major factor.

Amid this welter of irrelevant and superficial reactions, the primary motifs of the movement, the essential message, the crucial issue raised are often completely missed. So the Christian student who has not yet given his support or mind to the movement might well want to know what the issue is all about. Is it just a lot of nonsense over a hamburger? Or is it far more?

To begin, let us note what the issue is not. Many people of good will, especially Methodists and Nashvillians, have considered my expulsion from Vanderbilt University and the self-righteousness of the press attack as the focus of attention. But nothing could be further from the truth. The expulsion, three months before the completion of the bachelor of divinity degree, drastically alters certain immediate personal plans. The press attack tended to make me a symbol of the movement. But such incidents illustrate an ancient way of escaping an existential moment.

Police partiality is not the issue. Nashville has been considered one of those "good" cities where racial violence has not been tolerated. Yet, on a Saturday in February, the mystique of yet another popular myth vanished. For only police permissiveness invited young white

A LUNCH-COUNTER STOOL

BY JAMES M. LAWSON, JR.

men to take over store after store in an effort to further intimidate or crush the "sit-in." Law enforcement agents accustomed to viewing crime, were able to mark well-dressed students waiting to make purchases, as loitering on the lunch-counter stools, but they were unable even to suspect and certainly not to see assault and battery. Thus potential customers, quietly asking for service, are disorderly, breaching the peace, exciting riots, while violent, swaggering, villifying, defiant white teenagers are law-abiding. The police of the nation have always wreaked brutality upon minority groups. So our Nashville experience is nothing new, or even unexpected. We hold nothing against these hard-pressed officers. Such partiality, however, is symptomatic of the diagnosis only. An inevitable by-product, another means of avoiding the encounter. But the "sit-in" does not intend to make such partiality the issue.

ALREADY many well-meaning and notable voices are seeking to define the problem in purely legal terms. But if the students wanted a legal case, they had only to initiate a suit. But not in a single city did the movement begin in this fashion. No one planned to be arrested or desired such. The legal battles which will be fought as a consequence of many arrests never once touch on the matter of eating where you normally shop, or on segregation *per se*.

The false use of local laws requires new legal definitions which can only be made in the courts, under the judgment of the Constitution of the United States. Old laws and ordinances originally written to hamper labor have been revived to stop or crush the "sit-in"; disorderly conduct codes which could be used against almost every conceivable peaceful demonstration; conspiracy to block trade charges. Obviously these have no relation to the Bill of Rights and are but gimmicks designed to impede civil liberty.

Let us admit readily that some of the major victories gained for social justice have come through the courts, especially the Supreme Court, while other branches of government were often neglecting their primary function to sustain the American experiment. The Negro has been a law-abiding citizen as he has struggled for justice against many unlawful elements.

But the major defeats have occurred when we have been unable to convince the nation to support or implement the Constitution, when a court decision is ignored or nullified by local and state action. A democratic structure of law remains democratic, remains lawful only as the people are continuously persuaded to be democratic. Law is always nullified by practice and disdain unless the minds and hearts of a people sustain law.

When elements of good will called for law and order during the crisis in Little Rock, their pleas fell on deaf ears. In many sections of the country where law no longer sustains and enforces segregation, the segregation persists because it is etched upon the habits of mind and emotions of both Negro and white. Separate but equal in transportation has by the Supreme Court been judged as impossible and unconstitutional. Yet in many cities like Nashville the buses more or less remain segregated. Both Negro and white sustain the custom because their basic inner attitudes and fears remain unchanged. Eventually our society must abide by the Constitution and not permit any local law or custom to hinder freedom or justice. But such a society lives by more than law. In the same respect the "sit-in" movement is not trying to create a legal battle, but points to that which is more than law.

FINALLY, the issue is not integration. This is particularly true for the person oriented to the Christian faith. Certainly the students are asking in behalf of the entire Negro community and the nation that these eating counters become places of service for all persons. But it would be extremely short-sighted to assume that integration is the problem or the word of the "sit-in." To the extent to which the movement reflects deep Christian impulses, desegregation is a necessary next step. But it cannot be the end. If progress has not been at a genuine pace, it is often because the major groups seeking equal rights tactically make desegregation the end and not the means.

The Christian favors the breaking down of racial barriers because the redeemed community of which he is already a citizen recognizes no barriers dividing humanity. The kingdom of God, as in heaven so on earth, is the distant goal of the Christian. That kingdom is far more than the immediate need for integration.

Having tried to dispel the many smoke screens spewed to camouflage the purpose and intent of the "sit-in," let me now try as carefully as possible to describe the message of our movement. There are two facets to that message.

In the first instance, we who are related to the movement are trying

to raise what we call the "moral issue." That is, we are pointing to the viciousness of racial segregation and prejudice and calling it evil or sin. The matter is not legal, sociological nor racial, it is moral and spiritual. Until America (South and North) honestly accepts the sinful nature of racism, this cancerous disease will continue to eat away at all of us.

For many years Negroes and whites have pretended that all is well. "We have good race relations." A city like Nashville has acquired national fame about its progress in desegregation. Yet when the "sit-ins" began, the underlying hatred and sin burst to the surface. A police department with a good reputation for impartiality swiftly became the tool of the disease always there. A mayor, elected with overwhelming Negro support, made the decisions which permitted mob rule. If Nashville had "good race relations," why did such violence explode? The fact is that we were playing make-believe —that we were good. All the while Negro and white by pretension, deliberate cooperation and conscious attitudes shared in such a deluded world.

The South and the entire nation are implicated in the same manner. True, there has been progress. For example, physical lynching has virtually disappeared. A real psychological lynching continues unabated —persons are violated as victims and absolutely stripped of human traits; depersonalized. This kind of lynching goes on every day even while we make-believe that all lynching is a phenomenon of the past. The masses of people, including most moderates of both races, are glibly indifferent.

THE nonviolent movement would convict us all of sin. We assert, "Segregation (racial pride) is sin. God tolerates no breach of his judgment. We are an unhealthy people who contrive every escape from ourselves." Thus a simple act of neatly dressed, nonviolent students with purchases in their pockets, precipitated anger and frustration. Many "good" people (white and Negro) said, "This is not the way. We are already making adequate progress." Nonsense! No progress is adequate so long as any man, woman or child of any ethnic group is still a lynch victim.

That the nonviolent effort has convicted us of sin, and thus appealed to consciences is attested by the new-found unity and direction now established in Negro communities in places like Durham and Nashville. Witness further the many white people who say, "I never thought the problem was so serious. I feel so ashamed." Many of these people now support the movement.

In the second instance, the nonviolent movement is asserting, "get moving. The pace of social change is too slow. At this rate it will be at least another generation before the major forms of segregation disappear. All of Africa will be free before the American Negro attains first-class citizenship. Most of us will be grandparents before we can live normal human lives."

The choice of the nonviolent method, "the sit-in," symbolizes both judgment and promise. It is a judgment upon middle-class conventional, half-way efforts to deal with radical social evil. It is specifically a judgment upon contemporary civil rights attempts. As one high-school student from Chattanooga exclaimed, "We started because we were tired of waiting for adults to act."

THE "sit-in" is likewise ***a sign of promise:*** God's promise that if radically Christian methods are adopted the rate of change can be vastly increased. This is why nonviolence dominates the movement's perspective. Under Christian nonviolence, Negro students reject the hardship of disobedient passivity and fear, but embrace the hardship of violence and jail. Such nonviolence strips the segregationist power structure of its major weapon: the manipulation of law or law-enforcement to keep the Negro in his place.

Furthermore, such an act attracts, strengthens and sensitizes the support of many white persons in the South and across the nation. (The numbers who openly identify themselves with the "sit-in" daily grow.)

Nonviolence in the Negro's struggle gains a fresh maturity. And the Negro gains a new sense of his role in molding a redeemed society. The "word" from the lunch-counter stool demands a sharp reassessment of our organized evil and a radical Christian obedience to ***transform*** that evil. Christian nonviolence provides both that reassessment and the faith of absolute obedience. The extent to which the Negro joined by many others apprehends and incorporates nonviolence determines the degree that the world will acknowledge fresh social insight from America.

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NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D.C.

Mr Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta,
Georgia.

23rd September, 1960.

Dear Mr Fleming,

I shall be visiting Atlanta toward the end of the week and both Mrs Helen Miller and Mr Harry Fleischmann suggested that I should try to see you if you are not too busy. May I call you when I reach Atlanta?

Yours sincerely,

Margaret Cruikshank

Margaret Cruikshank

JOHN S. KNIGHT, *Editor and Publisher*

MEtropolitan 8-2844

KNIGHT NEWSPAPERS, Inc.
WASHINGTON BUREAU
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NOV 17 1960

Wednesday

Dear Harold:

I have sicced on you Aliyu Bida, the press officer of the Nigerian Embassy, who is ~~xxxx~~ going to Atlanta this afternoon and will be there several days. He is there to make a talk at Spellman.

I'm coming home for a week myself next week and would like to see you ~~xx~~ for a chat then. One of the things on my mind is to set up some kind of group to see these Africans when they come down ~~xxxx~~ there. It's important.

Gave Bida the names of McGill, Jack Spaulding and Ruby Hurley as well as yours.

Best,

Don Oberdorfer

January 25, 1961

Mr. William K. Wyant, Jr.
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Bill:

I appreciated your note sometime ago and the good use which the editorial department of the P-D made of the Conway talk.

It's good, too, to know what your final decision was. I am sure it was the right one. Both the new specialty and the brighter prospects sound good.

I am enclosing a copy of an opus we have done for the benefit of President Kennedy and the people around him who will be working on civil rights. It's being released for next Monday morning papers, January 30. We hope it will do some good.

The very best to you and Carita.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

LWD ✓

Return to Hef

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

12-22-60

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Dec. 20, 1960

Dear Harold -

Congratulations on the excellent material Southern Regional Council is putting out. I am very grateful to have it.

I passed the Conway talk on to Jim Lawrence of the editorial department, and as you see from the attached the P-D used a somewhat truncated version under the cartoon.

After some searching of soul, I decided to stay in St. Louis, with a new specialiky in the field of education, and considerably brighter prospects for the future.

All good wishes of the season to you and yours,

Warm regards,

Bill

William K. Wyant Jr.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
Founded by JOSEPH PULITZER
December 12, 1878
Published by
The Pulitzer Publishing Co.
1133 Franklin Ave. (1)—
MAin 1-1111
Adtaker Service—MAin 1-6666

THE POST-DISPATCH PLATFORM

I KNOW THAT MY RETIREMENT WILL MAKE NO DIFFERENCE IN ITS CARDINAL PRINCIPLES, THAT IT WILL ALWAYS FIGHT FOR PROGRESS AND REFORM, NEVER TOLERATE INJUSTICE OR CORRUPTION, ALWAYS FIGHT DEMAGOGUES OF ALL PARTIES, NEVER BELONG TO ANY PARTY, ALWAYS OPPOSE PRIVILEGED CLASSES AND PUBLIC PLUNDERERS, NEVER LACK SYMPATHY WITH THE POOR, ALWAYS REMAIN DEVOTED TO THE PUBLIC WELFARE, NEVER BE SATISFIED WITH MERELY PRINTING NEWS, ALWAYS BE DRASTICALLY INDEPENDENT, NEVER BE AFRAID TO ATTACK WRONG, WHETHER BY PREDATORY PLUTOCRACY OR PREDATORY POVERTY.

JOSEPH PULITZER

April 10, 1907

Tuesday, Dec. 20, 1960

Letters from the People

Helping the Helpless

I was watching television the other night and saw a program called "The CBS Report." It was about homeless refugees in Europe. It told how many refugees wait five, 10 and even 15 years before they get admitted to a country for citizenship.

This special program moved me very much. I feel it is our duty to try to help the homeless help themselves. I also feel that the money we as Americans spend on things we don't really need should be sent to help the refugees in Europe and the world.

I feel that if each American family that is able could take in a refugee family and help them to become citizens of our great nation that it would help bring about world peace. **Sam Pettus**

Inviting Fraud

It's true that a close election, even with empty ballot boxes, broken seals and lost ballots, is not prima facie evidence of fraud. But if 80 Kennedy votes in a precinct with only 23 voters isn't prima facie evidence, what is?

Thruston Morton isn't trying to "cast a cloud on the presidency." The "cloud" is already there. Democrat roadblocks and drawn-out judicial maneuvering do eliminate any chance of upsetting Kennedy's election. But dropping the investigation now for that reason, as you suggest in your "Merits of a Recount" editorial, only invites bigger and better frauds in the future.

Failure at NATO

The Eisenhower Administration has fumbled badly the proposal to equip the North Atlantic Treaty Organization with nuclear weapons under joint control. Secretary of State Herter took to the Paris ministerial meeting suggestions that were so confused some points could not be explained. Other points are so questionable that they should not have been put forward at this time.

Naturally, the ministers postponed action until May. The situation was too "iffy." The United States offer was good only if President-elect Kennedy approved, if the allies agreed on how to pay for the force, and if Congress changed the McMahon law which prohibits the United States from placing nuclear warheads under foreign control.

The Eisenhower Administration has only a month to run and Mr. Herter should not have presented any sort of detailed proposition without the approval of the incoming administratin. Since this was unlikely in view of the fact Mr. Kennedy has just completed organizing his top foreign-policy advisers, the United States position should have been outlined only in generalities, if at all.

As the United States plan was explained in brief, five nuclear submarines each armed with 16 nuclear-tipped Polaris missiles would be placed under joint NATO command providing the allies bought an additional 100 missiles costing about a million dollars each. The United States emphasized the price tag, saying this country had come upon hard times and arguing that a larger percentage of the cost of defending Europe must be paid by the allies.

This is a reasonable goal, but the lever is misapplied. If NATO needs the weapons, the first concern should be to supply them. Setting the condition that the allies must agree to buy more missiles sounds as if the United States is putting the budget first.

There was a good deal of speculation at Paris over possible United States motives in proposing the plan at this time and in such a hazy manner. One explanation was that President Eisenhower, who reported to Paris just 10 years ago to take command of NATO forces in Europe, wanted to mark his departure from office by a spectacular move. If so, this was ill-considered.

One apparent purpose was an effort to induce the allies to forego independent nuclear programs. This again is a laudable objective, but the best of ends is not advanced by clumsy means.

Another explanaton, and it is a disturbing one, is that the United States was preparing for the day when it would withdraw most of its ground and air forces from Europe, leaving the allies dependent on tactical nuclear weapons they might be extremely reluctant to use and on a reborn German army that many mistrust.

Gen. Lauris Norstad, supreme NATO commander, and Secretary General Paul-Henri Spaak have recently been advocating joint control of nuclear arms by NATO, but the United States would have been wise to delay its proposal. The freedom of action of the new Administration already has been inhibited, and nothing has been gained. It will now be up to the Kennedy Administration to clarify the policy.

office, how much more true is it of a cabinet appointment! President-elect Kennedy would have done well to think much more seriously about his appointment of his brother to head the Department of Justice.

How to Earn It

Gov. James T. Blair recommends that the special legislative session increase the pay of legislators from $1500 a year to between $5000 and $6000. Bills have been introduced proposing the latter figure. The natural question is, are the legislators worth it?

Some of them apparently wonder how their constituents might receive a pay increase totaling more than $859,000. One Representative says, "It wouldn't be safe to go back to my district if I voted myself $5000 a year."

Higher pay can be justified, in part, because of the years of inflation since the $1500 figure was written into the 1945 State Constitution. Moreover, the scale was hardly adequate even in 1945. It set a low value on the men who direct the public business. But the best way for a legislator to face the folks back home with a bigger paycheck in his pocket is for him to be able to show that he worked hard and conscientiously on that business.

Gov. Blair noted wryly that his pay rise proposal was "likely to get more sympathy than some of the others" he had made. Major parts of his program were neglected in part because he was a lame-duck Governor in his last two years, just when he had gained the experience necessary to produce a good program. The one-term limit in office makes this a common fate of Missouri Governors.

One of the first things the next Legislature should do to earn higher salaries is to abolish the one-term limit and free executive leadership. Another is to adopt a conflict-of-interests law, which Governor-elect John Dalton is sure to recommend. Well-paid legislators should have no need for gifts and favors that conflict with their duty to the public interest.

Finally, the 1961 Legislature has six months of work ahead of it, and an agenda of growing state problems. Hard work and serious devotion to business will do more than anything else to justify a pay increase.

In Time's Winged Chariot

By mortal standards, 45 years constitute so long a span of Time's flight that many who have traversed it are reluctant to look back. Not so Daniel R. Fitzpatrick, whose impressive cartoons appeared on this page for 45 years.

Currently he is reliving those years in a series of weekly shows on Television Station KETC (Channel 9), recalling them for his contemporaries, and recreating them for those with fewer years to their account. He is doing it by means of a selection of his cartoons to which the camera imparts an unwonted animation. And he is flavoring this pictorial display with recollections and comments which reveal the man to those who heretofore had known only his work.

The fascination of "45 Years With Fitzpatrick" stems from his intense preoccupation with the events of every day of every one of those years, a preoccupation which left no room for bleakness or emptiness. It is the full life which bears re-examination. Fitz has

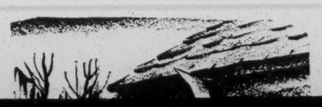
". . . AND WHAT ARE YOU UP TO?"

A Georgian's Plea for Open Schools

Economic Development as Well as Good Sense Requires It, Publisher Says

From an Address by
H. McKinley Conway Jr.

Mr. Conway is president of Conway Publications, publisher



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Florissant **John A. Stormer**

Bipartisan Recount

I feel the paragraph on the Dec. 14 editorial page regarding Thruston Morton's plans for recounting votes in the recent presidential election was a poor analysis of his intentions. I think we should all adopt a truly bipartisan attitude regarding these matters and wake up to the fact that unless our national elections are free from fraud we have no right to criticize the elections of any country.

O'Fallon, Mo. **R. P. Gieseking**

Christmas and the State

The legal principle of "de minimis" is properly argued with the literary tool of ridicule; one must agree with you that a Creche at the Oregon capitol (or our Veterans' Hospital or City Plaza) is not likely to destroy the Constitution very soon.

You err, I submit, in confusing the silly with the unpopular, for you seem to suggest that the First Amendment may be properly tested by the criteria of commercial success or public acceptance. The guarantees of the First Amendment are not qualified by an opinion poll.

Though it is perhaps unfortunate that important civil liberties issues seldom involve other than obscure, odd, unpopular, or apparently worthless people and opinions, the principles of the Bill of Rights have to be supported where they arise.

Since Christmas is a secular holiday in this country, the proper borderline of Church-State relations becomes particularly blurred in December. There is a continuum from the Creche on the statehouse lawn to the state purchase of religious apparatus, and thence to religious education under state auspices and support for books and teachers in religious schools; the proper line of demarcation is not simple to find and we may feel grateful that some citizens are worried about it.

William M. Landau

What Payoff?

There is criticism in Republican quarters concerning President-elect Kennedy's offer of the job of Postmaster General to Negro Congressman Dawson, who declined. They accuse Mr. Kennedy of "paying off" a political debt of gratitude.

No one can accuse Messrs. Nixon and Lodge of such an unethical practice. Instead, during the campaign they just offered a simple, outright "bribe," and I can't help but wonder which Negro and which Cabinet post they had in mind.

Margaret Fraser Jarnagin
St. Louis county

Questions on an Appointee

It is disturbing to many who wish well to the incoming Administration to learn that retiring Gov. Williams of Michigan is to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Mr. Williams has had no meaningful experience whatsoever in dealing with the many critical problems that will face us in Africa.

Charles Christoph
Staten Island, N.Y.

forces in Europe, wanted to mark his departure from office by a spectacular move. If so, this was ill-considered.

One apparent purpose was an effort to induce the allies to forego independent nuclear programs. This again is a laudable objective, but the best of ends is not advanced by clumsy means.

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Challenging Alderman Harris

Governor-elect Dalton has performed a public service in the closing days of his term as Attorney General. His ruling that the state should participate in an ouster suit against Alderman Alfred I. Harris paves the way for the courts to determine whether Mr. Harris can represent St. Louis's Twenty-second Ward while actually living in Ladue.

The Governor-elect acted after Circuit Attorney Eagleton, the incoming Attorney General, refused on narrow grounds to lend a hand. Mr. Eagleton held that under the City Charter the Board of Aldermen is the proper judge of the qualifications of its members, which is true enough. And yet as a practical matter this is no remedy at all. Since questions have been raised as to the residences of five other Democratic Aldermen — Blaine, Smith, Villa, Lawson and Mueller—in addition to Mr. Harris, the remaining Democratic Aldermen are not disposed to open that Pandora's box.

The Charter plainly intends that each Alderman live in the ward he represents. Mr. Harris and the others posed as the gallant defenders of this principle in fighting the City Charter proposed by the Stemmler Freeholders of 1956-57. That instrument would have increased at-large representation and cut the number of Aldermen elected by wards from 28 to 7, an objective the incumbents regarded as frightful.

In happy contrast to Mr. Eagleton's ruling, Mr. Dalton's will take this issue into court where the public interest may be weighed on scales more accurately balanced than those of the Board of Aldermen.

Wilson and His Brother

Speaking of Presidents who are under pressure to appoint brothers to their Administrations, Woodrow Wilson faced the problem soon after he took office in 1913, when Democrats in Nashville, Tenn., urged him to appoint his younger brother, Joseph Ruggles Wilson Jr., as postmaster there. President Wilson wrote this letter to his brother:

> My Dear, Dear Brother:
> I never in my life had anything quite so hard to do as this that I must do about the Nashville Postoffice. Knowing as I do that a better man could not possibly be found for the place, and sure though I am that it would meet with the general approval of the citizens of Nashville, I yet feel that it would be a very serious mistake both for you and me if I were to appoint you to the postmastership there.
> I cannot tell you how much I have worried about this thing or how much I have had to struggle against affection and temptation, but I am clear in the conviction that I am sure that in the long run, if not now, you will agree with me that I am declining rightly. I can't write any more now because I feel too deeply.

President Wilson, we think, saw the issue clearly. The question was not whether his brother was qualified for the appointment, or whether it would meet with public approval, or whether his brother deserved it. The point was that an unavoidably special relationship with his brother would create a special and undesirable relationship between the Presidency and the postmastership at Nashville. Wilson realized that, because of their kinship, he would be unable to apply the objective standards of conduct and performance to that particular postmaster which he should apply to all postmasters.

If this is true of such a relatively minor

devotion to business will do more than anything else to justify a pay increase.

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The fascination of "45 Years With Fitzpatrick" stems from his intense preoccupation with the events of every day of every one of those years, a preoccupation which left no room for bleakness or emptiness. It is the full life which bears re-examination. Fitz has always lived it. Now there is the opportunity for others to relive with him 45 of his years—years crowded with ideas, wise and foolish, with frustrations and achievements, disasters and triumphs—all the freight of Time's winged chariot.

A Place to Go

Not long after the election it seemed that the South's 14 unpledged electors were "all dressed up with no place to go." Now it turns out, from the official vote of the Electoral College, that the 14 finally found a place to go. Along with one Nixon elector from Oklahoma, they went to Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia.

This is not precisely what rebellious Dixiecrats had in mind when they first talked of an unpledged electors scheme last spring. Correctly forecasting a close election, they hoped to withhold their vote from either candidate, keep either from winning an electoral majority, throw the decision to the House of Representatives and there bargain for their votes on civil rights and other matters.

Only Mississippi, however, elected a full slate of eight unpledged electors. Alabama chose six unpledged among 11 electors. While electors of some other states were legally uncommitted, still the public voted for them as electors for one ticket or the other. Political leaders of Georgia and Louisiana flatly refused to go back on this implicit commitment. And even those Democrats opposed to President-elect Kennedy conceded the folly of further tampering with the electoral vote.

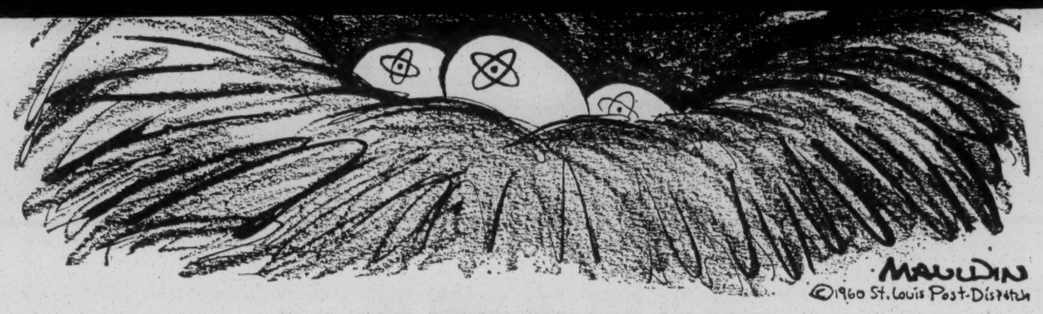
For one thing, had the South been able to switch the election to Nixon, it would have defied Mr. Kennedy's popular victory, slight though it was. Had the South been able to throw the choice to the House, it would have created a constitutional crisis most damaging to American claims of leadership in a chaotic world. And, had either presidential candidate accepted Southern electoral votes on terms of bargaining over civil rights, or perhaps over an Attorney General, the bargain would have tended to discredit him, his rights program or his choice as Attorney General with the major part of the nation.

Considerable credit should be given Southern leaders who foresaw these possibilities and rejected the unpledged elector scheme. They have left the 14 unpledged electors with the reactionary Senator Byrd, which is at least an appropriate home for them.

Choking Off the Liberals?

It may be rather difficult for Senator Mike Mansfield, expected to be the next majority leader, to justify his appeal to fellow-Democrats to settle intra-party disagreements in the open rather than in caucus. His explanation that closed-door party meetings are dilatory and produce garbled rumors of what was said and done do not ring true.

For the Democrats, the elimination of a caucus too often means depriving the Northern liberals of an adequate voice in policy-making. Some of them, for example, want to change the filibuster rule before the Senate goes to work. Mansfield apparently fears this would destroy party unity and make legislative accomplishments exceedingly difficult. He may be right. But there is an anti-filibuster plank in the party platform, and for some Senators this is a matter of conscience. They are entitled to be heard in caucus.



". . . AND WHAT ARE YOU UP TO?"

A Georgian's Plea for Open Schools

Economic Development as Well as Good Sense Requires It, Publisher Says

From an Address by
H. McKinley Conway Jr.

Mr. Conway is president of Conway Publications, publisher of business guides, and a resident of DeKalb county, Ga., where he delivered this address to 1500 teachers and officials.

In my opinion, the threat of closing our school system hangs like the sword of Damocles over every constructive program underway in this state today.

During the past 10 years my company has conducted a great many studies of the importance of industrial development in communities throughout this country. We were in Little Rock before, during and after the school closing there. We have been active in other areas in which schools have been threatened or closed.

The Mirror of Public Opinion

Therefore, it is only natural that we have been asked a good many times what we thought would happen here in DeKalb county, Ga., if schools should be closed. As a partial answer to this question, we have offered the following analysis which we believe is based on sound information.

It has been found that the first effect of school closings, or even the threat of school closings, is a sharp reduction in the number of new industrial plants which will be located in an area. In fact, new industrial locations in Little Rock were reduced to zero for three years.

Conservatively estimating, school closing here would cost DeKalb county some 30 medium size units over a three-year period. We would then tally these losses: 9,000 fewer people would move to DeKalb; 3,360 fewer homes would be built; $18,000,000 less gross income would come into the county; 3,210 fewer automobiles would be registered; 6,200 job opportunities would be lost; $11,000,000 potential increase in retail sales would not be enjoyed. And we might add that if schools should close anywhere in Georgia development programs will be crippled everywhere in Georgia.

—Post-Dispatch, Jan. 31, 1956.

Segregation's Last Stand

Of course, closing any public schools in Georgia would result in immediate international publicity of the most unfavorable type. Overnight, the value of newspaper and magazine space devoted to adverse reports on Georgia would total millions of dollars—more than is spent on positive-type advertising by the State of Georgia and the various promotional groups within the state in a decade.

Five years ago, there was good reason to be confused in our thinking about this matter. However, we do not have any excuse today. We have seen the pattern in Little Rock; we have seen the pattern in Virginia and elsewhere throughout the South. The handwriting is on the wall.

The Sibley Committee of the Georgia Legislature made an exhaustive study of past experience in handling the school crisis and produced an outstanding report. It is factual, realistic and intelligent. Basically, the majority opinion of the Sibley group is that the school decision must be left to each local area. That is what was learned in Virginia and that is the basis on which public schools were reopened there.

I think we might also observe that wherever the school problem has been resolved, this has always been accomplished by putting the school problem in the hands of school officials who can handle it best. By contrast, every time the school matter has been taken over by political leaders, there has been catastrophe. We ought to learn something from that.

I am an eternal optimist and, despite all of the storm warnings, I cannot help but hope that we are going to find a suitable answer to the school situation in Georgia. I prefer to look upon the crisis which looms ahead not as a problem, but as an opportunity.

Throughout the nation today, there are people who are watching to see what we do. I believe most of our critics expect us to fumble the ball. But look what would happen to Georgia's prestige nationally and internationally if we surprised our critics and handled the school situation smoothly and without chaos. Our stock would rise everywhere and every citizen of Georgia would benefit.

Thus, there is in the school situation a distinct opportunity for Gov. Vandiver, for his administration, and for all of us.

Dollar Crisis, Canadian View

From The Montreal Star

During the earlier postwar years, half the world was suffering from a dollar shortage. Now the United States has decided to take steps to protect the stability of its own currency, and this turnabout will come as a surprise to many.

It is a major proposition of the free world coalition that the defense of its values rests fundamentally upon American strength. There will be no complaint therefore about the emergency measures now taken though some of them will undoubtedly diminish the degree of prosperity in the countries which have benefited by American spending. There is, however, another lesson which is that, as the partners and allies of the United States gain in economic strength they must pick up more of the burden carried so unflinchingly and for so many years by Washington.

There have indeed been warnings to this effect for some time past. They should be heeded, for if the remedial measures now proposed are not sufficient, they will inevitably be followed by others. From a political point of view this may be no bad thing. So long as the United States was paying so large a part of the total costs of free world defense, Washington was entitled to call the tune. Some of its allies raised objections to this. But the trend of the future will be to spread the burdens more evenly. American domination of the coalition thus becomes less. The alliance should become more of a partnership in which more than one voice is to be heard in the big policy decisions.

Between Book Ends

Our Modern Neurotics

THE DOUBLE VIEW, by Chandler Brossard. (Dial, 188 pgs., $3.50.)

Chandler Brossard's third novel, "The Double View," depicts a group of persons whose outlook on life is basically ambiguous, or "double." They are modern neurotics, alternating poses of what they think is an adult social, sexual or intellectual response to the world around them.

The one with truest vision, Carter, lives in a mental institution, and since he has had a nervous breakdown, he can and finally does see himself honestly. His wife, Janine, however, is burdened with guilt and mousiness. She sleeps with his best friend, Rand, who thus is deceiving his own wife. Loosely affiliated with them socially are Margaret, a wealthy girl who out of boredom indulges in sexual extravaganzas with a young slum couple; Hawkins, a Negro professor who does not know who or what he is and Harry, who finding one life sterile, leads another in a Brooklyn slum.

Mr. Brossard does not feel that the double vision works. His people are all victims of one sort or another. For example, Margaret is raped by three men as a macabre joke, Harry and Hawkins, among them. They are friends of hers; indeed, Hawkins is her lover, which is part of the joke. Both are killed, Hawkins screaming before he dies, "This isn't me!" The penalty for not being, or finding, yourself can be violation, death, betrayal, ennui, insanity, frustration and spiritual lethargy.

Aside from Carter's vague impulse to return to his hometown and find the self that once had meaning, the author has no hope for his characters. The one man of complete single vision, the companion to Hawkins and Harry on their fatal grotesquerie, is a cheap hoodlum; he escapes and survives. Mr. Brossard could not be more cynical about the possibilities of middle class intellectuals.

The characters are typical of the increasing number of semi-literate, semi-educated, Freudianized young people graduating from college today. The question is, does Mr. Brossard understand their defects and their flimsiness, or is he presenting them as the real thing? Although he has written a well-paced book and presented a significant contemporary reaction to life, he gives the impression that he thinks his characters are more than the hollow, immature people they really are. **Kenneth Bernard.**

March 17, 1961

Mr. Don Oberdorfer
Knight Newspapers, Inc.
Washington Bureau
2286 National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Don:

I appreciated your recent note about Roger Tubby whom I will look forward to meeting.

It appears that I will be visiting Washington pretty frequently in the period to come. I hope we can get together soon and often.

Cordially,

HCF/mf

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

JOHN S. KNIGHT, *Editor and Publisher*

MEtropolitan 8-2844

KNIGHT NEWSPAPERS, Inc.
WASHINGTON BUREAU
1286 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1961

Feb. 24

Dear Harold:

I had a talk today with Roger Tubby, the new Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. He brought up something that reminded me again of your problems with foreign visitors, particularly the Africans, and the problem of being ignored in orientation by the State Department when they are sending people on the Southern tour.

Roger seemed interested in this and made some notes about it.

If you are still interested, you might drop him a few lines about the situation. He's a wonderful guy and I think you would have a receptive ear.

Come see me when you are up here consulting your secret sources.

Best,

Don

May 4, 1961

Mr. Roy Parker, Jr.
The News and Observer
News Department
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Parker:

Many thanks for your good letter of April 26. I shall indeed be quick to call you whenever I may know of a situation which you might find news worthy.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

THE NEWS AND OBSERVER
NEWS DEPARTMENT
RALEIGH, N. C.

April 26, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Best wishes in your new work.

I try to keep up with the race relations field in North Carolina, covering the Civil Rights Advisory Committee and other groups. While I am on the press mailing list of SRC, I would also be happy to hear from you about activities and situations which you think would be of interest to our coverage.

If there is anything I can do at any time to further your work, please call on me.

Regards,

Roy Parker, Jr.

Roy Parker, Jr.
The News and Observer
Raleigh, north carolina

June 15, 1961

The Editor
The Tacoma News-Tribune
Tacoma, Washington

Dear Sir:

At the request of Mr. Ralph McGill, we are enclosing a document which the Southern Regional Council prepared in 1957, analyzing an attack made on SRC by "The Firing Line." Also enclosed is a report which the Council has just issued on The Freedom Ride. It occurred to me that you might be interested in seeing this organization's approach to and analysis of these recent and much publicized events.

We will be happy to supply any information you might wish about the Council, its functions, its board of directors, and related matters.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:A
Enclosures:
Analysis - firing line
Special Report: The Freedom Ride

CC: Ralph McGill, with copy of enclosures

~~LBOD~~:

Have pulled the material referred to by McGill — suggest that we also send copy of Freedom Ride rept.

PA, please handle with a covering letter from you

Joe Bell

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

June 9, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Will you send the editor of the Tacoma News Tribune, Tacoma, Washington, the statement published sometime ago about the Southern Regional Council, at the time the American Legion and other groups were attacking it?

Cordially,

RM:gl

Enc.

The following is copied from the Tacoma News Tribune Letter Box

To the Editor: The following is an open letter to Ralph McGill.

"In a recent column you referred to letters which reminded you of lavended and old lace, and musty living rooms. You ridiculed the writers for being so naive as to believe that there were negroes in the South who asked for nothing but equality under the law, as provided in the Constitution of the United States, and to be left out of these socalled civil rights demonstrations. Your position does not reflect the truth Mr. McGill.

"As set forth in documented information from which I copy, the truth is, every demonstartion occuring in the South was led by a person, or persons, who was, or has been, associated with the Southern Regional Council. The Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, credits the foundation of Southern Regional Council to Jim Jackson, Negro, presently head of the Southern Affairs Commission of the Communist Party. From public records of the State of Georgia, the petition of the Incorporation, Book 662. Page 66-67, 1-6-44, the incorporators are listed as follows: Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Ralph McGill, Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Dr. Charles S. Johnson and Dr. Howard W. Odum. The school is housed at 63 Auburn Ave., NN, Atlanta, Ga., in space owned by a huge church. The council is the recipient of $497,000 from the Ford Fund for the Republic.

"The investigators who compiled the information from which I quote made this comment: "The leadership of few units in the Communist apparatus have records of Communist affiliations which exceed those of present and past directors of Southern Regional Council'. That, Mr. McGill is what is in the record.

Ben P. Hornsby
713 N. 6th St.

June 19, 1961

Mr. George W. Healy, Jr.
The Times-Picayune Publishing Company
LaFayette Square
New Orleans 40, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Healy:

In your letter of June 1, 1961 you write as follows:

> I would like your opinion regarding the exhortations by the so-called freedom riders who visited New Orleans without violence and with full opportunity to express themselves at a public meeting. A specific exhortation uttered by a leader of the riders to a predominantly Negro audience was "Sit-in...swim-in... bury-in...even marry-in."
>
> Louisiana and a great many other states have laws against miscegenation. Obviously, this "rider" urged the violation of law. To the best of my knowledge, the United States supreme court has not declared unconstitutional these laws. In the premises, I believe they still are the "law of the land."
>
> Do you condone actions of a group urging violation of or defiance of the law?

My answer is that I do not. The Southern Regional Council has for some years now opposed as strongly as it could the mood prevalent for a long time throughout the South, and still strong in your state, of willingness to defy or evade the law. I need not, I am sure, remind you that from political rostrums and in editorial columns massive resistance to federal law has been urged.

Nor, I am equally sure, do I need to remind you that these people who now advocate disobedience to the segregation laws of states and localities do so from quite a different standpoint than have the persons who have advocated resistance to the Supreme Court's decisions and decrees. These people violate laws with a willingness to pay, personally, the penalty, even to the point of undergoing imprisonment. They violate laws because they believe them to be unconstitutional; the segregationist leaders of the South have violated, evaded, and ignored what they have known to be the authoritative interpretation of the Constitution.

I do not condone defiance of the law. I recognize, however, and so I am sure do you, that there is no other way to test whether these laws are Constitutional--i.e. to test whether they are, in fact, laws--than to violate them and accept one's day in court. When one does that, one is not defying the law: he is invoking the law's judgment.

Your letter further asks: "Do you contend that miscegenation is legal or decent?"

Miscegenation is contrary to the laws of Louisiana, and therefore not legal in your state. Whether your law would be upheld if ever challenged in federal court I do not know. I think the marriage of a man and woman is "decent" when it results from the deep, mature consideration they have for each other and from a resolve to create an enduring family. I know of no other criterion by which its "decency" can be judged.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A

BCC: Louisiana board members

The Times-Picayune Publishing Company

LAFAYETTE SQUARE, NEW ORLEANS 40, LOUISIANA, TELEPHONE 524-2411

The Times-Picayune
MORNING AND SUNDAY

NEW ORLEANS
STATES-ITEM
EVENING

Office of
GEORGE W. HEALY, JR.
Vice-President
The Times-Picayune Publishing Co.
Editor
The Times-Picayune

June 1, 1961

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

A sentence in the conclusion which you draw in your special report - The Freedom Ride, May, 1961 - interests me very much.

"There would be no Freedom Ride, if there were compliance with law and decency in the South."

I would like your opinion regarding the exhortations by the so-called freedom riders who visited New Orleans without violence and with full opportunity to express themselves at a public meeting. A specific exhortation uttered by a leader of the riders to a predominantly Negro audience was "Sit-in...swim-in...bury-in...even marry-in."

Louisiana and a great many other states have laws against miscegenation. Obviously, this "rider" urged the violation of law. To the best of my knowledge, the United States supreme court has not declared unconstitutional these laws. In the premises, I believe they still are the "law of the land."

Do you condone actions of a group urging violation of or definance of the law? Do you contend that miscegenation is legal and decent?

I'll be grateful for your comment.

Sincerely,

George W. Healy, Jr.

George W. Healy, Jr.

GWH/mam

June 19, 1961

Father Harold C. Gardner
Editor
AMERICA
329 West 108 Street
New York 25, New York

Dear Father Gardner:

I enjoyed talking to you on the telephone while in New York and regret that I cannot be with you this week. Since returning to Atlanta I have got clarification as to when in September I shall be in New York. I find, however, that I cannot remember whether your group meets for lunch or for dinner; which ever it is, I shall try to work it in--though lunch may be difficult. I am planning to be in New York September 21 and 22. I have a luncheon appointment on the 22nd and probably shall have one on the 21st also. My evenings are free and if it would be more convenient for your group, and you should still want to have me attend your September meeting, I probably could get to New York in the late afternoon of September 20, or even in time for lunch that day.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:a

Harold C

329 W. 108th

Tu 25

Father Gardner, editor of AMERICA

UN 5-3737

call re SRC staffer to speak to group

of media people on Thursday June 22nd.

Belmont Plaza

Lexington & 49th St.

AMERICA

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WEEKLY REVIEW

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

329 WEST 108th STREET, NEW YORK 25, N.Y.

June 21, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It was very nice of you to remember our telephone conversation and to let me in on your plans. I shall be leaving for a trip abroad early in July but I will be back at the end of August. The season's first meeting of The Keys will probably be around the 20th or 21st of September but I won't be able to tell until early in that month. I shall certainly be in touch with you as soon as possible so that our plans may mesh, I hope.

My sincerest best wishes for your tremendously important work.

Sincerely yours,

H C Gardiner, SJ.

Harold C. Gardiner, S.J.
Literary Editor

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forshyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HCG:cai

The Times-Picayune Publishing Company
LAFAYETTE SQUARE, NEW ORLEANS 40, LOUISIANA, TELEPHONE 524-2411
The Times-Picayune
MORNING AND SUNDAY
NEW ORLEANS STATES-ITEM
EVENING

file

Office of
GEORGE W. HEALY, JR.
Vice-President
The Times-Picayune Publishing Co.
Editor
The Times-Picayune

June 22, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

My thanks for your letter of June 19.

You have made it very plain to me that you do not condone violation of laws except those laws which you do not approve and that you see no wrong in miscegenation.

I am sure that there are many citizens who agree with you. I suspect that there are more who do not.

Sincerely,

George W. Healy, Jr.

George W. Healy, Jr.

GWH/MM

July 6, 1961

Mr. Harry Ernst
The Charleston Gazette
Charleston West Virginia

Dear Mr. Ernst:

Thanks so much for the clippings from the Gazette. We all enjoyed your heartening versions of progress. I, for one, especially liked the story about your interesting Judge. I didn't realize his fine hand had such a big share in the Court thinking and decisions.

It is always good to hear from you, they tell me. I've just come to take John Constable's place, as he is leaving here for USIA, I think.

Thanks again for your stories, which we've put up in the files with our valuables.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML:lec

Healey for Times

October 4, 1961

Mr. George W. Healy, Jr.
Vice President
The Times-Picayune Publishing Co.
Lafayette Square
New Orleans, 40, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Healy:

In reply to your letter of September 27, we have made no plans to reprint Mr. LaPeyre's address. I hope that if you learn of its publication by anyone else that you will be kind enough to let me know so that we may order it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

The Times-Picayune Publishing Company
LAFAYETTE SQUARE, NEW ORLEANS 40, LOUISIANA, TELEPHONE 524-2411
The Times-Picayune
MORNING AND SUNDAY
NEW ORLEANS STATES-ITEM
EVENING

Office of
GEORGE W. HEALY, JR.
Vice-President
The Times-Picayune Publishing Co.
Editor
The Times-Picayune

September 27, 1961

Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, NW,
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

You have sent me Dr. Daniel C. Thompson's side of a recent debate with Mr. Felix LaPeyre.

Have you made available to persons on your mailing list Mr. LaPeyre's side of this debate? If you have copies of this side of the discussion, I would like one.

Sincerely,

George W. Healy, Jr

George W. Healy, Jr

GWH/MM

March 16, 1962

Mr. William K. Wyant, Jr.
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
1111 Olive Street
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your letter. I enjoyed our afternoon very much. When you come back to Atlanta to visit, please don't forget to give us a call.

I say John Griffin a couple of weeks later and mentioned you to him. He was delighted to hear of you.

By the way, I notice that you are on our press list. Early next week we will be mailing out a report and analysis of the accomplishments of the Kennedy Administration during its first year in office. We got rather good attention last year for a report which we did containing recommendations for the incoming Administration and this has encouraged us to try to follow-up. You might find it interesting.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf
Enclosure - 1.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
TELEPHONE, MAIN 1-1111

EDITORIAL PAGE

1111 OLIVE STREET
ST. LOUIS 1, MO.

March 2, 1962

Dear Leslie -

My apologies for not writing sooner to thank you for the time and trouble you took with me on that rather hectic Saturday afternoon a few weeks ago. My series is now done, and as it turned out I included very little about the South - since it turned out that the important rightist activity there now seems in tune with the national chorus - that is, agin the government and for the Constitution.

I appreciate your assistance very much, and hope there will turn out to be a way I can reciprocate. In my opinion, there is no more important work than the work you and your people are doing.

Cordially,

Bill Wyant

William K. Wyant Jr.

April 12, 1962

Mr. John Seigenthaler
Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

May I add my congratulations. We are delighted that you are back in the South and that the Tennessean is again in good hands. I hope we shall see you occasionally and that if we can be of assistance to you you will let me know.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

Mailed - for Distribution 1962

6/6/62

~~[illegible]~~

A fair portrait of the Council.

Copies also sent to

Fleming
Engle
Freeman
Cumer
Hahn
de Tenney
~~[illegible]~~

Brewbaker
B. Muse

File

The News and Courier

South Carolina's Most Outspoken Newspaper

FOUNDED JAN. 10, 1803

Thomas R. Waring, Editor | Arthur M. Wilcox, Assistant Editor | Anthony Harrigan, Associate Editor

Pol. Ala.

The Alabama Election

The views and wishes of the people of Alabama were clearly demonstrated last Tuesday when they chose Circuit Judge George Wallace, outspoken foe of racial integration, in the Democratic primary runoff election. Judge Wallace defeated Ryan deGraffenreid, who was termed a moderate, by more than 63,000 votes.

Judge Wallace pledged to stand at the schoolhouse door to block pupils from entering under integration orders. It is by no means certain that he will be successful. But, as we see it, this isn't the most important point. Judge Wallace's election means that state government in Alabama won't be secretly sympathetic to integrated schooling, no matter what individual school boards are forced to do under court order.

The Southern Regional Council and other groups promoting integration never have been satisfied with mere legal victories. All along the aim has been to persuade school boards and state governments not only to accede to integration, but to regard it as a constructive step forward and as morally right.

The Alabama election signifies that the people of Alabama not only want racially separated schools but believe they are right, just and necessary. Maintenance of that conviction is a far greater victory than winning legal battles in federal courtrooms.

SEA FOAM BOND

April 2, 1962

Mr. Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor
CURRENT
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

file

Dear Mr. Neier:

Thank you for your letter of March 23. We would like to make Executive Support of Civil Rights available for your distribution. As you can probably guess this is a fairly expensive publication. What we would like to do, therefore, is commit ourselves to you for 1000 copies as requested but to send at this time only 500. We shall be prepared to send additional copies up to a total of 1000 as you see the demands required. Assuming that this is satisfactory, we are forwarding, under separate cover, 500 copies.

I note with interest your remarks about your conversations with the SNCC leaders. These are good fellows with tough problems.

I enjoyed having some time with Mr. Elliott Pratt Saturday. I hope some time you may visit Atlanta.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

April 2, 1962

BC MMJ

Bernice:

Please package up 500 copies of our Executive Support of Civil Rights and mail to the following person:

MR. ARYEH NEIER
Associate Editor
CURRENT
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

thanx, mmj

PA-2

can we do this? let me know

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

March 23, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I hope that your new report "Executive Support for Civil Rights" will be available for our distribution. I would be interested in 1000 copies.

I have enclosed a copy of a reprint from Current entitled "Federal Action for Civil Rights." It consists of a summary of the recommendations and conclusions of the five reports from the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Please let me know if you have any use for copies of "Federal Action for Civil Rights."

ms

When you come this way next I hope we can get together again. I would be especially interested in hearing your comments on the voter registration drive and on the work of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Charles McDew, Robert Moses, and James Forman were in the office yesterday. My talk with them left me with a strong impression that liaison among civil rights organizations is badly in need of repair.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:ms

October 5, 1962

Mr. Charles L. Butts
Editor
Mississippi Free Press
1253 Valley Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Butts:

Leslie Dunbar has asked me to reply to your letter of August 26. We were glad to hear from you and to see the editions of the Mississippi Free Press. We have seen some issues in the past and have decided that we will subscribe regularly. You will be getting an order from us in a day or two. We will pass on the word about the paper, particularly to leaders of state Councils on Human Relations across the South. If you think it useful, we might be able to arrange for you to send sample copies of the Free Press to some of our contacts. This is expensive, but sometimes does help to build subscriptions.

We wish you luck in your important efforts to breach the Magnolia Curtain.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

HiCo PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

CHARLES L. BUTTS
EDITOR

MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS
1253 VALLEY STREET — FL 5-7345
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

August 26, 1962

PR - please reply. (also, check with Blackford, if we are not checked by subscribing I wonder if we should)

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Secretary of the Southern
Regional Council
5 Forsuth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I was given your name by Fay Bennett of NSF. She suggested that I write to you for your advice and possible assistance in soliciting subscribers and supporters of the Mississippi FREE PRESS.

Probably you are not familiar with our paper, Although it was incorporated and began printing last December, it was not until July that it was reorganized and began its present drive towards self-sufficiency. We have not quite reached that point, but we are drawing near.

In the reorganization, the editorial policy was rather drastically changed. Previously, the paper had been concerned solely with racial matters. Now we are interested in the improvement of Mississippi government, education, economics (including responsible, democratic, integrated labor unions) and social liberty. It seems to us that with this approach, there is hope that both sides will become informed about the real base of segregation and exploitation: economic and political power. As long as all of the above mentioned institutions remain archaic, there is little opportunity for significant and lasting social change.

Our paper is, of course, for Mississippians, and supported almost solely by them, but its news would be of interest to concerned people outside of the state. Their support would allow us to expand our influence and capability.

Enclosed are a few of our recent issues and a brief statement. If there is some way that you believe that you might be able to help us, please let us know. Thank you very much for your time and attention.

Sincerely yours,

Charles L. Butts

Charles L. Butts,
Editor

Enclosures

Mississippi- everybody has heard about Mississippi. Everybody knows that it surpresses its people. But how much is known about it? How much do Mississippians know about themselves? The news media here in Mississippi will not tell you the truth because it is controlled by the same people who are doing the exploiting.

There is a new newspaper, however, that stands in opposition to that news media and all that it represents. The newspaper is the Mississippi FREE PRESS on whose staionery I am writing.

The FREE PRESS has become a voice on two very crucial levels. The first, it provides a means for the people of Mississippi to communicate among themselves, and second, it allows eommunication between Mississippi and the people outside the state and outside the South.

In addition to communicating the news, the FREE PRESS has direction. In the past few weeks, it has given extensive coverage to a courageous biracial group of men who are striking for decent wages at a bakery. Although the group has been recognized by an international union, the company does not want to have collective bargining with its employees because of the subsequent raise in salaries and improvements in working hours and conditions. Because the community has no comprehension of the importance of such a strike, they did not know to cooperate by not purchasing the company's product- bread. Now the strike is several weeks old, and the FREE PRESS can not continue to give it the front page, but does continue to give it support. The FREE PRESS believes the living standards of the little man in the South can be improved by encouraging responsible, democratic labor unions.

Another project of the FREE PRESS has been the case of Clyde Kennard, a bright young Negro who applied to the all white Mississippi Southern last year. In a questionable charge, he was arrested and convicted of stealing $25 of chicken feed. He is now in Parchman State Prision serving a seven year term. By publicizing the case, the FREE PRESS hopes that some action can be taken so that Kennard is not left in prision for seven years.

The newspaper also believes that it has a role supplying some basic citizenship training to those people who wish to take on the responsibilities of being full citizens, but who have not had an opportunity for learning. The "Citizenship Education Workshop," a weekly part of the paper, has dealt with the functions of national, state, county, and local government; voter registration; the poll tax; and the political process of campaiging for office.

The newspaper has a significant contribution to make to Mississippi and the changing South. I've written to tell you that by your purchasing a subscription to this paper, you will be keeping yourself informed, and also supporting the stand of the Mississippi FREE PRESS for good government, better living standards, better educational opportunities, and social freedom. Please examine the enclosed copy and fill out the enclosed subscription blank and mail today. Please tell your friends about the work of the FREE PRESS and ask them to subscribe.

January 11, 1963

Miss Harriet Doar
Book Editor
The Charlotte Observer
P. O. Box 2138
Charlotte 1, North Carolina

Dear Miss Doar:

Thank you for your letter of January 9. I could occasionally do a review but, as I told Pat Watters of the Atlanta Journal for whom I have reviewed a couple books, please don't offer me any for which there needs to be a tight deadline.

There are two other people on our staff who might do better, and would do extremely good jobs for you. I am sure both would be glad to contribute an occasional review. One is Staige D. Blackford, our Director of Research, and the other is Margaret Long, Editor of New South and Director of Information.

With best wishes,

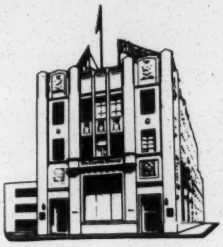
Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

foremost newspaper of the Carolinas

Jan. 9, 1963



The Charlotte Observer

P. O. BOX 2138
CHARLOTTE 1, N. C.
EDISON 2-7121

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Wonder if you or some one one your staff would be interested in doing an occasional review of books in the field of Civil Rights (or others)?

Reid Surratt was suggesting you as a good reviewer for this type of book. But I didn't know whether you'd have the time or inclination.

Sincerely,

Harriet Doar

Harriet Doar
Book Editor

Newspapers, et al.

January 25, 1963

Miss Harriet Doar
Book Editor
The Charlotte Observer
P. O. Box 2138
Charlotte 1, North Carolina

Dear Miss Doar:

Send down a book and one of us will take care of it. Then, you can decide if you would like to try us again.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

foremost newspaper of the Carolinas

The Charlotte Observer

P. O. BOX 2138
CHARLOTTE 1, N. C.
EDISON 2-7121

Jan. 12, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for the letter. Would you tell me now what you'd consider sufficient time to review a book of some depth, say, in this field?

If you weren't able to I'd be happy if you'd pass them along to others on the staff who'd be interested. I wouldn't call on you or them very often but now and then would like to have some one with your background...I know it's quite a job to review and I do appreciate the time difficulties.

Sincerely,

Harriet Doar

Harriet Doar
Book Editor

RECEIVED
JAN 15 1963

HiCo PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

CHARLES L. BUTTS
EDITOR

MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS
1253 VALLEY STREET — FL 5-7345
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

February 23, 1963

PA
do we need
another name?

Mr. Les Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

It was a pleasure to make your acquaintance even if by way of the telephone. I had been recommended to you by several people while in New York.

I do hope that you have been able to see a copy of the pamphlet that I left with Mr. Anthony of your office. It describes our expansion plans for the Free Press. Also I left him a copy of the brief report of my two trips North and East. They list who I contacted and with what success.

I will be anxious to hear what your reaction to our program and its progress is. I also will be interested in what suggestions you have of people that I ought to contact in that regard.

Looking forward to hearing from you in the near future. If you get to Jackson, do look us up.

I presume that I will be speaking to you before this reaches you with respect to Dewey Greene.

Sincerely,

Charles Butts

Charles Butts

Oh yes, I would like to meet Ralph McGill sometime. He was abroad when I was in Atlanta. If you can arrange this I would appreciate.

LWD ✓ file

No need to discuss more - ~~today~~ central files should keep copy of the description booklet attached. We have others

PA

LWD:

Would like to discuss this when you have a chance

PA

HICO PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS
1253 Valley Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Charles L. Butts
Editor

PHILOSOPHY OF THE MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS

Our purpose is to promote education and enlightenment in the principles of democracy to encourage all citizens to participate fully in their government. Until Negroes in Mississippi gain the power of the ballot and until all the people exercise the rights of citizenship, the needs of Mississippi will continue to go unmet; legislation to promote the social welfare and encourage economic growth will continue to be nonexistent. In Mississippi, the fear of economic reprisal and the lack of vital knowledge make even registering to vote an extremely difficult task.

Before any real improvement in social justice takes place, there will have to be a substantial rise in the standard of living. Because the average annual income of rural Negroes is less than $1,000, they are continually under the economic control of the politicians and landowners. In addition, cotton--the one crop on which the economy is based--is being mechanized, so that increasingly fewer of these low paying jobs are available.

Thus, an essential improvement is encouraging industrial growth and the unionization of existing jobs to raise wages. Mississippi, with its meager industry, has little organized labor now; organizing workers is difficult both because of the lack of knowledge about unions and because of the fears aroused by opposing forces. Legislation to abolish the state's right-to-work law and to encourage unionization is essential.

The Free Press is dedicated to educating and urging the people of Mississippi to assume their rightful roles in the political and economic arenas.[1] In addition, as an institution not connected with any political, labor, or civil rights organizations, the paper is in the unique position of being able to bring together and establish communication between the forces that are--or that could be--working for the common needs of the people of Mississippi.

As the paper grows, it can continue to serve its readers by printing researched articles concerned with improving schools, libraries, health and sanitation, criminal rehabilitation, and other problems of the society. Eventually, the honest coverage of the Free Press may even bring about a greater regard for integrity in the other segregationist dailies.

The Free Press has a vast potential--but its primary aim must continue to be to increase the political voice and raise the living standards of those who are the forgotten people of Mississippi.

[1]The Petal Paper, a liberal monthly with a circulation of 2,150, is directed to readers outside the state.

HISTORY OF THE FREE PRESS

A year ago the Hico Publishing Company was founded to publish the Mississippi Free Press. During its first six months of operation, the paper was managed and edited by untrained students on a volunteer basis. The small amount of capital invested by the incorporators was soon dissipated, and neither circulation nor advertising grew enough to begin to meet the overhead.

Six months ago I became aware of the Free Press and learned that it was about to cease publication. Seeing the important role such a newspaper could play in Mississippi and believing that I was capable of getting the paper into the position where it could become a permanent institution, I accepted the post of editor. I collected all the funds at my disposal, borrowed money from a friend, and invested the total amount in the corporation.

With these funds the paper was brought to the point where, for the past three months, it has been self-supporting. Now the paper must expand greatly in order to be able to reach enough people to be effective and to solicit national advertising to provide enough income to increase its size and staff.

At the present time the Free Press has 1,500 paid subscribers and sells approximately 1,500 more copies in bulk for Mississippi distribution. The paper has Second Class mailing privileges and the Company is incorporated under Mississippi law.

PLANS FOR EXPANSION

Because of the difficulty of getting subscribers on a one by one basis, we plan to absorb entire membership lists of organizations sympathetic to our aims. The leaders of these groups (unions, Masons, church groups, etc.) are encouraging this plan, but do not have the funds to pay for the subscriptions ($1.00 a year for 52 issues). The federal regulations pertaining to the Second Class mailing permit require that the subscriptions must be paid for.

Additional funds are also necessary to maintain present and additional staff members; this will permit a reduction in the present killing pace and will contribute to more thorough and meaningful work. There are now three staff members who are paid $20 a week on an irregular basis.

If we are able to acquire $20,000 to add 20,000 new subscribers in Mississippi, we will be the fourth largest paper in the state, with a circulation large enough to be an effective organ of information and large enough to attract significantly more advertising. Advertising would then be able to pay for most of the overhead, and the money which bought the subscriptions could guarantee staff salaries and enable additional expansion. The funds would thus have double effectiveness.

In brief, the past seven months have seen the Free Press prove that it can fulfill an important role in communication and interpretation in Mississippi. The paper has also shown that it can balance its books. In order to reach the numbers it must and in order to establish a base that will be permanent, it must expand significantly. Although Hico will not show dividends in the foreseeable future, it does appear that assistance now will establish the newspaper as a permanent institution with an important effect on Mississippi in the years to come.

OPERATING STATEMENT

Income	1962 Actual (6 months)	Budget 1963	Projections 1964	Projections 1965[a]
Subscriptions[b]	$3,602.00	$26,000	$30,000	$34,500
Advertising	1,048.25	15,000	25,000	47,000
Street Sales	351.12	2,000	2,000	2,000
Total Income	$5,001.37	$43,000	$57,000	$83,500
Expenses				
Printing, Freight, and Mailing	$4,602.50	$30,000	$38,000	$55,000
Salaries	395.00	6,000	9,000	15,000
Extra Labor	---	500	500	500
Supplies	503.69	3,400	3,400	3,400
Administration	841.08	2,000	2,000	2,000
Rent and Utilities	---	450	450	450
Taxes	---	200	200	200
Insurance	---	100	100	100
Miscellaneous	---	100	100	100
Total Expenses	$6,342.27	$42,750	$53,750	$76,750
Net Profit	($1,340.90)[c]	$250	$3,250	$6,750
Federal Income Tax	---	75	1,250	2,750
BALANCE	---	$175	$2,000	$4,000

[a] Assumes expansion to 12-page format.

[b] For 1964, we assume 85% renewal rate plus 30% new subscriptions; for 1965, we assume 90% renewal rate plus 25% new subscriptions.

[c] This deficit shows because of the money that was put into the Company to get it on its feet six months ago. Income in the past three months has kept pace with expenditures but has not yet been able to cover the outlay ofthe first three months.

THE SETTING

The State of Mississippi, located in the South Central United States, is bordered by Tennessee on the north, Arkansas and Louisiana on the west, Alabama on the east, and the Gulf of Mexico on the south.

Mississippi is principally an agricultural state, with cotton the chief crop.

With increased mechanization, there has been some increase in manufacturing. Principal industries are food and food products, pulp-paper and products, and wearing apparel and related products. There are 18,500 retail stores (1958) with total sales of $1,481.7 million.

The terrain is generally hilly except for the Mississippi Delta, a plain between Vicksburg and Memphis along the Mississippi River, which contains some of the richest cotton land in the world.

At its longest point, Mississippi is 332 miles long; the state has an average breadth of 142 miles. The population, 2,178,141 (1,257,546 white, 920,595 non-white, 1960) is well spread out across the state. There are only eight cities over 25,000: Jackson, 145,000; Meridian, 49,000; Biloxi, 44,000; Greenville, 42,000; Hattiesburg, 35,000; Gulfport, 30,000; Vicksburg, 29,000; and Laurel, 28,000.

THE STATE'S NEWSPAPERS

While Mississippi ranks 29th in population, the circulation of its 18 daily newspapers ranks 45th in the nation. Only 12% of the people of Mississippi read a daily newspaper--the lowest percentage in the country.

The dailies that serve the state have a combined circulation of 265,300. The Clarion-Ledger, 52,300, and the Jackson Daily News, 42,500, are published in Jackson by the same company. Other dailies are published in Gulfport, circulation 29,200; Meridian, 22,700; Tupelo, 17,200; Hattiesburg, 16,100; Greenville, 13,200; Vicksburg, 10,600; Columbus, 9,000; Laurel, 12,500; Natchez, 8,000; McComb, 6,200; Greenwood, 5,100; Clarksdale, 5,000; Westpoint, 4,800; Corinth, 4,700; Storkville, 3,600; and Grenada, 2,600.

Two other dailies, the Memphis Commercial Appeal and the New Orleans Times-Picayune, have some circulation in the state. Mississippi has 96 weeklies with a combined circulation of 192,700. The average circulation for weeklies is 2,000, with a few as high as 5,000 and some as small as 400.

March 4, 1963

Mr. Meyer Weinberg
Editor
INTEGRATED EDUCATION
1424 N. Orleans Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mr. Weinberg:

I am not accustomed to writing fan letters, but I have just finished reading, in full, the January issue of your magazine and I think it is excellent, both in content and in conception. I believe our office has already entered a subscription and I shall look for later issues with real interest.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

March 25, 1963

Mr. Frank L. Stanley, Sr.
The Louisville Defender
P. O. Box 1558
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Stanley:

As I indicated to you in my letter of March 12, we have excerpted Governor Combs's February 24 speech and a speech by Secretary Hodges of the 25, and combined them into one of our Leadership Reports. We plan to give this report wide distribution, and I thought you might like to have one for your files, enclosed. I am also sending a copy to Governor Combs.

Thank you for making this speech available to us.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj

April 11, 1963

Mr. Dennis Clark, Editor
The Interracial Review
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Clark:

Our office would like to secure two (2) copies of The Interracial Review, Vol. xxxvi, No. 4, April 1963. Would you, therefore, send them to us and bill us accordingly?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

April 18, 1963

Mr. Meyer Weinberg
Editor
Teachers for Integrated Schools
1424 North Orleans Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mr. Weinberg

I am replying to your letter of April 16 to Mr. Dunbar in which you ask permission to quote from his letter to you of March 4. This is just to say that permission is granted.

Mr. Dunbar continues to enjoy reading Integrated Education.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

TEACHERS FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

1424 NORTH ORLEANS STREET
CHICAGO 10, ILLINOIS
JUniper 3-0007

JOHN J. WALSH, President
WILLIAM P. MOORE, Secretary
MEYER WEINBERG, Treasurer

April 16, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Do I have your permission to quote from your letter of March 4 for promotional purposes?

Sincerely yours,

Meyer Weinberg

Meyer Weinberg
Editor

MW:bao

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

6/15

THE ECONOMIST OF LONDON
877 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

STERLING 3-5753

June 27, 1963

Mr. Alexander Campbell
The Economist of London
877 National Press Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Many thanks for sending me a copy of the June 15 Economist. I enjoyed your article very much.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Educational Executives'

OVERVIEW

757 THIRD AVENUE • NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

PLAZA 2-8600

TWIX 212-867-4582

PA ✓
MA file
wing

2 lists

July 24, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 22nd, in which you consent to be listed in our directory of desegregation consultants. At your suggestion, we will list Mr. Paul Anthony, to whom we are writing today. We will also write to Mr. Brewbaker asking permission to include him.

We are most grateful to you for your cooperation in this matter and look forward to being of service through you and other persons who are willing to lend their efforts to this very worthwhile undertaking.

Cordially,

Theodore O. Cron
Editor

TOC cpl

BUTTENHEIM PUBLISHING CORPORATION

AMERICAN SCHOOL and UNIVERSITY • AMERICAN CITY MAGAZINE • MUNICIPAL INDEX • CONTRACTORS and ENGINEERS • MART MAGAZINE

July 22, 1963

Mr. Theodore O. Cron
Editor
OVERVIEW
757 Third Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Cron:

Thank you for your letter of July 19 and the welcome information that Overview is compiling a directory of desegregation consultants. You may, of course, list my name. I would suggest also that you list, as a better qualified person than I, Mr. Paul Anthony our Director of Field Activities.

Until June 1, 1963, and for over three years prior to that, we had had in the field, as a consultant to school boards on just this problem, Mr. J. J. Brewbaker, retired superintendent of schools in Norfolk, Virginia. We think Mr. Brewbaker performed a very real service, and regreted that, for family reasons, he has had to withdraw. I suspect, however, that he could still be occasionally called upon, and that you might list him. His address is 545 Mayflower Drive, Norfolk, Virginia. Needless to say, Mr. Brewbaker has extensive contacts over the South with school administrators.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Educational Executives'
OVERVIEW
757 THIRD AVENUE • NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK
PLAZA 2-8600
TWIX 212-867-4582

July 19, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Our magazine, consistent with its policy of assisting its readership of school administrators, is compiling a directory of persons willing to consult with school districts which are grappling with the problem of desegregating. We are often asked for guidance in this area and we want to respond in the best possible manner.

We know you will agree that a list of resource persons and agencies would be an invaluable service. We hope that you, as a qualified person in this vital field, will agree to let us include you in our directory. This list would be released only upon receipt of a written request from an authorized school official. It will not be published in our magazine.

We would appreciate hearing from you at your early convenience so that we may start this important service as soon as possible. For this purpose, we are enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Cordially,

Theodore O. Cron
Editor

TOC sl

Enc.

BUTTENHEIM PUBLISHING CORPORATION
AMERICAN SCHOOL and UNIVERSITY • AMERICAN CITY MAGAZINE • MUNICIPAL INDEX • CONTRACTORS and ENGINEERS • MART MAGAZINE

TELEPHONE: STERLING 3-5753 · TELEGRAMS AND CABLES: MISTECON WASHINGTON

The Economist

PUBLISHED WEEKLY
IN LONDON, ENGLAND

WASHINGTON OFFICE
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D.C.

file

RECEIVED
AUG 1 1963

Mr Leslie W. Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3,
Georgia.

30 July, 1963.

Dear Mr Dunbar,

Thanks for your note and glad you liked the article; when are you coming to Washington?

Sincerely,

Alex Campbell

Alex Campbell

new POLITICS a journal of socialist thought

507 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 17, N.Y. • OX 7-5895

file

Meier papers et. al.

August 7, 1963

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Under separate cover you have received a copy of the summer issue of New Politics with a lead article on the civil rights movement by August Meier. In our next issue we would be most pleased to print any comments, or more extended discussion, of problems raised by Mr. Meier.

Sincerely,

Julius Jacobson

Julius Jacobson
Editor

JJ:jb

September 30, 1963

NM MMJ

Nobbie,

Please put the following person on our mailing list (category #9 - mass media):

Mr. G. D. Owen
The Financial Times
c/o Journal of Commerce
80 Varick Street
New York 13, New York

September 30, 1963

Mr. G. D. Owen
The Financial Times
c/o Journal of Commerce
80 Varick Street
New York 13, New York

Dear Mr. Owen:

Thank you for sending me the September 17 and September 23 issues of The Financial Times. I read your articles in both with interest and admiration. Please come by to see us any time you may be in the South, and call or write to us if we can, at any time, be of help to you in your reporting.

We shall put you on our press list to receive future SRC publications.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE FINANCIAL TIMES

Incorporating THE FINANCIAL NEWS

Telephone
City 8000

Telegrams
Finantimo, London, Telex

Correspondent in New York:
G. D. OWEN
c/o Journal of Commerce
80, Varick Street
New York 13, N.Y.
Worth 6-3000

Bracken House
Cannon Street
London, E.C.4

Sept. 26, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

I much appreciated the opportunity of talking with you when I was in Atlanta the other day, and it was kind of you to spare the time. Your suggested contacts in Birmingham and Jackson proved most useful, and I had a very interesting trip through the South.

I thought perhaps you might be interested to see two of the results of the trip and I enclose two copies of the Financial Times which contain articles on Birmingham (page 11, Sept. 17 issue) and on the South (page 8, Sept. 23 issue).

I was wondering, too, if we might be added to your mailing list to receive your various publications and press releases, since I shall be writing about the South a good deal and your publications would be extremely helpful.

With best wishes.

Yours Sincerely,

Geoffrey Owen

G.D.Owen

See Newspapers, et. al "Open Carrier"

February 6, 1964

Mr. Henry Libersat
Managing Editor
Southwest Louisiana Register
P. O. Box 3223
Lafayette, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Libersat:

Thank you for sending me the 'Register' Social Studies. I shall read this with much interest, and I hope that you will send us other volumns as they come out.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Southwest Louisiana

Register

■ OFFICIAL WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE DIOCESE OF LAFAYETTE

HENRY LIBERSAT
MANAGING EDITOR

■ Post Office Box 3223
■ CEnter 4-8569
■ LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

February 3, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Msgr. Sigur suggested you might be interested in having copies of our 'Register' Social Studies for your files.

Please find two copies attached.

You will probably find familiar names used in the studies. Surely you have heard of our Father Albert McKnight, CSSp, founder of Southern Consumers Cooperative and diocesan director of credit unions.

If the Southwest Louisiana Register can ever be of assistance to you in your work, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Respectfully,

Henry Libersat

Henry Libersat
Managing Editor

file: Newspapers, et al

February 12, 1964

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
Editor
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

The attachment will give you a picture of the matter I was telling you about. As you will see from it, Joe has decided to ask for a formal hearing -- taking the position that we have not yet had one.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

File
Newspapers, et. al.
gen. corresp.

April 21, 1964

Mr. Paul Abramson
Editor
School Management Magazines, Inc.
22 West Putnam Avenue
Greenwich, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Abramson:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your article on integration in four school districts. I read it with a great deal of interest. Of the four, I would know enough about only Chattanooga to be able to evaluate the coverage and interpretation. And in that case they seem to me to be very good. I hope that you will find an opportunity to keep the subject before your readers.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

School Management Magazine
Product Information for Schools
School Building Product File
School Construction Reporting Service
Educational Mailing Lists
School Market Report

PWV
PAV
SBV

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT MAGAZINES, INC.

LD

March 6, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

A long, long time ago, I wrote to you for some help on an article we proposed to do on desegregation of the public schools. As I told you at that time, we hoped to present a reasoned article that everybody would be willing to read.

That project got sidetracked for some time, mainly due to our inability to get good southern examples (the one recommended, Glynn County, Georgia, was held up by a federal court order). We finally gave up waiting and got our article into publication with our March issue. A copy is enclosed. I'll be interested in your reactions to it.

Let me thank you for the great help you did give me. Now that we have our feet wet on this subject, I think you can expect to see us cover it more often. Under the circumstances, if you hear of other "practical solutions" to the problem, we'd like to know about them.

Sincerely,

Paul Abramson

Paul Abramson
Editor

PA:sc

THE MANAGEMENT PUBLISHING GROUP
22 WEST PUTNAM AVENUE, GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT. AREA CODE 203 — TOWNSEND 9-8585

File: Newspapers, et al.
Gen. Corresp. - if
there is no
Charlotte News folder

April 23, 1964

Mr. Bob Smith
The Charlotte News
P. O. Box 360
Charlotte 1, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

I am deeply sorry that I had to get assistance in answering your letter of March 29. It came at a time when I think I have never been so busy. On top of that, I had to go away for over a week.

Mrs. Albright sent you, however, the things that I would have. There is one correction to be made: the article in the Columbia Journalism Review was by George McMillan. It appeared, as I recall, in 1962, though the gremlins were at work in our shope when the article was clipped, and we left off the date; therefore, I am enclosing a copy.

I am enclosing also a couple other things which you might find of interest. I am enclosing also a little article of mine with pages marked; this is still my opinion. Also enclosed is our March New South which has just come out: as a long-time newspaper reporter and columnist you may agree that Margaret Long has something to say that is worth reading in her column.

Some articles you might look up are the following: Ben Bagdikian in the New Republic, April 16, 1962; U. S. News and World Report, November 11, 1963.

I apologize again for being so slow. Probably this is all too late.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

LWD

April 13, 1964

Mr. Bob Smith
The Charlotte News
P. O. Box 360
Charlotte 1, N. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Mr. Dunbar has been unusually busy and did not get to your letter before going out of the city for an extended trip. He therefore asked me to reply for him; he will review my letter and perhaps add to it upon his return.

If you have not seen the article on racial coverage in Augusta in the Columbia Journalism Review (?), written by Robert Shipman, assistant dean of Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, I believe you would find some interesting subject material for your lecture in it.

During the late Summer of 1963 there was a CBS Reports program on how the press has and is handling the racial story. It was chaired by Dean Barrett, Columbia School of Journalism and the other participants were: James Kilpatrick, Paul Glover (Montgomery), Lewis Lions, and Richard Salent, CBS News. Perhaps either CBS or Dean Barrett would have a transcript which they could send you.

Under separate cover we are mailing you a couple of things which may give you a few ideas: 1) Student Newspaper reaction to the Ole Miss riots; and 2) a paper by James Silver in which he mentions a number of times the influence and attitude of the Mississippi press.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

MA -

I never got the answered. Pls do so, + leave copy of your letter for me to read when I return. I may want to write a word or two, tell him to place

Rec'd 4/1/64

THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

Largest Evening Newspaper in the Two Carolinas

P. O. BOX 360 • CHARLOTTE 1, NORTH CAROLINA

MA - campaign

March 29, 1964

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Has the council done anything on the general subject of the news media coverage of the racial story in the South since the Spearman-Meyer report of 1960? Do you know of any other studies, however slight, of this problem?

I am delivering a lecture on this subject next month and am badly in need of any materials you might be able to furnish or any clues you may have for me. I will hope to hear from you soon.

Bob Smith
Bob Smith
Editor, Editorial Page

racial coverage in

1. Augusta 1963 Spring

Asst. Dean Robt. Shipman
Columbia Grad School of Journalism
Columbia U.
Columbia Journalism Review (?)

2. Student Newspaper reaction to Ole Miss.

3. Selma - mention of Jackson Miss. press

transcript)
4. Dean Barrett CBS Reports
Columbia School of Journalism late Summer 1963
James Kilpatrick 'how press handling racial story'
Paul Glover, Montgomery page
Lewis (?) Lewis
Richard Salant, CBS News (head thing)

Press
Newspapers, W.D.
St. Louis Post Dispatch

MEMORANDUM April 24, 1964

To: NM

From: MMJ

Nobbie, please see that the following person is added to our press list (Category #9-1)

Mr. William K. Wyant, Jr.*
Washington Bureau
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
1028 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington

*You might check to see if he already has a card and stencil with a St. Louis, Mo. address. He has just been transferred from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch in St. Louis to Washington.

April 24, 1964

Mr. William K. Wyant, Jr.
Washington Bureau
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
1028 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

It is good news that you have been assigned to the Washington bureau. I hope the transfer meets with your approval also.

This means that I may occasionally see you, because I never got to St. Louis, and do sometimes come to Washington.

We have fixed you up on our mailing list.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1028 CONNECTICUT AVENUE

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

April 20, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth street NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie -

A couple of months ago I was transferred from St. Louis to Washington, where I am assigned to the Washington Bureau of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. I'd be grateful if you could put me on the mailing list as follows:

William K. Wyant Jr.
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
1028 Connecticut avenue NW
Washington 6, D.C.

I just talked to Harold Fleming, who sends his best regards. Apparently John A. Griffin was recently host to a lively group of southern newspapermen at the Florida State University at Tallahassee - Ralph McGill, John Popham, Bill Emerson, Claude Sitton and others. Harold was there. He reports it was a rewarding but strenuous weekend.

Tom Ottenad of our staff sent a good story last week on your April 16 press release.

With best regards,

Bill

William K. Wyant Jr.

MA ✓
MI-file

THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

Largest Evening Newspaper in the Two Carolinas

P. O. BOX 360 • CHARLOTTE 1, NORTH CAROLINA

File: Newspapers, et al. gen. corresp.

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

April 29, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I very much appreciate the help your office has been on my little project. Your last note reached me a couple of days too late, but Mrs. Albright's tips had put me in reach of most of what I needed. I happened across the McMillan piece in the Columbia Journalism Review independently.

Again, thanks for the assistance.

If you should be at all interested in what I had to say, it is my understanding that the speech will be published by Longwood College, Farmville, Va., where it was delivered as part of the Southern Institute of Culture this past weekend.

Sincerely,

Bob Smith

Bob Smith
Editorial Page Editor

REPRINTED FROM:

Harper's
magazine

See Harper's Magazine (in Newspapers, et. al)

Give Slum Children a Chance

a radical proposal

By Charles E. Silberman

Can the nation afford a public-school system which is failing to educate between 50 and 80 per cent of its Negro and white slum children?

Horace Mann called education "the great equalizer of the conditions of men . . . the balance wheel of the social machinery."

The wheel is out of balance. As the one institution with which every Negro and white slum child comes into intensive and prolonged contact, the public school offers the greatest opportunity to dissolve the cultural barrier that helps block their advance. But the opportunity is being muffed: no city in the United States has even begun to face up to the problem involved in educating the Negro or white slum youngster.

The root of the problem educationally is that the slum child does not learn to read properly in the first two grades. Whether because of this reading disability alone, or because of difficulty in handling abstract concepts that stem from independent causes, the slum child falls further and further behind after the third grade; the gap widens, and his IQ actually declines. His failure to read properly affects a lot more than his school work. It has a profound impact on how he regards himself and consequently on how he regards school. Poor reading skill at the start is the major cause of school dropouts and subsequent unemployment.

No informed person can believe any longer that the poor—or the Negroes specifically—are congenitally slow or illiterate. Yet we have had almost no success in combating this most crippling of a child's handicaps. Even the most well-intentioned and well-financed special program for the "culturally deprived child" serves to help only a small upper crust. New York City, for example, spends some $200 a year *more* per child in slum schools than in white middle-class schools. Yet with it all, third-grade pupils in the schools of central Harlem are one year behind grade level in academic performance; by the sixth grade, they have fallen nearly two years behind, and by eighth grade, two and a half years. And some cities aren't even making an

© *Copyright 1964 by Random House, Inc. From the forthcoming book,* Crisis in Black and White, *to be published by Random House.*

effort. Chicago, for example, appropriates 20 per cent *less* per child in Negro schools than in white middle-class schools.

The reason we have failed is that we start much too late, after the damage is already done. Instruction in the first grade of our public schools takes it for granted that a child has completed a reading-readiness program in the kindergarten year. Yet only a small fraction of Negro or lower-class white youngsters attend kindergarten. Compulsory kindergarten undoubtedly would improve matters, but the basic problem would remain. That problem, stated simply, is that the environment in which lower-class Negro and white children grow up does not provide the intellectual and sensory stimulus they so desperately need. The result is that youngsters from impoverished backgrounds enter school lacking a great many skills which the teachers and the curriculum take for granted, and which most middle-class children have acquired as a matter of course.

A Child's World of Poverty

The slum youngsters, for example, may lack the sense of auditory discrimination—the ability to distinguish very subtle differences and nuances in sound—that is essential to reading. The noise level in a household in which a half-dozen people are living in two rooms tends to be so high that the child is forced to learn how *not* to listen; he develops the ability to wall himself off from his surroundings. Hence he fails to develop an ability to distinguish between relevant and irrelevant sounds, and to screen out the irrelevant. If, for instance, a truck rumbles by while the teacher is talking, the lower-class pupil hears only one big jumble of sound; the middle-class pupil has the ability to screen out the irrelevant noise of the truck and listen only to the teacher.

More important, the lower-class child has not had the experience of having adults correct his pronunciation; correction of baby speech and of mistakes in syntax or grammar is one crucial way in which the middle-class child learns the ability to distinguish subtle nuances of sound and language—"b" as opposed to "p," for example. In the case of the lower-class Negro youngster, particularly in families recently moved from the South, the problem is compounded several times over by the fact that the phonic system of the language he speaks is quite different from the system of the language which the teacher speaks and which the reading primers use.

The lower-class child, moreover, tends to have a poor attention span and to have great difficulty following the teacher's orders. The reason is that he generally comes from a nonverbal household: adults speak in short sentences, if indeed they speak at all, and when they give orders to the child, it is usually in monosyllables—"get this," "bring that." The child has never been obliged to listen to several lengthy sentences spoken consecutively. And the speech he does hear tends to be of a very simple sort from the standpoint of grammar and syntax. In school, the middle-class teacher who rambles on for several sentences might just as well be talking another language. The nonverbal atmosphere of the home also means that lower-class children have a limited perception of the world about them: they do not know that objects have names (table, wall, book), or that the same object may have several names (an apple is fruit, red, round, juicy). They also have very little concept of size or time.

The lower-class youngsters are poorly motivated, because they have had little experience in receiving approval for success in a task or disapproval for failure; but school is organized on the assumption that children expect approval for success. And since the parents, because of their general nonverbal orientation, do not ask the youngsters about school, the children have no way of knowing that the parents *do* very much want and expect success. For much the same reason, these children do not conceive of an adult as a person of whom you ask questions and from whom you get answers—yet school is based on the assumption that children who don't understand will ask. The middle-class mother, by contrast, is engaged in almost constant dialogue with her child. The slum child's home is characterized by a general sparsity of objects: there are few toys, few pictures, few books, few magazines, few of anything except people and noise. In one group of Negro children whom Dr. Martin Deutsch, director of the Institute of Developmental Studies of New York Medical College, has studied, 50 per cent said they did not have a pencil or pen at home, and about as many said there were no books or magazines. Their experiences outside the home are equally narrow; 65 per cent had never gone beyond a twenty-five block radius.

Charles E. Silberman is a member of the Board of Editors of "Fortune" Magazine and a lecturer in economics at Columbia University. He was educated in the New York City public schools and at Columbia University, and was co-author of "America in the Sixties." His forthcoming book, "Crisis in Black and White" will be a study of the Negro in American society.

Given this poverty of experience, it is almost inevitable that the slum child will fail when he enters school. He simply has not been prepared to produce what the school demands, and by and large the school makes no attempt to adjust its curriculum to the realities of what its children actually know, as opposed to what they are *assumed* to know.

"The Child Is Father"

So far, I have stressed the slum youngsters' failure to acquire a specific set of skills—auditory discrimination, sense of timing, etc.—which are prerequisite to learning how to read. The problem cuts far deeper than that. An impressive body of research in the psychology of cognition and perception as well as in the neurophysiology of the brain has made it clear that exercise of the mind early in life is essential for its later development. The human being is born with less than one third of the adult brain capacity, and there is tremendous growth of the cortex after birth. The way in which the cortex and, indeed, the whole nervous system develop is directly affected by the environment. Hence, mental alertness and in particular the ability to handle abstractions depend physiologically on a broad diversity of experience in the environment of early childhood.

"We know now," says Professor Jerome Bruner, director of Harvard's Center for Cognitive Studies, "that the early challenges of problems to be mastered, of stresses to be overcome, are the preconditions of attaining some measure of our full potentiality as human beings. The child is father to the man in a manner that may be irreversibly one-directional, for to make up for a bland impoverishment of experience early in life may be too great an obstacle for most organisms." As Bruner puts it, "supply creates its own demand"; in the phrase of the great Swiss child psychologist Jean Piaget, "the more a child has seen and heard, the more he wants to see and hear."

The problems Negro and other slum youngsters have in learning are no different in kind, therefore, and hardly different in degree, from those of any children coming from a culture of poverty. Thus, the analysis that Deutsch, J. McV. Hunt, and others have made of the reasons for the failure of lower-class children in school are virtually identical with the diagnoses Israeli educators have made of the reasons for the academic failures of the so-called "Oriental Jews"—children of immigrants to Israel from Arabic countries in North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Egypt) and the Middle East (Iraq, Yemen, Kurdestan). A sizable gap is evident when these youngsters start school: they score, on average, sixteen points lower on IQ tests than children coming from a Western European background. And the gap widens as they go through school; by age thirteen, the IQ differential is twenty-two points. Until remedial measures were taken, few went to high school, which is not compulsory, and hardly any to the university. Yet there could be no conclusion drawn about inherent inferiority; for a thousand years, the flowering of Jewish culture and learning was in Arabic countries. Studies by Israeli educators have pointed to the same reasons for these youngsters' poor academic performance: an impoverishment of environment —a lack of stimulation, particularly of the verbal sort, in the early years—which must be compensated for in some way if it is to be overcome.

Starting in Nursery School

Nothing less than a radical reorganization of American elementary education is necessary, therefore, if the schools are to begin to discharge their obligation to teach the Negro and white slum youngsters. To reverse the effects of a starved environment, the schools must begin admitting children at the age of three or four, instead of at five or six. The nursery school holds the key to the future—but a very different kind of nursery school from the one most Americans are familiar with.

It is between the ages of three and six that the battle is won or lost. "The two-and-a-half and three-year-olds are almost universally curious and friendly," says Dr. Ronald Koegler, a neuropsychiatrist at UCLA who is experimenting with a Montessori nursery program for culturally deprived children, "but by the age of six, the children are already different. The culturally deprived have already been deadened by their environment and are already so far behind the middle-class child that all the best elementary education will not be sufficient for them to catch up." Dr. Koegler may be exaggerating somewhat, but the point he is making is basic: the schools which wait until kindergarten or first grade will need to employ many, many more resources to do what they might do with comparative ease for children at age three and four.

By all odds the most important experiment in nursery education for Negro and white slum children is a research and demonstration project

directed by Martin Deutsch in ten New York City public schools and five day-care centers. Deutsch's ultimate objective is to develop a standardized curriculum and a set of teaching techniques that can be used in similar programs anywhere in the country. (Some thirty cities are setting up, or talking about setting up, nursery programs for the culturally deprived, more or less modeled on the Deutsch experiment.) The curriculum is designed to teach the youngsters the verbal and perceptual skills they need in order to learn to read, and also to bolster their sense of self. There is a great deal of emphasis on teaching labeling—getting across the notion, first, that every object has a name, and, second, the more sophisticated concept that objects may have a number of different labels, each referring to different attributes. A teacher may use puppets or other replicas of people, animals, and objects to illustrate the story she is reading, to drive home the relation between people and things. Much use is made, also, of toys: stuffed animals, dolls, peg boards, color cones, to teach color, shape, and size. Auditory discrimination is taught through a tape recorder, in which background noise is used to mask a relevant sound; the level of the background noise is gradually stepped up, to enhance the child's discrimination. To help develop a sense of self, the rooms contain a great many mirrors; many children have never seen themselves in one. One of Deutsch's most successful techniques has been to take a photograph of each child and give a copy to the child and to the parent; 85 per cent of the youngsters had never seen a picture of themselves. The pictures were then used to construct a book about the class.

The physical arrangements of the classroom are planned carefully. The emphasis is on order, beauty, and clarity—on balancing color, physical objects, and space. This is important, Deutsch feels, because there is so little beauty and so little structure in the children's own lives. They respond amazingly to beauty. (Children will typically comment, "I wish I could live in this classroom," and older brothers or sisters in the same school will express envy at the younger child being in such an attractive room.) Each room is divided into a number of self-contained sections: a reading section with books, as well as tape recorders children can use on their own to play back a favorite story; a music section, with phonograph and records; an activity section with blocks and other toys involving motor skills and coordination. The sections are quite distinct—clarity is necessary, in Deutsch's view—but not rigid; they can be rearranged whenever desired. Each child has his own cubby to provide a sense of privacy and personal possession, both of which are difficult to find in a slum home.

The Israeli Example

It is not enough just to work with the children. Deutsch tries to work with the parents too—to win their trust, which is essential if the program is to succeed, and to give them some instruction in how to help their children. Once the former is done, the latter is relatively easy: once they have been persuaded that this is a genuine attempt to help their children, not a venture in brainwashing, the parents (or rather, the mothers—55 per cent of the youngsters come from broken homes) are eager to get instruction. Deutsch and his staff suggest that the parents encourage the child to talk at the dinner table, especially about school, a completely novel experience to a great many parents; that they give him toys, praise his success—in short, let the child know that the parent wants him to succeed in school and is interested in what he does. This has enormous impact on the children's verbal ability, for they begin talking about school when they get home, instead of remaining mute; and it has profound effect on increasing motivation.

The youngsters in Deutsch's experimental classes show significant improvements in IQ test scores. The more profound effects may be less measurable, but they are striking to anyone who spends even a few weeks in one of the classrooms observing the children; they change under the observer's eye. Kindergarten teachers who receive youngsters exposed to even as little as six months of Deutsch's experimental program are almost speechless with enthusiasm. In all their years of teaching, they say, they have never had slum youngsters enter as well-equipped intellectually, as alert, as interested, or as well-behaved.

My proposal to extend public education down to the nursery level is not nearly as extreme as it sounds. Israel, with a standard of living only about one third that of the United States, has already adopted such a policy, and is in the process of establishing nurseries for the Oriental Jews as the means of acculturating its new immigrants in a single generation. The government has formally adopted a policy of preferential treatment, called "state protection." Compensatory education begins at the prenatal level, when amateur social workers visit the pregnant mother and the father; among other things, they teach the parents how to play with the children,

and leave a set of toys which the government lends the family for a period of a year or so. The government is rapidly establishing free nursery schools so that the Oriental youngsters can begin school at three; the curriculum closely resembles the one Martin Deutsch is developing.

Help does not stop at that point, however. The Israeli educators have tried to isolate the critical points in intellectual development. The first is the nursery-school years; the second is the first and second grades, when the children learn to read. The Israelis are convinced that anyone, even the mentally retarded, can be taught to read. The problem, as Dr. Moshe Smilansky, Pedagogical Adviser to the Minister of Education puts it, is simply one of adapting the method of instruction to the state of development in which the child comes to school. Three years of intensive work have convinced the Israelis that 80 to 85 per cent of the Oriental youngsters can be brought up to the expected reading level.

The third critical point at which Israel's Oriental youngsters need help is the junior-high period (ages twelve to fourteen); they receive up to eleven hours of additional instruction a week, in order to help them adjust to the more complex curriculum they begin to receive, and to help them prepare for high school. In addition to the extra instruction given to all the Oriental youngsters, the government has adopted a separate program for the most academically talented: the top 25 per cent. The object, quite explicitly, is to encourage the development of an intellectual elite among the Oriental students—to create a group that will go through high school and the university without difficulty and then move into positions of responsibility in government, in business management, and in the army, thereby demonstrating to the rest of the Oriental community as well as to the Western Jewish community that Orientals *do* have the capacity to move to the top of Israeli society.

An Older Experiment

One reason the Israelis have been so successful is that they have far greater administrative flexibility than we do in America; the director of research operates out of the office of the Minister of Education, so his research results can be immediately translated into administrative policy. The main reason for success, however, is the commitment to the program of "state protection" at all levels of government. The officials in charge of the program (though needless to say, not all the teachers in the field) really believe that there is no inherent difference in intelligence between Oriental and Western youngsters—and that in any case IQ scores are meaningless as a guide to a child's potential.

This notion is crucial if any program is to succeed in the United States. The traditional American approach has been to see the child as a more or less fixed, static entity that has been determined by genetic environment. Hence the emphasis on IQ: you have to measure what the child is before you can decide what to teach him, and how. The Israeli educators—and people like Deutsch, Bruner, Professor O. K. Moore of Rutgers, and Professor J. McV. Hunt of the University of Illinois, in the United States, as well as Montessori before them—see the child instead as an "open system." They are interested less in what the child *is* than in what he can *become*, and their goal is to provide whatever materials and techniques are needed to develop his intellectual abilities to the fullest. This is a far cry from the so-called "life adjustment" approach so popular in the United States a while ago; indeed, it is its very opposite, since life adjustment assumed irreversibility of a child's nature. The Israelis reject the idea that there is a point at which it is too late to help a child, though they agree that help is far more effective if begun in the nursery years. And they assume that intellectual development is a major source of mental health; children who receive an infusion of competence from the very beginning—who learn "I can" at the start of school—will tend to be stable, well-adjusted individuals as adults.

The Israeli example is by no means the only one. The first demonstration of the value of early childhood education in reversing the effects of poverty occurred nearly sixty years ago, when the Casa dei Bambini was established in a Roman tenement by Dr. Maria Montessori, one of the towering figures in the history of education, and one who is just beginning to be appreciated. Something of a Montessori revival has occurred in the United States in recent years, and several experiments using her methods are in process.

The Montessori approach may be particularly relevant to our own time for a number of reasons. It emphasizes what psychologists call *intrinsic* motivation—harnessing the child's innate curiosity and delight in discovery. Each child is free, therefore, to examine and work with whatever interests him, for as long as it interests him, from the materials that are available. What is available is determined by the Montessori concept of "prepared environment," which places

great stress on training the sensory processes: cognition is enhanced by providing appropriate stimuli to *all* the senses.

The chief advantage of the Montessori approach, in the opinion of J. McV. Hunt, is that "it gives the individual child an opportunity to find the circumstances which match his own particular stage of development." It has the corollary advantage of making learning fun, whereas the conventional American approach to kindergarten and elementary education manages to establish remarkably early the notion that learning is unpleasant. ("Let's stop playing with the blocks now, children; it's time to learn our letters.")

As in Israel, help for our underprivileged cannot stop with creation of a nursery program, though such a program is crucial. The cultural distance between the school and the community, and the disorganization of Negro and slum life, mean that a great many lower-class youngsters will need extra help all the way through school, and especially in the early grades. It may be useful, for example, to provide them with texts that offer a better bridge between their own lives and the rich world of Western civilization than, say, the almost universal "Dick, Jane, and Sally" series of reading primers. Unfortunately the first experiment in creating an "integrated" series of reading primers—*Play with Jimmy, Fun with David,* and *Laugh with Larry,* written by staff members of the Detroit Public Schools, moves in precisely the wrong direction. The books show a well-scrubbed Negro family in the same sort of antiseptic suburban environment that Dick, Jane, and Sally play in, and the level of prose almost makes the Dick, Jane, and Sally readers sound like poetry. (The Detroit readers use a much smaller vocabulary; the Detroit experts made tape recordings of Negro children's speech, and discovered that their vocabulary contains only about half as many words as white children's.) There is some reason to assume, however, that what these youngsters need is stimulus to the imagination—some evidence that reading is a means of escaping the confines of the slum for something more exciting than a backyard barbecue or a trip to the supermarket.

Implementing the Imperative

Current dogma, of course, condemns any program of compensatory education, no matter how massive, as a return to "separate but equal," hence an expression of prejudice. But one group of Negro leaders, headed by Professor Kenneth Clark and the Reverend Eugene Callender, has already had the courage to face up to the realities of the education problem in central Harlem. Their views are expressed in a report issued by Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc. (HARYOU), a group set up with funds from the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.

The authors mince no words about their belief in integration and their distrust of many of the measures taken so far. But their main proposition is "that this vicious cycle of educational inefficiency and social pathology can be broken only by instituting an educational program of excellence in the schools of deprived communities," and their most important recommendation is a proposal to establish compensatory nursery programs for all Harlem children. In the long run, they argue, excellence requires an end to segregation. But in the short run—"during that period required to obtain more adaptive, democratic, nonsegregated schools for all children"—compensatory education is necessary, for 50 per cent of the junior-high-school students need massive remedial work if they are to be brought up to grade level.

Integration is a moral imperative—the greatest moral imperative of our time. It is essential not so much for Negroes as for whites, who must learn to live in the great world in which they are the minority. But merely throwing white and black students into the same classroom without regard to differences in knowledge and academic performance does not constitute integration in any meaningful sense. How are we to achieve meaningful integration—which leads to genuine contact, to real communication, and to understanding of each group by the other?

The only honest answer is that genuine integration will not be possible until the schools in Negro neighborhoods, and the schools in white slum areas as well, are brought up to the level of the very best in the city—until the schools do their job so well that children's educational performance will no longer reflect their income, or their social status, or their ethnic group, or their color.

To say this is not to suggest indefinite postponement, but to demand that the public schools stop dithering with projects and demonstrations and turn immediately to the most pressing task. Neither the large cities nor the nation as a whole can afford a public-school system which fails to educate between 50 and 80 per cent of its Negro and white slum students.

June 5, 1964

Mr. Meyer Weinberg
Editor, for
Integrated Education Associates
343 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604

Dear Mr. Weinberg:

We are appreciative of your letter to Mr. Dunbar of April 24, but regret to inform you that though we feel Integrated Education serves a vital need, we are not in a position to make a financial contribution at this time. However, you have our sincere good wishes.

If at any time we can be of service to you in terms of research materials and/or other data, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

INTEGRATED EDUCATION

343 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604
Telephone 922-8361 A/C 312

Rec'd 4/28/64

April 24, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am writing to you and a number of other persons who believe that Integrated Education serves a vital need. The growing impetus of school integration movements in an ever increasing number of cities makes evident that school integration is one of the central issues of our times and that drastic changes in public education are in the making. A journal devoted to the many complex issues of change associated with this movement can undoubtedly make a much needed and constructive contribution.

As you know, Integrated Education was initiated and published in its first year by a Chicago-based organization, Teachers for Integrated Schools. It presently has a circulation of 1,500, a total achieved with very little expenditure on advertising. Recently, TFIS transferred the journal to a new publisher, Integrated Education Associates, a not-for-profit Illinois corporation made up of Chicago teachers. The purposes of this corporation are entirely educational and literary in the area of school integration.

The major problem facing those of us who are the officers and directors responsible for publishing Integrated Education is that of adequate financing. While the sum needed is not large (because the work of the editor and other persons is voluntary), it still is well beyond our personal resources. We felt therefore that we should invite the many persons who share with us our conviction about the need for Integrated Education to become IE Associates. We would ask IE Associates to help us with our financial problem and to generally support our efforts to make our magazine more widely known and useful to the public.

Our thinking about IE Associates is as follows. The financial goal we would suggest is $10,000 per year. This would provide for the necessary office expenses and that part of printing and mailing costs not covered by subscription income. To this end, we believe the following designations would be

helpful, to allow for the varying sizes of contributions that individuals (or organizations) may see fit to make:

Contributing IE Associate	$ 25
Supporting IE Associate	50
Sustaining IE Associate	100
Cooperating IE Associate	250
Participating IE Associate	500 and over

Four hundred Contributing IE Associates or 20 Participating IE Associates would enable us to reach the $10,000 goal. More realistically, contributions would be received at all levels and somewhere between 100 to 200 Associates would insure the desired total. We believe that, with the help of the people to whom we are addressing this letter, $10,000 is a feasible goal.

Naturally, we would want to show our appreciation to the IE Associates. We believe that the best thing we could do (and in lieu of the usual banquet and speechmaking) would be to present each Associate with a personal copy of a limited-edition Annual Report of Integrated Education Associates. The Report will summarize the year's events and will contain specially prepared and exclusive analyses by leading observers, together with original literary pieces and works of art commemorating aspects of the civil rights movement. The names of all Associates will be listed in the Report and each copy will be individually inscribed with the name of the receiving Associate.

My colleagues and I deeply hope that you will become an IE Associate and thus help to provide us with a firm foundation on which to continue our publication activities in the school integration field. I want to thank you for your past interest and look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Meyer Weinberg

Meyer Weinberg, Editor
for Integrated Education Associates

P.S. A return-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience. Please make checks to Integrated Education Associates.

File
Newspapers, et al.
Gen. Corresp.

June 10, 1964

Mr. Ted Kolderie
The Minneapolis Star-Tribune
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Kolderie:

Thank you for sending me your articles. I have read them and I think they are good. Please feel free at any time to call on us for any assistance we can give you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR
Evening

THE MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE
Morning and Sunday

FEDERAL 3-3111
Minneapolis 15, Minnesota

June 5, 1964

Mr. Leslie C. Dunbar
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Here is a set of the articles the Star ran--along with my profound thanks for the help you and your people gave me when I came through Atlanta.

I can tell I'm only a part of a long procession of curious but probably badly-backgrounded northern newspapermen that wanders through the South and through the offices of the Southern Regional Council. We are a burden, I'm sure. But we do get a tremendous amount of information out of our visits.

Please tell Staige Blackford, Paul Anthony and Margaret Long how much I appreciate their help.

Sincerely,

Ted Kolderie,
Editorial Pages

TK/lh
Enclosures

File
Newspapers, et. al
Gen. Corresp.

July 8, 1964

Mr. Martin Kessler
Editor
The Free Press of Glencoe
60 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Kessler:

As a friend and admirer of Eli Ginzberg, I have looked forward eagerly to publication of his book. I hope to read it as soon as the copy you so kindly are sending comes in.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE FREE PRESS OF GLENCOE · 60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10011
A DIVISION OF THE MACMILLAN COMPANY 620-4500

July 2, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Mr. Frank Jennings has suggested that I send you an advance copy of THE TROUBLESOME PRESENCE: American Democracy and the Negro by Eli Ginzberg and Alfred S. Eichner which The Free Press will be publishing in September. He felt -- a sentiment with which I obviously concur -- that Ginzberg and Eichner have written "the best book on the Negro problem that I have read in many years."

As you probably know, Mr. Ginzberg, a professional economist and chairman of the President's National Manpower Advisory Committee, has long been concerned with the problem of discrimination in America, not only as an economist but also as a social scientist and as an American. Together with his colleague, Mr. Eichner, he has written a history of American democracy in relation to the Negro from the arrival of the first slaves in Jamestown to the present day. But the book is much more than a history; it is an attempt to explain why it is taking so long to integrate the Negro into our democratic society, how and why these obstacles are finally being overcome and why there is reason to hope that we are finally on our way to becoming the first truly bi-racial democracy the world has ever known.

As editor, I am, no doubt, prejudiced. It is not my intention to give you a sales pitch. I am therefore sending you a copy of the book and would be most interested in learning what you think of it.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Cordially,

Martin Kessler
Editor

MK:rb

File
Newspapers,
Ga. concept.

July 17, 1964

Mr. William K. Wyant
Washington Bureau
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Bill:

I am so far behind in everything that I must begin by apologizing for the delay in answering your letter of July 6. I hope this will reach you in time to be of some use.

Wesley McCune is a good source, and we have leaned on him rather more than vice versa. I would suggest that you also check with the Anti-Defamation League, either at its national office (315 Lexington Avenue, New York0 or at its Atlanta office (41 Exchange Place).

Actually, we have not published anything on the subject. I am enclosing a couple things we have done on the fruits.

There are 2 or 3 recent books on the subject. James Cook, The Segregationists; Hodding Carter, III, The South Strikes Back; Arnold Rice, The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics (this is about the 1920's, chiefly).

Attached also is a list of some articles which you probably already have found. Enclosed also is one news clip, plus a copy of a letter we sent out so someone else a few months ago.

There is not much I can say except the obvious things. Given the nomination of Senator Goldwater, and given the civil rights campaigns of this summer, it is not far fetched to say that the country may very likely be entering a six-month or so period of modified civil war. I don't mean this, of course, in any too literal sense, but only with the meaning that some unprecedentedly sharp and direct confrontations are going to occur this year which go to the radical depths of our national ties and linkage with each other. I am enclosing also an article which I did a few months ago; just read the last page.

Every now and then James Reston produces a piece which justifies fully his reputation. He did in the New York Times of July 16. I am sure you have already read it. (I am not persuaded, though, that President Johnson will be induced to go "right.")

It may surprise you to read this from me, but I think, along the line that Reston takes, that we liberals have to accept some measure (small I think, but nevertheless existent) for the feeling on the right. Lord knows, the WASPS have given, over the decades, enough provocation for almost anything. But we live in the present. I think some things which have happened in the last few years have not been necessary. Among these I would include the way in which this whole school prayer question has been handled, some of the pointless civil rights demonstrations in the north (garbage throwing, Triborough Bridge lie-downs, etc. -- for agreement see Bayard Rustin's comments in the article about him in the current Saturday Evening Post), the Supreme Court's puzzling decision in the Colorado re-apportionment case (do we really want to tell the majority that it cannot decide how it wants to govern itself? -- and remember, there was no First Amendment or other individual rights question involved). I am also enclosing a marked copy of New South in which I griped along this line a bit also

But I repeat, the age-old provocations of the WASPS have been mighty and maddening. I'll be looking eagerly for the publication of your piece.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

(Thermo copy: Ark. Gazette Clip - 1/28/64 "About 9-Million Americans. Belong to Extremist Groups...,"
Thermo copy: M. Albright's Ltr. of 12/4/63 to Mr. C. L. Winne, re: extremists groups;
Lord's Journal of Politics piece;
New South on Mississippi)

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1028 CONNECTICUT AVENUE

MA - welcome
see send?

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

July 6, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dumbar
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC.,
5 Forsyth street NW
Atlanta, Ga. - 30303

Dear Leslie -

The other day I was asked by The New Republic to write an article about the ultra-conservative movement in the United States. I am to have it in the editor's hands by mid-August. It is supposed to be factual rather than didactic in approach, I gather, and is to include the southern segregationist groups.

I am planning to lean rather heavily on Wesley McCune and his fact-finding organization, since there is neither time nor money for a reporting tour around the United States. McCune recently put out a very interesting report on the new white supremacy group down there. I dare say a great deal of his information came from you.

I know you must receive a great many inquiries of this type, and I hate to add to your burdens. However, I know of no better source and I should like to ask that you send me anything you have published in the last couple of years bearing on the activities of rightist groups in the South.

I hope you will be getting up this way soon, and that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you. We are finally getting settled in Washington, I am glad to say.

Sincere regards,

Bill

William K. Wyant Jr.

ps - I need hardly add that I'd be very grateful for your personal evaluation of the situation, if you had time to set down a few lines. - WKW

File: Newspapers, et. al. - Gen. Corresp.

July 17, 1964

Mr. Julius Jacobson
Editor
New Politics
507 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Jacobson:

I am so far behind with both my correspondence and my reading that I missed the deadline you requested in your letter of June 29, and I have not yet read the article. I have a very high regard for August Meier, however, and I am sure that anything of his is first rate; and I shall be reading the piece soon. Thank you for sending it to me.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

new **POLITICS** *a journal of socialist thought*

507 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 17, N.Y. • OX 7-5895

Rec'd 7/1/64

June 29, 1964

Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie Dunbar:

Under separate cover, we have sent you a copy of the current issue of NEW POLITICS which carries an article examining the civil rights movement today, Recent Trends in the Civil Rights Movement, by Tom Kahn and August Meier.

We would very much like to have your comments on this article for publication in our next issue, and do hope that you will find it possible to write something. Deadline for copy is July 15th. The issue will come out in August.

Can you possibly let us know whether we may expect some comment from you so that we can make arrangements for space?

Many thanks, and I do look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Julius Jacobson

Julius Jacobson
Editor

JJ:pj

File: Newspapers, & Al. gen. Corresp.

July 23, 1964

Miss Roberta Bickle
Secretary to Mr. Martin Kessler
The Free Press of Glencoe
60 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Bickle:

We have been holding your letter of July 14 to see if Ginzberg's The Troublesome Presence would arrive in the mails. To date, the book has not come, and Mr. Dunbar would very much like to see it.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

THE FREE PRESS OF GLENCOE • 60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10011
A DIVISION OF THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
620-4500

July 14, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I do hope that the copy of Eli Ginzberg's THE TROUBLESOME PRESENCE has arrived at your office by this date. If you haven't received the copy, please let me know and I'll mail another one out.

Sincerely yours,

Roberta Bickle

Roberta Bickle
Secretary to Martin Kessler

rb

August 3, 1964

Miss Anne Perkins
Publicity
The Seabury Press
815 Second Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Perkins:

In response to your letter of July 17 to Mr. Dunbar, please be advised that the Southern Regional Council meets annually in November. We meet this year on November 19th through 21st. We have never had a practice however, of selling books, not even our own at our annual meetings; and though we appreciate very much the opportunity to sell For Human Beings Only, it is not our practice to do so.

We have had, and will continue to have, numerous opportunities to refer Mrs. Boyle's book to persons who write in for information and resource materials. We make such references as a material part of our work.

Thank you kindly for writing us.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

VJ - pls reply -

815 Second Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

file Newspapers, et al gen. corresp.

17 July, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St/ N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

As you may know we recently published Sarah Patton Boyle's FOR HUMAN BEINGS ONLY, a book addressed to Negro and white Americans to help clear up some of the misunderstandings each group may have about the other. We think it is a good conference book.

Since she mentions the Southern Regional Council as being a good source of general information on the whole issue, it might help us to know the dates of forthcoming major meetings, and to know whether books will be sold at such meetings.

Thanks for your possible help.

Sincerely,

Anne Perkins

Anne Perkins
Publicity

October 14, 1964

5 2 3 6 5 9 3

Mr. James E. Stewart
Businessman and Newspaper
Columnist
548 N. E. Fourth Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Jimmy:

This will acknowledge your note to Les Dunbar concerning the announcement of the recipients of the George Mitchell Award.

The delay in the determination of the winner is accounted for by the fact that only three of the State councils have sent to us the membership reports. However, we expect all of them by the end of this week.

I doubt seriously that we will give any newspaper publicity about the award.

Looking forward to seeing you at the Annual meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

Read 10/21/64
Lwd

From The Desk of . . .

JIMMY STEWART

THE BLACK DISPATCH NEWSPAPER

% 548 N. E. Fourth Street
Oklahoma City, Okla.

VJ

Bill me

Dear Les:

Greetings: There was a clause in the report of the George S. Mitchell Award Committee which said "the state council winning the award shall be notified not later than Oct. 1 of the year the award is to be made."

I have not observed any news releases out this way, therefore I am wondering if there is to be an award this year.

With best regards,

Jimmy

File "Newspapers, et al. - Gen."
Cross ref - Dep.
w/ attachment

April 21, 1965

Mr. Walter Pincus
Washington Evening Star
225 Virginia Avenue, S. E.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pincus:

I apologize for being so slow in answering your request about the sources of support to the Voter Education Project. Explanation is all-too-human; I lost the note I made to myself in the mountain of paper on my desk. The attached sheet gives, I think, the information you need. Let me know any other questions you may have.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Principal Contributors to the Voter Education Project:

1. Field Foundation, Inc.
2. Stern Family Fund
3. Taconic Foundation, Inc.

Other Contributors of More Than $1,000.00:

1. Carol Buttenweiser Loeb Foundation
2. Ottinger Foundation
3. Rockefeller Brothers Fund
4. United Artists Corporation
5. Krim-Benjamin Foundation
6. Committee for Welfare, Education, and Legal Defense
7. Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation (stipend for intern)
8. Four other Donors

Total Received 1962-64 (2½ years) -- $887,737

Free
News papers, et. al
Gen. Correspondence 1965

November 2, 1965

Mr. Dick Cunningham
Staff Writer
Minneapolis Tribune
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Cunningham:

We are remiss in not seeing that you have received our recent material. The mysteries of our mailing list are a wonder to behold, but we will make every effort to see that you get our regular mailings hereafter.

Enclosed are two latest.

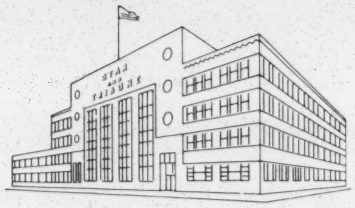
With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:nm
Enclosures

THE
MINNEAPOLIS
STAR
Evening



THE
MINNEAPOLIS
TRIBUNE
Morning and Sunday

Minneapolis , Minnesota
55415

Reply 11/4/65

October 28, 1965

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 NW. Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I've seen stories about a report on the double standard of southern justice coming out of Southern Regional Council. I wonder if that report was something you sent out to a number of people on a mailing list.

If so, would you please put me on that list. We corresponded a month or so ago on this, but something may have gone astray.

Sincerely,

Richard C. Cunningham

Dick Cunningham
Staff Writer
MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE

9-1

DC:ske

Interagency

To: Ed Lewis

Please return file

MB

December 29, 1965

Mr. Marshall Bragdon
1384 Commonwealth Ave. - Apt. 29
Boston, Mass. 02134

Dear Marshall:

Thank you for The Bragdons' 1965 Chronicle. It is always a pleasure to read about your doings.

We are reorganizing our mailing list and the gremlins are hard at work, but you will be added to it.

All good wishes to all of you for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Dear Paul: The glimpse of you at NAIRO's clambake in Chicago moves me to send you a copy of this Epistle from the Roamin'...(I apologize, not too sincerely)... I do wish for you a most achieving and satisfying New Year in your new job...Now, a request: Paul, could you put me on SRC's mailing list for its publications--South Today, and other items? All best wishes from

The Bragdons' 1965 CHRONICLE

To: Mr. Paul Lewis
Planned Parenthood Center Building, Ky.

MARSHALL STARTS Well, that was a year! As the breathless gossip said, over the back fence, I just don't know where to begin... At the year's start, maybe. When the last Chronicle was going out, and 1965 coming in, I had been the intergroup specialist in Cincinnati's City Hall for 19½ years. And all that time Elspeth and I had lived at 921 Wm. Howard Taft Road in an apartment suggesting both magpies and Maine..As the year-end neared, we were settling into an attractive Boston apartment with a fine view, begging a new, challenging life chapter. Now let Elspeth give her version...

ELSPETH SPEAKING After 20 years of creative but inefficient housekeeping, we moved. The whole process was something only science fiction could record. Why should I have wrapped tenderly a 29-cent bottle of molasses, a product I never used? What happened to the colander without which I cannot live? The whole thing was an unholy mystery. But we heaved everything into storage and reached Islesford, Maine, in July, to find the old house shining with the loving welcome which our daughter-in-law Jean and her Christine (going on 13!) always give it. At that point I fell asleep...

In September I waked to a number of seemingly insoluble problems, such as Marsh's fibrillating shoulder (look it up, stupid), and an astronomically high blood pressure on my part. Dr. Richard Field of the medical center in Southwest Harbor (as a boy in Beverly he had known our Ohio friends, Bishop Roger Blanchard, and Rev. Alanson Higbie), suggested specialists in Boston.

So we went to Boston. It took us a discouraging month (relieved by a visit from Rosamond Lord of Boxford and Islesford, laden with autumn leaves), to find this terrific apartment. I can see the light on Mt. Desert Rock on a clear night. All right, I can't. But I can see miles of horizon, sky, and seagulls.

We moved in on November 9 -- the day of the black-out. One neighbor came with coffee, another with flashlight and candles. Nice, nice! My heart was also lifted by our taximan, who said he's going to night school because his girl friend disapproves of his use of the double negative! What better omen could anyone have? And who were the first to welcome us? Bishop John Burgess and his beautiful wife Esther, whom we knew years ago in Cincinnati! We had lunch in their charming house in Newton. Their warm and loving welcome was something we'll always remember.

We spent Thanksgiving with Jean and Chris in Portland, Conn., and had a wonderful afternoon with Mother Bragdon. She is much more wisely loving at going-on-ninety than I'll ever be. We'll have Christmas with Marsh's sister, Molly Gunn, and her tribe in nearby Scituate. We'll miss not being with the David Thornberrys; we'll miss the wonderful mad gaiety of Peebles Corner which, I'm convinced, is the real center of Cincinnati -- but we are blessed and grateful and happy. Look for our candles on Christmas Eve!

MARSH RESUMES Our decision to move East was related to the evolution and progress of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee. Early in 1965 it completed a healthy self-reevaluation and amendment. In March, renamed the Cincinnati Human Relations Commission, it was strengthened substantially by a Council ordinance giving it more explicit authority to work in sensitive intergroup areas. Deliberately, however, Council continued its separate identity as a non-profit corporation, under contract with the City. This was done because its unusual setup was recognized as the means of flexibly developing metropolitan teamwork in intergroup relations. Council even authorized CHRC to enter into future contracts with neighboring municipalities.

Thus our leaders, and officials, worked out a way of maximizing inter-governmental collaboration on problems which were metropolitan in scope, in the coming years when more formal "metro" structure will be hard to attain.

Seeing the changes as "a dream come true," in April I presented to the Board my resignation effective August 1, after 20 years service. I explained that MFRC-now-CHRC deserved the pick of the younger intergroup workers for its next director; and that I wished to use my experience in a different

phase of intergroup work, preferably in the East.

At the officers' request, I spent the final months compiling a History of MFRC. Writing the History proved a harder, longer job than anticipated; not for lack of reference materials -- the unusually detailed records made the opportunity almost paralyzing in its challenge. Also, distractions of moving could not be tuned out. So the work did carry over into the Eastern chapter.

We shall never forget the calls and letters of appreciation and good wishes; the luncheon and gift, from past and present board members, and city officials; the Japanese-American friends who came, just before we left, to thank us for MFRC's aid when local prejudice faced them, years ago; and not least, hundreds of persons of all walks of life who said in as many ways, "We'll miss you."

In Maine we treated ourselves to an extra vacation, into October. It was fun to stay into frost-time. The only flaw was the onset of tendonitis in my shoulder. Because my mobility is vital, the lead to Boston specialists decided our next address. I'm under treatment now, and hope the condition can be checked.

Instead of seeking a full-time intergroup position at once, I decided to operate as a consultant, at least for several months. This has worked well. I am cooperating with the doctors, and am able to fly on assignments to Washington, St. Louis, Chicago, etc., and to do most of the resulting work at home. The U.S. Conference of Mayors has tapped me for several stints. One, a team working on police-community relations training, has a reunion flavor. It includes Chief Schrotel of Cincinnati, also three friends I made in 1947 in Detroit: John Feild, Geroge Schermer and Joe Coles, all of them charter members of NAIRO (Nat'l Assn. of Intergroup Relations Officials), and contributors to its progress.

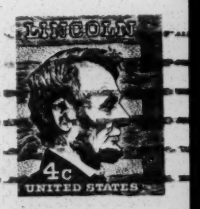
At the NAIRO conference in Chicago, it was good to see a dozen Cincinnatians. The high percent of government-paid workers was striking. I missed some of the 'poorer' private agencies' workers. I hope our field will continue a balance of instruments, of talents; including the not-too-institutionalized efforts as well as the kind of work which must be recorded in triplicate... as "intergroup" work covers move life areas, it needs new combinations of vocations and expertise -- but it can never succeed without that non-expert, the ordinary-seeming citizen with the not-so-common willingness to do something decent and courageous close to home. I've been privileged to know many such folk, in many places.

Our 1965 has been checkered, as yours has been. We share some anxieties, at the local, national, world level. Others are more personal and private. Let's hope we have grown under their weight, and feel closer to all who bear burdens.

But the year's small flavors are important, too... In Maine, the lobsterman's tiny son who daily bellowed at our door, "HI, BRAGDONS!"... The Atlantic coast, a living map, beneath the jet to Washington... In our new neighborhood, the storekeepers' response to Elspeth's friendliness, just as in Cincinnati... Being led by old friends to new friends -- among these so-called "cold Bostonians."...Opening each day's new page in the Bragdons' next chapter.

Season's Greetings from Marshall & Elspeth Bragdon
1384 Commonwealth Ave. - Apt. 29
Boston, Mass. 02134

BOSTON, MASS. PM 25 DEC 1965



Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director

Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth St., N.W.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

Pw
MJ

444 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
HA1-1234

Newsweek

January 13, 1966

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for writing to us about the Dec. 27 article "A Busy Life Came to a Close..." We appreciate the interest that prompted you to get in touch with us and are forwarding a copy of your letter to Karl Fleming, who, we know, will be pleased to learn how much you enjoyed the story. As it happens, Fleming spent a number of years in Southern bureaus, was promoted to bureau chief and now heads our Los Angeles office.

We published some of the many letters we received from readers who share your ideal of equal opportunity in the South; we hope you will find them of interest. Thank you again for writing.

Sincerely,

Joan Wharton

Joan Wharton
For the Editors

jc

Since Newspapers, et al attached to Harper's corresp.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

DeVinney, Dr. Leland

REGARDING

Reply to PA's letter to Harper's Magazine; re: omission of Harper's piece to mention Rockefeller Foundation support to SRC. (NOTE: Mr. DeVinney's letter mentions, by way of SRC historical background, that Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation supported the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation between 1922 and 1938 in the amount of $700,000; between 1944 and 1949 the General Education Board contributed $51,500 to SRC.)

DATE
February 15, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Original ltr. filed in Foundations: The Rockefeller, with Zerox copies filed in SRC "ARCHIVES" folder.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

February 24, 1966

file NEWSPAPERS, ET. AL

See ST - General Correspondence

Letter of February 22, 1966 from
Paul Anthony to

Mr. Philp M. Stern
Washington, D. C.

regarding Harper's article

Rec'd 2/14/66

MJ-file

HARPER'S MAGAZINE, INC.

Editorial Rooms

2 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016
TELEPHONE 212 686-8710

February 10, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In Mr. Fischer's absence I am writing to thank you for your letter of February 7. We are passing it along to the editor of our letters column and hope there will be space for it in a future issue. We are also sending a copy to Mr. Stern for his information and possible comment.

Sincerely,

Rosemary Wolfe

(Mrs.) Rosemary Wolfe

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

February 7, 1966

Mr. John Fischer
Editor in Chief
Harper's Magazine
2 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Fischer:

This is in reference to the article in your January issue, "An Open Letter to the Ford Foundation," by Philip M. Stern.

In that otherwise excellent article there were two facts which should be known. In October of 1965 the Ford Foundation made a substantial grant to the Southern Regional Council. That Foundation has made a second grant to the Council since that time. Because of deadlines it might not have been possible to include this information. More importantly, however, the Southern Regional Council has received grants from the Rockefeller Foundation each year from 1961 through 1965, and on January 28, 1966 another grant to the Council was approved by the Rockefeller Foundation.

During this period, the Council has also received generous support from the Stern Family Fund, and for many years the Council's predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, was supported by the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
bc: Dr. Leland DeVinney, Rockefeller Foundation

file newspapers

March 28, 1966

Mr. Neil Davis
Editor
The Lee County Bulletin
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Neil:

Would you be good enough to have sent to us copies of the Bulletin which reports on the Voter Education Project-League of Women Voters program?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Newspapers, et. al---

REGARDING

Letter to Miss Joyce Sozen, Research Digest,
University of Illinois 4/20/66

regarding

studies we are planning.

DATE

4-20-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

University of Illinois

File
Newspapers, et al.
Gen. Correspondence

April 29, 1966

Mr. Henry Robbins, Senior Editor
Farrar, Straus & Giroux, Inc.
19 Union Square West
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mr. Robbins:

We are familiar with Miss Anderson's outstanding work in the Clinton area and her excellent articles in the New York Times Magazine. It would be a pleasure to see a copy of her book THE CHILDREN OF THE SOUTH and I would be pleased for the opportunity to read and comment on it.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Bc: Margaret Anderson
Clinton, Tenn

FARRAR, STRAUS & GIROUX, INC. *Book Publishers*

NOONDAY PAPERBACKS

5

April 21, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We will be publishing this September a book that is of unusual timeliness and importance, Margaret Anderson's THE CHILDREN OF THE SOUTH. It is, we believe, the first account and study of the impact of school desegregation on the children--both Negro and white--of the South. Mrs. Anderson has been for the past decade a teacher and guidance counselor at one of the first Southern schools to desegregate, Clinton High School in Clinton Tennessee. You may be familiar with her work through several articles she's written for The New York Times Magazine.

I would like very much to send you a bound copy of THE CHILDREN OF THE SOUTH in the hope that you would be able to read it and willing to comment on it. May I do so?

Sincerely yours,

Henry Robbins

Henry Robbins
Senior Editor

HR/mj

19 Union Square West, New York, New York 10003 | Telephone ORegon 5-3000 | Cable Farrarcomp

Publishers of Noonday, Ariel, Vision and L.C. Page Books

6/22/66

Sent to the following:

LWD
HCF
VEagle
DMCole (Norman Fund)
Bob Coles

(See Southern Courier, June 18-19 re: Hew Court)

with this note: "Thought you would be interested, in this rare review from The Southern Courier of June 18-19.

PAUL

file Newspapers & al "The Southern Courier"

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

1

File Newspapers, et al

THE SOUTHERN COURIER JUNE 18-19, 1966

'New South'

Same Old Story in Long Sentences

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

The first issue of the new "New South" came out last winter. It was a big, fat quarterly magazine, instead of a little, skinny monthly one, as it used to be.

Buried in pages and pages of the worst kind of drivel in the first issue were two really rewarding articles--Helen Howard's account of a day in the life of a poor Negro mother, and Professor James Silver's up-to-date views about the "closed society," Mississippi.

Now the second issue of the new, improved "New South" is upon us. Again, there are pages and pages of boring and indigestible observations about the South.

But this time, there is only one article that really ought to be read--Margaret Long's report of her visits to newly-integrated neighborhoods in metropolitan Atlanta.

And even reading her article requires courage; you have to get through an opening paragraph that says:

"Dogwood was in alabaster bloom, azaleas flamed densely pink and tomato red, spirea showered white fountains from lawn to lawn, redbud trees thrust out rosy limbs and big trees reached lacy and cloud-like with beginning green leaf in the modest Atlanta neighborhoods where 'the colored are taking over.'"

In the old "New South," the writers often couldn't resist describing all the trees, flowers, weeds, mammals, birds, and bugs in the vicinity. Evidently, they still can't.

But after the flowery beginning, an old white lady in a racially changing neighborhood tells Miss Long, "We got niggers all around. Niggers on this side, niggers on that side, niggers across the street and over yonder, niggers around the corner both ways."

How does she like it?

"Jest fine! You couldn't ask for nicer neighbors. We don't have no trouble. They all nice people."

Another white woman in another part of town seems to agree: "The colored people has been a lot nicer and friendlier to me than the white people that moved out."

But still, even though most people say they like their new neighbors, the white people are leaving, one by one. "Right now," a real estate agent tells Miss Long, "we're not integrating neighborhoods, but expanding boundaries of the colored ghettos."

This piece is much better than Miss Long's article in the winter issue--a long, long, long discussion about where the movement is and where it's going.

For this study, Miss Long simply interviewed every civil rights leader in sight, and strung their remarks together without any serious attempt to organize her material. The confusion is worsened by sentences like the following--one of the few 110-word sentences ever to get by an editor:

"Roy Wilkins, who finds himself 'increasingly objecting to the designation of civil rights activity as "the Movement," an umbrella to cover the work of all organizations and local community groups, and which in some ways does injustice to some organizations' work and pays extra dividends to others, when individual components of the effort are scattered all over the country, with all kinds of objectives and action,' sees the present as 'an era when accelerated and expanded work is called for, and when more needs must be met in a less spectacular fashion,' and when, unhappily, 'there is no spectacular means for attracting attention' and funds for Negro improvement and preparation."

How's that again?

"New South" seems to be fascinated by the civil rights movement's problems. At least, it keeps on getting people outside the movement to write about what's going on inside the movement. In the spring issue, August Meier of Roosevelt University in Chicago tries where Miss Long failed. In an article almost twice as long as Miss Long's, Meier analyzes dozens of things that don't need analyzing.

The incident at Greenville, Miss., when poor people tried to take over buildings on a deserted air base, hardly needs any explaining, but Meier explains it anyway.

First, he says, "it demonstrated the necessity of increasing Negro voting power at the state level and, in local areas."

And for those who might have missed it, he reveals that "the air base demonstration was symptomatic of the increasing restlessness of the poor Negroes, both rural and urban, in the South. . . ."

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 1)

REVIEW OF 'NEW SOUTH'

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

But when it comes to stating obvious facts in as many words as possible, no one can top Leslie Dunbar, former executive director of the Southern Regional Council, which publishes "New South."

"By all evidence that we have," he begins in the winter issue, "the situation of Negro Americans is so desperate that to overstate it is hard." Then Dunbar lists six "policies" that will help this situation. "None is original," he says, and he isn't kidding. Among the policies are:

"Security of the person must be guaranteed."

"The job of erasing all racial barriers must be completed."

"Negroes must enter into full and free participation in politics at all levels."

And so on. People who have known these things for years may be surprised to learn that if you're a political scientist, you can get paid for writing them down.

Finally, Dunbar tells us, "We must start from where we are."

After Dunbar's article comes an interesting, informative piece by Professor Silver of the University of Mississippi.

He does some work on his own, instead of just reading newspapers. And so he comes up with cases like the Negro training school principal who has been registered for 20 years in a town 165 miles away from the school, so that he always has a good excuse for not voting.

The first issue also includes an article by Dr. Robert Coles of Harvard University, the movement's kept/ psychiatrist, whose studies of Southern Negroes always come out just the way you want them to. In this article, he concludes that "the pain and torture of the South's history has (sic) been shared by all its people. . . Their minds have all taken in the region's hurt and bad blood, but lived also in company with the region's warmth, openness, and really splendid countryside."

And then there are the contributions of F. C. Campbell, Our Negro Poet, who gets away with some pretty awful poetry but thrills "New South" editors by referring to his own people as "niggers."

File
~~Atl Chamber of Commerce~~
~~Sec. Opp. v. Shelton~~
Newspapers, et. al.
general

June 28, 1966

Mr. James Townsend, Editor
The Atlanta Magazine
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
Chamber of Commerce Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Townsend:

This is to call to your attention, for possible book review, Best Magazine Articles: 1966, edited by Gerald Walker and published this month by Crown Publishers, Inc. Among the twenty articles appearing in it is one from our magazine, New South, written by an Atlantan, Pat Watters of our staff.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE SOUTHERN COURIER
ROOM 622, FRANK LEU BUILDING
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36104
PHONE: (205) 262-3572

THE SOUTHERN COURIER is published weekly by a non-profit, non-share education corporation, for the study and dissemination of accurate information about events and affairs in the field of human relations.
Price: 10¢ per copy, $5 per year in the South, $10 per year elsewhere in the U.S., patron subscription $25 per year used to defray the costs of printing and publication. Second-class postage paid at Montgomery, Alabama.

Editor: Robert E. Smith
Executive Editor: Mary Ellen Gale
Associate Editor: Michael S. Lottman
Photography Editor: James H. Peppler
Layout Editor: Amy R. Peppler

Vol. II, No. 27 July 2-3, 1966

Editorial Opinion

The Movement, The Revolution

The march in Mississippi showed that now is the time for all people to ask themselves about the future direction of civil rights activity. A little light may be shed on the question by separating that activity into its two parts:

Especially since 1954, there has been in this country a CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT of whites and Negroes interested in equal justice, fair employment, voting rights, and the abolition of discrimination by race, creed, national origin, or sex. Because Negroes have long been denied America's civil rights, the struggle has focused on them; but whites have had much to gain from, and much to contribute to, the struggle. Victories in the areas mentioned above are victories for all men.

At the same time, this country has seen a great NEGRO REVOLUTION. This revolution is a part of the civil rights movement and the movement is a part of it; but the revolution has different aims and different tactics and--at times--different leaders than the civil rights movement. There may be whites who help out in this revolution, but it is a black man's battle to fight, a black man's battle to lead.

The civil rights movement and the Negro revolution are so interwined and its personnel so much the same, that many people are going to get stepped on during the family fights. The family fights will increase when victory appears close; they will decrease when crisis occurs.

It would be a shame for Negroes and whites in the civil rights movement to abandon that fight because they are scared off by the Negro revolution. It would be a shame for sympathetic whites also to excuse everything done by blacks simply because it is done by blacks.

It would be a greater shame for whites to think that they have any leadership to lend to the Negro revolution. And an even greater shame for the Negroes who

Educators' Reaction to School Guidelines: From Alabama-Style to Kentucky-Style

NASHVILLE, Tenn.--Educators in different Southern states have reacted quite differently to the 1966-67 guidelines on school desegregation issued by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

"The reaction ranges from Alabama's almost total resistance to Kentucky's prospect of 'dramatic' advances in pupil and faculty desegregation," according to the Southern Education Reporting Service.

A consultant for the U.S. Office of Education said that expected changes in Kentucky's faculty desegregation would place it "ahead of many" Northern and border states like Maryland, Delaware, Oklahoma, Missouri, and others.

"However, Kentucky is not without teacher desegregation problems," the reporting service said. The Kentucky Commission on Human Rights reported that more than 25 school districts with Negro teachers ten years ago now have none.

Delaware's attorney general, David P. Buckson, has ruled that no state law allows giving preference to Negro teachers in hiring. The state board of education had ordered local school districts to give preference to Negroes so that the percentage of Negro teachers in a school district is roughly the same as the percentage of Negro pupils.

All but one Negro school in Delaware has been closed.

An NAACP official in West Virginia has asked the Office of Education to investigate employment of teachers in graded schools and colleges there. The official, Willard Brown, said none of the state schools have many Negroes in administrative jobs.

Brown criticized the Charleston-area school system, which had been congratulated by the NAACP in 1958 as one of the most desegregated systems in the United States.

"When integration first began in 1954, we had 156 teachers who were Negroes and at the present time we have approximately 119," he said.

Several Arkansas districts have announced plans to desegregate faculties or to increase teacher desegregation next year. The Pine Bluff school administration says it will have a Negro teacher in every mostly-white school and a white teacher in every mostly Negro school.

The superintendent of Dade County schools in Miami, Fla., said he would order teacher assignments to make every faculty there biracial. "If we give everybody freedom of choice," he said, "we would wind up with no staff integration."

Louisiana schoolmen said they were confused about the new guidelines on teacher desegregation. One parish superintendent said that Negro teachers and staff members must be hired in the same ratio as the number of Negro pupils in the system.

The Louisiana state suprintendent of schools said no, only "further staff desegregation," not a certain ratio, is required.

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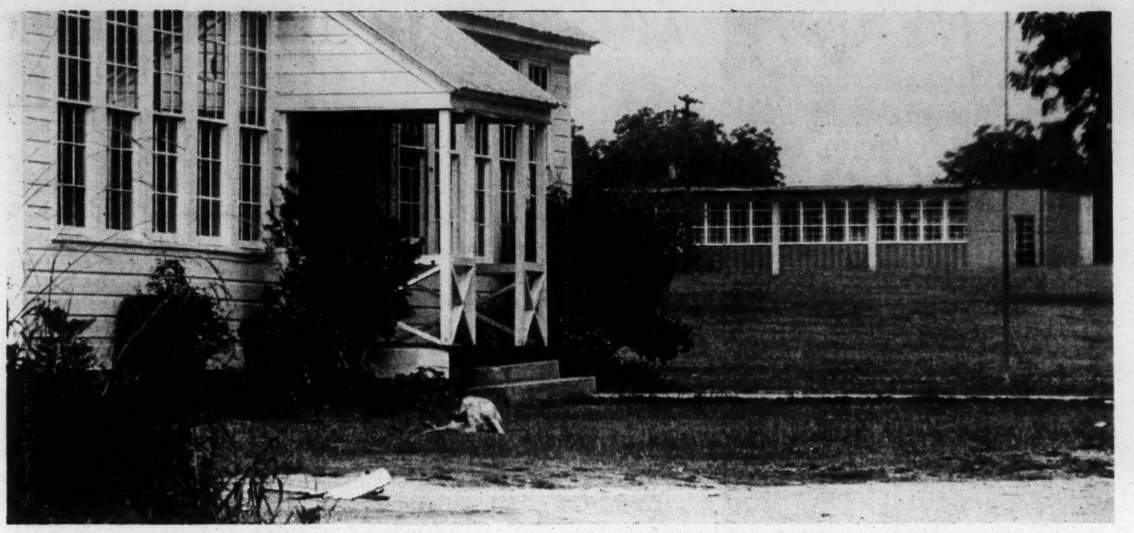

ABRAHAM'S VINEYARD SCHOOL, A WHITE-FRAME NEGRO SCHOOL IN MONTGOMERY ORDERED CLOSED BY A FEDERAL JUDGE. IN THE BACKGROUND IS A COUNTY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL OPENED IN 1954 FOR WHITES.

The Equalizer

TUSKEGEE--"The Colt .45 in the Western booming times was known as the equalizer. If you had this gun against an enemy you were always known to win," Wiley A. Branton of the Justice Department told a Tuskegee audience Tuesday night.

"I would like to think that the power of the ballot is an equalizer," he said.

Branton, special assistant to U. S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, said, however, "I am concerned about the slow pace of voter registration in the South. Something will have to be done and done quickly."

Branton praised the Tuskegee Civic Association on the occasion of its ninth anniversary celebration.

He told the association members to use the power of the ballot wisely.

Mayor C. M. Keever of the City of Tuskegee greeted the audience.

THE SOUTHERN COURIER welcomes letters from anyone on any subject. Letters must be signed, but your name will be withheld upon request.

Tuskegee Group Opens Play School, Tutoring

BY ARLAM CARR JR.

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The union's program includes play schools and tutoring workshops for six weeks in the summer.

"It was first started in Birmingham for the students who are to enter integrated schools for the first time," said Stein.

The program in Tuskegee has a play school for kids from the age of four to eleven. There are about 90 children divided into two groups.

The tutoring program in Tuskegee has children in grades seven to eleven. There are about 40 in this part of the program.

Most of the young students in Tuskegee come from Shorter, which is between Tuskegee and Montgomery. There are also classes in Auburn and in Birmingham.

Harold Quigley, director of the play school at Tuskegee, said, "We wanted to have about 60 children, some from the rural area of Society Hill, from the city, and from the children of faculty members at Tuskegee Institute. Now

Civil Rights News

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Judge Delays Decision

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It would be a greater shame for whites to think that they have any leadership to lend to the Negro revolution. And an even greater shame for the Negroes who have benefited from civil rights victories to forget that most Negroes have not enjoyed the fruits of those victories. That is what the Negro revolution is all about. And that is why its greatest enemies may turn out to be successful Negroes and well-meaning whites.

Newspapers ital.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

My feeling that The Southern Courier is one of the most impressive examples of contemporary journalism anywhere in the country is not altered by my disappointment with your review of the current issue of New South. I only hope that this is not illustrative of things to come.

What you label as the "Same Old Story in Long Sentences" is the journal of an organization, the Southern Regional Council, which has labored in our region for racial justice for more years, probably, than your reviewer has known. His sophomoric attack reveals more about the writer than it does about the SRC or New South. I suspect a hidden agenda of some need to lambaste at all costs whatever is not deemed militant in his eyes: the history of social change in the South and any respect for the role differential of organizations be damned.

The New South is one of the vehicles by which the SRC has provided competent analysis of the changing South, coupled with a definite commitment to and support of the forces for more rapid change than we have seen since the sit-in movement. They have never sought to supplant the role of other organizations confronting racism with new and needed means, nor has their own role and service been equaled elsewhere. I suggest that your reviewer brush up on his contemporary Southern history and, also, consider the dynamics of social change in terms of the total community we seek to affect in this area.

The Rev. John B. Morris
Executive Director,
Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity,
Atlanta, Ga.

* * * *

To the Editor:

This is to let you know I received the papers Tuesday and have sold every one and could have sold 500 one day....

Yours for God and justice for all men.

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer
Ruleville, Miss.

P.S. White and black bought the papers.

* * * *

To the Editor:

...Please send me the papers, for the important things that are happening in Mississippi.

Miss Tommie Barber
Thomaston, Ala.

MARCH

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

fight for or work at it. If everyone would think that, it would be much easier. If freedom doesn't come today," she added, "it will tomorrow."

A secretary was asked which stand she thought would be best for the marchers to take as far as being armed or unarmed was concerned. She hastily replied, "In between, damn it."

There were some who refused to comment and stuck to their private opinions. And others, when asked what what they thought of the march, would look surprised and answer, "What march?"

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Harold Quigley, director of the play school at Tuskegee, said, "We wanted to have about 60 children, some from the rural area of Society Hill, from the city, and from the children of faculty members at Tuskegee Institute. Now we have over 80 students."

The American Ethical Union is a federation of religious ethical societies all over America. Its summer office is in the Engineering Building at Tuskegee Institute.

There are small fees for the children to pay, but one-half of them do not have to pay the fees.

Some of the children in the program are being sent to summer camps in Vermont and New York. "One of the students who went on the vacation program was one of the children who were blinded by the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church," said Stein.

The ethical union's next aim is to start an adult program.

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Court-ordered desegregation in Shelby County, Tenn. (Memphis) has been beefed up to include a requirement that the school board actively seek to get biracial faculties. The court said that, in the process, no staff member could lose his job because of race.

Another Tennessee board (Wilson County) said in its annual report to a federal court that it had a difficult problem finding Negroes willing to teach in predominantly white schools. Of the five Negroes employed in mostly-white schools last year, only one remained for the entire year.

Judge Delays Decision On Wilcox Desegregation

SELMA--A hearing in federal court on the question of desegregating Wilcox County schools ended Monday when U.S. District Judge Daniel H. Thomas told both parties to submit briefs to him by July 25.

McClean Pitts, attorney for the defendant, the Wilcox County School Board, is preparing a list of reasons for keeping the schools segregated; and the plaintiff, the U.S. Justice Department, is preparing a brief explaining why it thinks the schools should be desegregated and how it would go about it.

After the briefs have been presented, Judge Thomas will make his decision. It is expected that the loser will appeal the case to a higher court.

Three groups have intervened in the case on behalf of the plaintiff. They are the Northern Branch of the U.S. Presbyterian Church, four Negro school teachers, and the parents of some Negro pupils.

These groups want the school board to rehire four Negro school teachers whom they say were fired because of their civil rights activity, and to desegregate the schools.

On Thursday and Friday the three intervening groups took the stand and gave their reasons for wanting desegregation.

The question of the legality of the school desegregation guidelines of the U.S. Office of Education came up on both days.

Judge Thomas said a ruling on their legality might be necessary before he could make a decision.

Last Monday morning the guidelines again became the center of controversy when Orzell Billingsley, arguing for desegregation, used as evidence pamphlets on desegregation put out by the Office of Education.

Pitts objected to the evidence, and Judge Thomas said he would rule later on the objection.

Monday afternoon the defense brought in witnesses to try to prove that if there was desegregation it would be harmful to the white students.

Sermon of the Week

After Devil, Then What? Asks Preacher in Troy

TROY--What good does it do to "cast out devils" when we have nothing to fill the void with, the Rev. James C. Soutar of St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Troy asked last Sunday.

"This is why the U.S. was wrong in Cuba; this is why we were wrong in the Congo. And this is why we are wrong today in our approach to Viet Nam," he declared.

By "casting out devils," Soutar said he did not mean a literal belief in creatures with horns, who carry pitchforks. Rather, he said, devils were symbols for certain forces.

For example, he said, an alcoholic needs more than determination to cast out this evil. "The dark forces which make him an alcoholic are still there," he said.

In addition, he declared, the present generation has discarded a literal teaching about demons only to see new devils appear in the modern forces of totalitarianism and nuclear war.

Soutar said that "casting out devils" was a good way to describe the role of the church in the modern world. "God offers not only the power to expel devils, but also a new possession to replace the old," he continued. "Christ fills the heart with new loyalty and love."

"Our trouble is that we are aware of devils to be cast out, but we have no loyalties to take their place--no new allegiances to God," the minister said.

BY CAROL S. LOTTMAN

SATURDAY, JULY 2

HOLLYWOOD PALACE--Vince Edwards (Ben Casey) acts as host for an hour of comedy and variety. Also appearing are Bette Davis, Liza Minnelli, comedienne Joan Rivers, and Liliane Montevecchi, 8:30 p.m. on Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla.; Channel 8 in Selma, Channel 13 in Mobile, and Channel 31 in Huntsville; 10:30 p.m. on Channel 6 in Birmingham.

SUNDAY, JULY 3

SPORTSMAN'S HOLIDAY--Plenty of action as the experts show you salmon fishing in Norway, hunting ring-necked pheasants in Nebraska, and canoe-tripping in Vancouver, British Columbia. For all who love the great outdoors, 1 p.m. on Channel 13 in Birmingham; 4:30 p.m. on Channel 12 in Montgomery and Channel 10 in Mobile.

TWENTIETH CENTURY--"Integration in the Military." Learn about the progress--or lack of it--since President Truman ordered the armed services to integrate in 1948. Narrated by Air Force Lieutenant General Benjamin O. Davis Jr., the only Negro general now on active duty, 5 p.m. on Channel 20 in Montgomery and Channel 12 in Jackson, Miss.

TUESDAY, JULY 5

HIPPODROME--Premiere of comedy-variety series with a circus theme. Combines thrills and laughs of a circus with glamour and music of the variety stage. This week Jack Carter is host, with Jane Morgan and Gerry and the Pacemakers, 7:30 p.m. on Channel 4 in Dothan, Channel 13 in Birmingham, Channel 19 in Huntsville, and Channel 20 in Montgomery.

CBS REPORTS--"LSD: The Spring Grove Experiment." Describes the successful treatment of two patients at Spring Grove State Hospital in Maryland. Included in the treatment is an LSD "experience." Learn more about this controversial drug, 9 p.m. on Channel 4 in Dothan, Channel 19 in Huntsville, and Channel 20 in Montgomery.

THURSDAY, JULY 7

WHAT'S NEW?--Films of the U. S. Mint in Denver, Colorado, show how the government designs and makes coins, 5 p.m. on Channel 2 in Andalusia, Channel 7 in Anniston, Channel 10 in Birmingham, Channel 25 in Huntsville, and Channel 26 in Montgomery.

THE BARON--"Diplomatic Immunity." John Mannering tangles with British Secret Service after he becomes involved in theft of a precious antique, 9 p.m. on Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla.; Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 8 in Selma, Channel 13 in Mobile, and Channel 31 in Huntsville.

Rec'd 7/12/66

File

ATLANTA MAGAZINE

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICES: 1104 COMMERCE BUILDING • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • 404 524-1311

File Newspapers et al. Gen.

July 7, 1966

PW — let's discuss
PA

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We have not seen the book Best Magazine Articles: 1966, but if I could find one we would be pleased to review it. Besides, I'd like to see what Pat Watters had to say about the New South.

Best regards,

Jim Townsend

James L. Townsend
Editor

JLT/ljw

On July 11, 1966
Newsweek's new address
in Los Angeles
will be
Suite 711
3810 Wilshire Boulevard
(Zip Code 90005)

Our new telephone number will be 386-8381

Karl Fleming
Bureau Chief

File
Newspapers, et al.
Gen.

September 7, 1966

Mr. Donald W. Lief
Managing Editor
Nation's Cities
The City Building
1612 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Lief:

Please forgive me this long delay in responding to your inquiry of August 4th. Mr. Dunbar is no longer with the Council, but is now Executive Director of the Field Foundation (250 Park Avenue, New York, New York) and you may wish to write him there. I do think his observations and reactions to your questions would be of value.

I have also shared your letter with Moreland Smith (SAIA) the director of our Urban Planning Project. Mr. Smith feels that it is too early to answer your questions since we have too few facts and too little actual information on what is happening and what the trend is likely to be.

If I may, I would like to inject one thought into your inquiry. There seems to be the assumption that there is no alternative to the inter-cities becoming predominantly Negro and under Negro political control with the ring of white suburbs being completely outside the legal boundaries and aloof from the problems of the city. This is undoubtedly what is happening throughout the country and has become an accelerated

trend in the major cities in the South. For all of this, however, I think some serious thought has to be given to whether or not there are not alternatives to this process and whether or not they must be vigorously pursued.

As a further thought, I am quite convinced that whatever happend and whoever by race is in control or participating in the political leadership of the cities, we are going to see more and more attention given to the needs of the poor and the eradication of slums. There is not only a great growing social awareness of the necessity and desirability for this, there is a growing feeling on the part of the traditional community leadership that this must be done out of self-interest for the business community and for the future health of the whole community.

Again I am sure Mr. Dunbar would welcome hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Recd 7/8/66

nation's cities

The Magazine of the National League of Cities

Formerly American Municipal Association

THE CITY BUILDING • 1612 K STREET, NORTHWEST • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 • NA 8-3440

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Mayor of Tacoma

Publisher-Editor
Patrick Healy

Managing Editor
Donald W. Lief

Business Manager
Raymond L. Bancroft

(4)

August 4, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Last February, Bayard Rustin wrote, "The role of the civil rights movement...is programmatic as well as strategic. We are challenged now to broaden our social vision, to develop functional programs with concrete objectives. We need to propose alternatives to technological unemployment, urban decay, and the rest. We need to be calling for public works and training, for national economic planning, for federal aid to education, for attractive public housing--all this on a sufficiently massive scale to make a difference...."

In May, a distinguished former mayor asked us whether we would be preparing an article on "what is going to happen when some half dozen big American cities come under Negro control, and what their policies will be towards rendering city services to outside hostile white suburbs."

The relationship between Rustin's approach and the future behavior of city hall is clear. Recent events only sharpen the issue. The question is, of course, how does the Negro community and its national leadership view prospective big-city political power as a means of achieving its goals?

Because of your eminence and responsibilities in this field, I solicit your thinking on various fairly specific aspects of future municipal activities. My intention in writing is to contribute to dialogue, not to muddy the waters.

In Rustin's "programmatic" sense, do you sense a broad awareness or concern about such matters as:

1. Would stronger Negro representation in city hall be used to emphasize (or lessen) slum clearance, freeways, mass transit, welfare, education, and major public investments in such basic--but costly--facilities as sewage treatment plants and water lines?

Advertising Representative: **Tom Woolf, Jr.** P.O. Box 275, Ridgefield, Conn.

2. Assuming the total package of programs were to represent a major increase in physical and social commitments by cities, what would the Negro community's approach be toward securing adequate fiscal resources? More state and federal aid? Higher taxes?

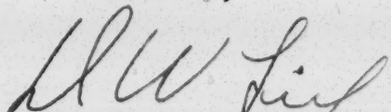
3. Would political goals include more municipal employment of Negroes? What would be the attitude toward job qualifications for the more elevated administrative and policy positions? Would entrenched civil service bodies be obvious antagonists of Negro political leaders?

4. Does the new leadership propose substantial innovations in old and new city programs such as housing, education or transit?

5. What might the new leadership's posture be toward white suburbs in such matters as annexation, provision of basic service by contract, and areawide functional planning?

I should be pleased to learn of your views on these questions since you are familiar with the present thinking in many cities. Your suggestions on additional points are also welcome. In addition, if you could spare 15 minutes during the civil rights gathering in Washington at Labor Day, I'd welcome the chance to interview you on this subject.

Sincerely,



Donald W. Lief
Managing Editor

See Newspapers, et al Jan. 1966

November 11, 1966

Mr. Staige Blackford
The Norfolk Virginian Pilot
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Staige:

Thanks very much for enclosing the clipping from the London Sunday Times. I did meet the Times reporter there and it was on that occasion also that Jack Nelson picked up my apartheid comment that has caused some unhappiness in this country and some glee in the Union of South Africa. Things, indeed, have gone bad all over but I honestly believe that once again the South has been able to prove it can do worse than anybody. At least we have some reassurance that it isn't quite time to go out of the do-gooding business (or come to think of it, if the do-gooders keep helping much longer there is no telling where we will wind up.)

Do wish you could come to see us sometime. Best to you and to Regina.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Old Westbury, L.I.
5 Nov. 1966

Dear Paul:

Man, you're getting to be an international figure, albeit an anonymous one.

Enclosed is a recent (Oct. 30) piece by London Sunday Times man Henry Brandon in which he quotes extensively from a Hungry Club speaker identified only as the SRC executive director. Came upon the piece here at my in-laws. I hope things aren't as bad as you say they are, but the prospect of Lester Maddox would quail the heart of the rashest optimist. Indeed and somewhat ironically, Virginia is beginning to look like a bastion of liberalism compared to other parts of the South.

I have a hunch — and a very big hope — however that liberals like Arnall and Armistead Booth peaked too early and that the new day a comin is about four years away there, Staige

File
News papers, etc
"General"

Enclosures: 1965 Program Report
6-month reports
1967 Budget
Fall, 1966 NEW SOUTH

December 30, 1966

Mr. Bill Woolsey
The Courier Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Woolsey:

Enclosed are several documents that may be helpful to you prior to your visit here.

Perhaps the most important of these is the Director's Report for last year which, among other things, sets out the several new projects and programs developed during 1966. By the time you arrive I hope we will have the first draft of this year's report available.

I look forward to seeing you on January 12th and 13th, or whenever is convenient.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

See Newspapers, Lt of (Charlotte News -- if not there, file in General)

December 30, 1966

The Editor
The Charlotte News
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Sir:

Had your recent editorial on the Southern Regional Council's report on southern school desegregation been a soundly argued, factual statement of a point of view opposite to the report's and my own opinion, I would not write this letter. But since the editorial seemed to avoid the real factual and intellectual questions involved, I am compelled, without attempting to sort out and correct the many distortions, superficialities and oversimplifications, call your attention to the following misrepresentations:

1. Your editorial cites the recent Southern Education Reporting Service report that for the first time, there are more Negroes in biracial schools in the southern states than in the heavily desegregated border areas, including six states and the District of Columbia. You offer the fact for "whatever it is worth," the inference

being that it is worth shouting about. Full reporting of what SERS said would suggest the statistic is not worth much if it is meant to suggest the South's performance is superior to that of the border states:

"The eleven southern states, with 82 per cent of the region's Negro enrollment, have 488,250 Negroes in classrooms with whites -- 16.8 per cent of the 11-state Negro enrollment of almost three million. In the border area, 454,836 Negroes are desegregated -- 71.7 per cent of that area's Negro enrollment of more than 600,000..."

2. Your editorial states that the Southern Regional Council offers as "conclusive proof" of intimidation four "hand-scrawled" letters from Negro parents and children. The letters are not offered as "conclusive proof" but merely as indications of the human dimensions of an essentially cruel situation. Insensitivity to this cruelty remains the white South's greatest moral problem, not to mention most interesting psychological attribute.

3. Your editorial implies that the Southern Regional Council somehow arbitrarily created the notion that there is a distinction between de facto and de jure segregation, and that the intent of Title IV was to prevent busing in the North to break up de facto segregation. The distinction is self-evident in the history of southern education; the intent of Congress seems clear in a reading of debate on the title. To suggest that the Southern Regional Council report applauded or condoned de facto segregation is to ignore this passage in the report: "...The guidelines still presuppose

a dual system of schools, drawn as they are from the prevailing notion of allowing Negro children to attend white schools. One possible solution to the dual system concept, advanced by some civil rights leaders, is to require all schools in all districts that have any Negro population to have faculties consisting of 50% white and 50% Negro teachers... For if racially motivated white parents were faced with fleeing one traditional neighborhood school with a 50-50 faculty to another with the same instructional make-up, the decision to move might not be so easily made."

4. Your editorial states that the Southern Regional Council is saying in the report that integration is more important than education, and that it counseled cutting off federal funds if the number of Negro students in schools with whites next year does not double, triple or even quadruple. This latter is a distorted way of presenting the report's recommendation that the guideline's standards be met, or the law's penalty brought to bear. The former accusation, as regards education and integration, gets to the heart of what would appear to be the fundamental issue.

The report in question had as its basic premise that the Supreme Court school decision of 1954 was just, honorable, and moral, and that the record of evasion of fundamental law in the South during the eleven years since represents a most serious deprivation in the education of southern children, white and black. The point of the report was that arguments about guidelines, congressional intent, freedom of choice and other technicalities evade the fundamental issue -- which is the proper education of children.

It would appear that your editorial not only missed this point, but, in the process, illustrates it. Your defense of freedom of choice as a concept is an exercise in unreality; to defend freedom of choice when there is neither freedom nor choice for most of the Negro children of the region is like defending state rights when there is no pretense at assumption of state responsibility. And that of course is an old, old southern weakness.

Yours truly,

Raymond M. Wheeler, M. D.
Chairman
Executive Committee

RMW/mmj

File Newspapers, et al. on general

file

EDITORIAL

Charlotte News - December 27, 1966

"Except in the South:

In a widely publicized report the Southern Regional Council has charged that the 1966 guidelines for school desegregation of the Office of Education -- is far from being too strict are too lax. The OEO is pictured in this report as a model of conservatism in civil rights and Harold Howe emerges as an old softie too susceptable to the glycerine tears of Southerners.

The report is worth examining because it sets forth what is essentially the position of the professional civil rights worker and because that position has dominated the federal administration of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Council's differences with OEO are differences of degree. -- Essentially to see things the same way. The Council's case consists primarily of charts indicating the percentage of desegregation in Southern schools. The Council considers that these percentages are too low and indeed some are very low. In Mississippi, to choose the lowest, only 3.2% of Negro school children are in school with whites. In Texas, to choose the highest, 34.6% of Negro children are in school with whites. There is no gain ~~saying~~ Seeing these statistics for what they are worth. It is also true for whatever it is worth that the overall percentage of Negroes in school with whites in eleven southern states has climbed from about 6% to 17% in a single year from 1965 to 1966. And, that

for the first time since the school desegregation process began in 1954 there are more Negroes in biracial schools in the southern states than in the heavily desegregated border areas, including 6 states and the District of Columbia.

Anyway, having established to its own satisfaction that integration of southern schools is proceeding too slowly, the Council sweeps to the conclusion that Freedom of Choice plans are responsible. It offers four hand-scrawled letters at the back of its report as conclusive proof that intimidation of Negroes to remain in all-Negro schools flourishes under southern Freedom of Choice plans.

The Council takes note of the opportunity held out in some quarters of reforming Freedom of Choice. But its sympathies are plainly with the civil rights workers quoted at length in the report: "Others, and that would include the overwheling majority of civil rights workers, have become convinced that the most honest of Freedom of Choice plans cannot abolish dual school systems in Deep Southern communities."

Freedom of Choice to this civil rights worker is not simply a matter of genuinely having the right to attend the school of one's choice. It is a matter of having a certain degree of integration result from this process. The OEO guidelines for 1966 reflect the same conviction where they indicate that a plausible criterion for true Freedom of Choice is _____ it results in a "substantial achievement" of

desegregation. In 1966, a substantial achievement of desegregation was described by the OEO as a doubling and tripling of the number of Negro children in school with whites. Just as clearly, this reasoning applies only to the South. For when southern educators point out that the plain language of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act pf 1964 forbids this sort of numbers gained -- "desegregation shall not mean the assignment of public schools in order to overcome a racial imbalance" -- they are told by the Southern Regional Council that this is only a "relatively minor qualification" put in the law in order to forbid bussing of students to break up de facto segregation in the North. In other words it's the law, but it does not really apply in the South.

What all this comes to is the subtle conviction on the part of civil rights organizations and the federal administrative bureauracy that when schools in the North are predominatly or even totaly segregated it is because of geograpny and even possibly genuine free choice. But when they are predominantly or totally segregated in the South it is as a result of the connivance of public officials committed to the dear, dead past.

The reason so little has been heard in the halls of Congress about this remarkable romance of logic is that it suits the Northern Congressmen who wrote the 1964 Act so well indeed. It allows the OEO to leave their schools alone and

to do what it will with Southern schools.

What is meant by "dual school systems" is southern school systems. We have no desire to try to excuse the South its ~~since~~ sins or even to point to the North as a place not entirely blameless of ~~since~~ sins, but it is time someone said a kind word for real Freedom of Choice and suggest that the concept not be abandoned entirely as a southern fiction. There is freedom of choice in some southern school systems just as there is in some northern school systems.

There is something to be said for this kind of freedom, too, just as there is reason to be ashamed of the perversion of that idea. Wherever it is really perverted the irony is that just as educators have begun to have second thoughts aboiut solving the problem of northern ghetto schools by massive forced integration, the civil rights militants have re-doubled their insistance that excactly that procedure be imposed on the South. It is as though the nation were saying that education may be more important than integration except in the South. That is certainly what the Southern Regional Council is saying in its special report. It counsels that the OEO cut off federal funds in the South wherever freedom of choice does not result in doubling or tripling or even, perhaps next year, quadrupling the number of Negro students in school with whites. And, anyone who does not buy all this is, in the view of the Council and the OEO, a low down, dirty gradualist.

AGENDA

Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council

Atlanta Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia
November 15 - 16, 1965

NOVEMBER 15

10:00 a.m. **First Business Session - Empire Room**

Mr. John H. Wheeler, President, Presiding

(1) Invocation
(2) Greetings
The Hon. Ivan Allen
Mayor of Atlanta
(3) Report of the Executive Committee
(4) Report of the Development Committee
Miss Josephine Wilkins

Executive Session

(1) Confirmation of Executive Director, Secretary-Treasurer, and Counsel
(2) Report of the Nominating Committee
(3) Recommendations from the Executive Committee for Life Fellowships
(4) Other Business

First Program Session - Empire Room

(1) Report of the Executive Director
Mr. Paul Anthony
(2) Introduction of SRC Staff
(3) Discussion

12:30 p.m. **Lunch - Mezzanine Floor**

Miss Josephine Wilkins, Vice-President, Presiding

Presentation of George S. Mitchell Award
Mrs. George S. Mitchell

Introduction of Mrs. Mitchell
Mr. Paul R. Christopher

2:00 p.m. Second Program Session - Empire Room

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, Chairman, Executive Committee, Presiding

(1) Fellowship of the Concerned
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
(2) Plans for New Voter Education Project
Mr. Vernon E. Jordan
(3) Future Publications
Mr. Pat Watters
(4) Explanation of New Programs
Mr. Paul Anthony and others
(5) Discussion

6:30 p.m. Informal Get Together - Ball Room Foyer (Lobby Floor)

7:30 p.m. Annual Dinner - Ball Room

Mr. John H. Wheeler, Presiding

Introduction of Speaker
Mr. James McBride Dabbs

Speaker: Dr. C. Vann Woodward
Professor of History
Yale University

NOTE: Following the Dinner, there will be a reception in Room 16, 10th Floor, to allow members and guests to meet Dr. Woodward.

NOVEMBER 16

9:00 a.m. Second Business Session - Empire Room

Mr. John H. Wheeler, Presiding

Executive Session

(1) Election of Officers and Members

Reconvene in General Session

(1) Financial Reports

Proposed Budget, 1966
Mrs. Ruth Alexander

Proposed Grants-in-Aid to State Councils

10:00 a.m. <u>Third Program Session - Empire Room</u>

Mr. Marion A. Wright, Vice-President, Presiding

(1) Suggestions of Mr. David Scull on travel possibilities for SRC and state Council members

(2) Discussion of Program

(3) Other Business

1:00 p.m. <u>President's Luncheon - Pompeian Room</u>

Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Presiding

Presidential Address: Mr. John H. Wheeler

2:30 p.m. Meeting of Special Projects Advisory Committee

PROPOSED GRANTS-IN-AID SCHEDULE, 1966

Condition of grants:

1. All grants to be paid quarterly on January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1 of 1966 unless otherwise indicated.

2. Grants will not be paid until such time as adequate quarterly program and financial reports have been received by SRC.

3. Grants are contingent on professional staff being maintained by the recipient councils.

4. It is expected that local fund raising will be held at least at the rate of 1965. Should this not be the case, revision during the year will be necessary, unless there are special circumstances. In cases where fund raising falls below 1965 rates, staff will withhold funds pending determination by the Executive Committee.

5. All grants are to be reviewed and likely revised if the performance of the recipient council in all areas, including program and membership, is below realistic expectations. In such case, staff may withhold funds pending a review and decision by the Executive Committee.

Alabama	$5,500
Arkansas	4,600
Florida	4,600
Georgia	4,600
Louisiana	3,200
Mississippi	4,800
North Carolina	4,800
South Carolina	4,600
Tennessee	4,600
Virginia	4,600
Houston	1,800
Contingency	2,000
Geo. S. Mitchell Award	1,000
TOTAL:	$50,700

Had your recent editorial on the Southern Regional Council's report on southern school desegregation been a soundly argued, factual statement of a point of view opposite to the report's and my own opinion, I would not write this letter. But since the editorial seemed to avoid the real factual and intellectual questions involved, I am compelled, without attempting to sort out and correct the many distoritions, superficialities and oversimplifications, call your attention to the following misrepresentations:

Editor, The Charlotte News

etc

Dear Sir:

Without attempting to sort out and correct the many distortions, superficialities and oversimplifications of your recent editorial on the Southern Regional ~~Council~~ Council's report on school desegregation, I would call your attention to the following misrepresentations:

1. Your editorial ~~states that~~ cites the recent Southern Education Reporting Service report that ~~for the first time since the school desegreg~~ for the first time, there are more Negroes in biracial schools in the southern states than in the heavily desegregated border areas, including six states and the District of Columbia. You offer the fact for "whatever it is worth," the inference being that it is worth shouting about. Full ~~full report~~ reporting of what SERS said ~~mx~~ would ~~convey the inference~~ suggest the statistic is not worth much if it is meant to suggest the South's performance is superior to that of the border states:

"The /eleven/ southern states, with 82 per cent of the region's Negro enrollment, have 488,250 Negroes in classrooms with whites-- 16.8 per cent of the 11-state Negro enrollment of almost three million. In the border area, 454,836 Negroes are desegregated-- 71.7 per cent of that area's Negro enrollment of more than 600,000..."

2. Your editorial statesthat the Southern Regional Council offers as "conclusive proof" of intimidation four "hand-scrawled" letters from Negro parents and children. The letters are not offered as "conclusive proof" but merely as ~~documents of the essential cruelty inherent in institutionalized~~ indications of the human dimensions of an essentially cruel situation. ~~Xxxx~~ Insensitivity to this cruelty remains the white South's greatest moral problem, not to mention most interesting psychological attribute.

3. Your editorial ~~states~~ implies that the Southern Regional Council

somehow arbitrarily created the notion that there is a distinction between de facto and de jure segregation, and that the intent of Title IV was to prevent busing in the North to break up de facto segregation. ~~On the first point, by bringing~~ The distinction is ~~xxx~~ self-evident in the history of southern education; the intent of Congress seems clear in a reading of debate on the title. ~~A further review of the~~ To suggest that the Southern Regional Council report applauded or condoned de facto segregation is to ignore this passage in the report: "...The guidelines still presuppose a dual system of schools, drawn as they are from the prevailing notion of allowing Negro children to attend white schools. One possible solution to the dual system concept, advanced by some civil rights leaders, is to require all schools in all districts that have any Negro population to have faculties consisting of 50% white and 50% Negro teachers. .. For if racially motivated white parents were faced with fleeing one transitional neighborhood school with a 50-50 faculty to another with the same instructional make-up, the decision to move might not be so easily made."

4. Your editorial states that the Southern Regional Council is saying in the report that integration is more important ~~xx~~ than education, and that it counseled cutting off federal funds if the number of Negro students in schools with whites next year does not double, triple or even quadruple. This latter is a distort~~ive~~ed way of ~~xxxxxxx~~ presenting the report's recommendation that the guideline's standards be met, or the law's penalty brought to bear. The former accusation, as regards education and integration, gets to the heart of what would ~~xx~~ appear to be the fundamental issue.

The report in question ~~asserted~~ had as its basic premise that the Supreme Court school decision of 1954 was just, honorable, and moral, and that the record of evasion of fundamental law in the South during the ~~ten~~ eleven years sinnce

represents a most serious deprivation in the education of southern children, white and black. The point of the report was tha t arguments about guidelines, congressional intent, freedom of choice and other technicalities evade the fundamental issue-- which is the proper education of children.

It would appear that your editorial not only missed this point, but, ~~indeed, was an exercise in illustration of~~ in the process, illustrates it. ~~Your argu~~ Your defense of freedom of choice as a concept is an exercise in unreality; to defend freedom of choice when there is neither freedom nor choice for most of the Negro children of the region is like defending state rights when there is no pretense at assumption of state responsibility. And that of course is an old, old southern weakness.

Yours truly,

R. M. Wheeler, M.D.
Ed.

File Newspapers, etal general

File

WILTON PARK

Wiston House, STEYNING, Sussex.

FOREIGN OFFICE

Tel. Steyning 2025-26, 2332

sc.WP.9968/OGH

February 1, 1967.

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Thank you for your letter of January 16. We have noted your office address and the Journal will be sent to this address in future.

Thank you too for your kind offer of a contribution to the costs of the Journal. I have spoken about this to our Administration Officer, but as they are relatively low he does not feel it would be justified.

May I reciprocate with good wishes, also on behalf of all my colleagues. We hope all is well with you.

Yours sincerely,

Oliver Hayward

(O.G. Hayward)

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
United States of America.

Current 905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

File - Newspapers, etc.

February 10, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the February issue of Current. You will find your publication "School Desegregation 1966: The Slow Undoing" listed in the Readers Service section on the back cover.

We are indeed very grateful to you for providing us with copies of your publications for distribution through Current's Readers Service.

Sincerely yours,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

Enclosure

~~AB~~
PW
Res-file chg
MJ-file
ltr-

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

NEWS DEPARTMENT

July 2, 1967

Dear Mr. Anthony:

It isn't easy for an outsider to come into a city, take a quick look at a complex situation and turn out a good analysis. Knowing this gives a reporter humility---and appreciation for help.

I am grateful for the assistance you gave me. I talked to many people in Atlanta, and must say that the information you got together for me was not only the most comprehensive but threw the best light on things. (Of course, anybody who works in the old Atlanta Journal building where I labored for many years is bound to be in the know. It's that sort of knowledgeable place; always was.)

I am inclosing tearsheets of the Post-Dispatch article.

Please extend my thanks also to Miss Bartley, whose figures on school desegregation proved most accurate.

Sincerely,

Harry Wilensky

Harry Wilensky

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

July 6, 1967

Mr. Harry Wilensky
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mr. Wilensky:

Thank you very much for the tearsheets. For a short visit on a very complicated subject, I think you did extremely well.

Do come visit with us again when you have the opportunity.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Newspapers, et al
"Current"

August 25, 1967

Miss Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager
CURRENT
905 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Miss Garnett:

With sincere regret, I have learned today that our supply of In Their Own Words is not sufficient to provide you 500 copies.

Enclosed, however, is a report, Hungry Children, and a recent statement by the Council. Should you want either or both of these, they are available.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

Current
905 madison avenue
new york 10021 · yu 8-7900

August 21, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I'm very sorry that we were too late with our requests for three of your publications last spring, but perhaps we will not be too late with this one.

The editors have seen a copy of "In Their Own Words," the student appraisal of what happened after school desegregation, and would very much like to distribute copies of it through the Readers Service program, as we have with so many of your other publications.

Would it be at all possible for you to provide us with about 500 copies of the pamphlet under our usual arrangement? If this can be done, the copies should be sent to my attention at:

Current
c/o Library Foundation
177 East 71 Street
New York, New York 10021

As always, we will be very grateful to you for any help you can give us.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Blynn

Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gbe

Current
905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

See Newspapers, etc

October 4, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed are two copies of the October issue of CURRENT, containing the Readers Service listings of "On the National Crisis," and "Hungry Children." (You get a copy of CURRENT for each of the listings.)

I can't begin to tell you how grateful we are to you for all the help you have given us with our Readers Service program -- in fact, I sometimes wonder how we could continue the program without your help.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Blynn

Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gbe
enc.

File — Newspapers, et al. Gen

December 27, 1967

Mr. Bruce Macdonald
Washington Bureau
Toronto Globe & Mail
Room 1099
National Press Building
Washington, D. C. 20004

Dear Bruce:

Thank you for the clippings. I took advantage of the long holiday weekend to read them. They are extremely well done.

Your subscription to New South has been entered, and you will be billed separately.

Hope you can visit again soon. In the meantime, every good wish for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

December 27, 1967

Janet,

Please enter a subscription for the following person and bill him:

Mr. Bruce Macdonald
Washington Bureau
Toronto Globe & Mail
Room 1099
National Press Building
Washington, D. C. 20004

at the request of Paul Anthony.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

The Globe and Mail

Canada's National Newspaper

Toronto — Canada

Clips to Research 12-27-67 wy

Washington Bureau,
Toronto Globe & Mail,
Room 1099,
National Press Building,
Washington, D.C., 20004,
December 19, 1967.

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

For some time I have been meaning to write to thank you for your invaluable assistance during my visit to the South this fall. What you had to say and the background material you provided both proved tremendously helpful.

I thought you might be interested in having a look at some of the pieces I wrote as part of a series of seven for the daily paper and also one on Selma for the Globe Magazine, which are enclosed.

For an equally long time I have also been meaning to send off a subscription card for The New South and find that I have now displaced it, Would you be good enough to arrange to have it sent to me along with a bill for same, please?

~~Yours~~ sincerely,

Bruce

Bruce Macdonald

Tice
Neighbors, et al.
General

June 10, 1968

Miss Betty Wells
Social Studies Department
Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc.
1300 Alum Creek Drive
Columbus 16, Ohio

Dear Miss Wells:

We are pleased to grant our permission for you to include in your American government textbook the statistics, "Southern Voter Registration in the 1960's" from the April 1968 V.E.P. News.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Educational Division
CHARLES E. MERRILL BOOKS, INC. Serving America's Schools Since 1842
1300 ALUM CREEK DRIVE · COLUMBUS 16, OHIO

June 4, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for the excellent material that you sent on voter registration and political participation in the South.

We should like to include your statistics, "Southern Voter Registration in the 1960's" from the April 1968 V.E.P. News in our new American government textbook scheduled to be published this fall.

Might we have your written permission to do so?

We are filing in our company library the materials that you sent. I am sure that they will continue to be useful in research for future books.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

Betty Wells

Betty Wells
Social Studies Department

see Newspapers gen. etal

July 9, 1968

Mr. Andrew Knight
The Economist
National Press Building
Room 609
Washington, D. C. 20004

Dear Andrew:

It was a real pleasure having you visit, and I am happy to know that the other people along the way were helpful.

Under separate cover we are sending you the requested materials.

I shall certainly give you a call when next I am in Washington.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See Newspapers, etc. General

via air mail

July 9, 1968

Mr. Geoffrey L. Baylis
Chief Assistant Editor
The Birmingham Post
14 Yew Tree Lane
Solihull,
Warwickshire, England

Dear Mr. Baylis:

It was our pleasure having you with us and being of some assistance to you during your visit. I have passed along your comments to Jim Wood.

Certainly, if I or any of us here get to England we shall look you up. In the meantime, if we can be of any possible assistance to you do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

The Birmingham Post

THE BIRMINGHAM POST & MAIL LTD

COLMORE CIRCUS · BIRMINGHAM 4

Telephone: 236 3366
Trunk Dial: 021-236 3366

14 Yew Tree Lane,
Solihull,
Warwickshire,
England.

4th July, 1968.

Dear Mr. Anthony,

I am writing to thank you, and the members of your staff, who gave up so much time on the day that our party visited your headquarters. We did find this tremendously useful, particularly as it helped to clarify and amplify many of the points which had been brought up earlier in Washington. The talks we had with you, and the other members of your staff, I found invaluable also as background material for the rest of my trip. I am only sorry that I was not able to spend more time on my second visit to Atlanta, taking a deeper look at the work of the Council.

I hope that sometime in the future, I may be able to return to America and perhaps spend some time with you.

If, in the meantime, you or any members of your staff come to England, please do look me up. I would be delighted to see you, or them again. Please give my kindest regards to Jim Wood and tell him that I shall remember for a long time our trip to Alabama.

Yours sincerely,

Geoff Baylis

Geoffrey L. Baylis
Chief Assistant Editor

Mr. Paul Anthony,
The Director,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta,
Georgia,
United States.

September 23, 1968

Barron's Magazine
30 Broad Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please enter a one-year subscription designated for the undersigned, and bill this office.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 26, 1968

Forbes Magazine
60 - 5th Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

This belated letter refers to an article concerning the Diner's Club in your issue of September 15th.

Mr. Fugaza certainly has his work cut out for himself. I am the director of an agency with 15 persons who travel extensively. We have had an account with the Diner's Club for a great many years, and our credit is beyond question. Yet when my Diner's card expired a year ago, repeated letters and telephone calls have failed to produce a new one. I have been very surprised to find out how easy it is to travel without that card.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file

FORBES MAGAZINE

FORBES BUILDING · 60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011
212/OR 5-7500

EDITORIAL OFFICES

October 2, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of September 26.

We are holding your comments for possible use in an early issue of Readers Say.

Sincerely,

Judith Fresco

Judith Fresco
Assistant to the Editor

FLORIDA POPULATION

By Counties

Group	% Non-White	%	County	Pop. White	Pop. Non-White
A	0-5	4.4	Holmes	13,379	609
B	5-10	7.4	Hardee	9,323	750
		8.0	Okaloosa	25,335	2,198
		8.5	Santa Rosa	16,970	1,584
		9.4	Lafayette	3,115	325
		9.9	Gilchrist	3,153	346
C	10-15	10.8	Monroe	26,736	3,221
		11.8	Pinellas	140,537	18,712
		13.1	Osceola	9,914	1,492
		13.2	Dade	429,692	65,392
		13.3	Walton	12,767	1,958
		13.5	Pasco	17,753	2,776
		14.1	Calhoun	6,803	1,119
		14.3	Dixie	3,366	562
		14.7	Clay	12,218	2,105
D	15-20	15.3	Hillsborough	211,579	38,315
		15.7	Charlotte	3,614	672
		16.0	Sarasota	24,216	4,611
		16.8	Bay	35,524	7,165
		17.8	Washington	9,769	2,119
		18.3	Liberty	2,601	581
		18.6	Okeechobee	2,813	641
		19.8	Orange	92,184	22,766
E	20-25	20.1	Lee	18,710	4,694
		20.6	Polk	98,420	25,577
		21.7	DeSoto	7,240	2,002
		22.1	Volusia	57,844	16,385
		22.3	Escambia	87,583	25,123
		22.8	Manatee	26,788	7,916
		23.0	Hernando	5,154	1,539
		23.5	Lake	27,798	8,542
		24.4	Bradford	8,657	2,800
		24.5	Baker	4,767	1,546
		24.9	Indian River	8,910	2,962
F	25-30	25.4	Brevard	17,652	6,001
		25.4	Broward	62,574	21,359
		25.4	Citrus	4,556	1,555
		25.4	Highlads	10,170	3,466
		25.7	Franklin	4,318	1,496
		26.1	Hendry	4,471	1,580
		26.9	Duval	222,189	81,840
		26.9	Gulf	5,453	2,007
		28.2	Martin	45,604	12,203
		29.0	Alachua	40,475	16,551
		29.3	Suwannee	12,001	8,397
		26.9	Sumter	8,278	3,052

Group	% Non-White	%	County	Pop. White	Pop. Non-White
G	30-35	30.3	Palm Beach	79,891	34,797
		30.5	Taylor	7,235	3,181
		30.6	Collier	4,502	1,986
		30.9	Wakulla	3,631	1,627
		31.3	Nassau	8,804	4,007
		31.7	Saint Lucie	13,786	6,394
		33.3	Saint Johns	16,671	8,327
		33.4	Jackson	23,071	11,574
		33.6	Columbia	12,092	6,124
		33.9	Levy	7,034	3,603
H	35-40	36.3	Union	5,675	3,231
		36.5	Putnam	15,007	8,608
		38.2	Marion	23,593	14,594
		39.5	Leon	31,209	20,381
I	40-45	40.8	Glades	1,301	898
		42.2	Hamilton	5,191	3,790
		44.4	Seminole	14,943	11,940
J	45-50	45.6	Flagler	1,833	1,534
		45.6	Madison	7,720	6,477
K	50-+	56.1	Gadsden	15,989	20,468
		62.5	Jefferson	3,900	6,513

Free Newspapers, etc

Cr. ref - "Sa" - gen
re: letter to Editor
on drafting Ted
Kennedy for President
from F. E. Satterthwaite

Letter to the Editor:

It is the responsibility of the free press to persuade Cardinal Cushing to persuade Senator Ted Kennedy to run for President. Many political organizations have the visible resources to lead our country. But only the Kennedy family and organization have the true understanding of tragedy necessary to bring Martin Luther King's Dream down from Heaven to this Earth. Only Cardinal Cushing can certify that now is God's time for this to happen. Only the power of the press can give the American people the chance to vote their acceptance and approval of a politics of courage to overcome tragedy.

F E Satterthwaite

F. E. SATTERTHWAITE

8 Fuller Road

Wellesley, Massachusetts 02181

July 15, 1955

Mr. William Gordon, Managing Editor
Atlanta Daily World
210 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bill:

You may be interested in the enclosed copy of an editorial that appeared in today's issue of the Chattanooga Times. I would have brought a copy by the office, but it was late in the afternoon before we received it.

The Georgia Committee is making plans to send a copy to each of its members and to the larger daily newspapers in Georgia. Hope it will produce some results.

It was only a few days ago that I noticed the mention in Marion Johnson's column of my article on baseball. I appreciated the boost.

Will call you early next week.

Sincerely yours,

encl.

John Constable

Atl Daily World
Sept 14, 1958

At Perry Homes

Police Kill 1, Others Beaten In Disturbance

One Perry Homes employee was shot and killed and the manager of the project allegedly assaulted by members of a police squad which converged on the area Saturday evening in what witnesses called a "wild" gun-waving spree.

The dead man, who was felled by a patrolman's weapon before a large group of children and adults, was identified as Joseph Franklin Jeter, 40, of 1497 Drew Drive, S.W.

Jacob R. Henderson, manager of the Perry Homes, accused officers of manhandling him and striking him about the neck. He was given first aid for bruises and cuts about the left side of his neck.

Several persons were arrested by patrolmen, who were accused of unwarranted assaults on several residents. The project was converged on by several patrol cars shortly after 5 p.m., reportedly in answer to calls concerning a disturbance and another call made by officers for help.

CROWD GATHERS

During the aftermath of the flareups, nearly a thousand persons mingled about the Perry Homes protesting the actions of the police officers.

Jeter, a maintenance man in the project, was pronounced dead on arrival at Grady. He had been shot in the chest. His wife was arrested at the hospital and accused of attacking an officer. One of their three children, Joseph, Jr., was also arrested.

Several Negro leaders conferred in Mr. Henderson's office after the shooting and arrests, as hundreds milled about outside. Mayor Hartsfield had been contacted concerning the alleged police assaults.

HENDERSON ACCOUNT

Mr. Henderson, an eyewitness to most of the incidents, told Capt. E. B. Brooks, head of the police evening watch, what he saw unfold in the project. Following is his account of what happened:

Shortly after 5 p.m. an employee of a drugstore on Perry Boulevard, N.W., allegedly called police to investigate a youth with a gun in the store. It was later learned the boy had a toy weapon. He reportedly fled as police arrived.

The boy was apprehended in the project and allegedly assaulted by officers. Mr. Henderson said the commotion caused him to go outside where he saw several officers striking the boy, who was reportedly "helpless." Henderson said the police dragged the boy to the police car "where they beat him with a pistol in the back seat."

WOMAN ATTACKED

A beautician, identified by Mr. Henderson as a Mrs. Jones, was allegedly assaulted when she pleaded with police not to harm the boy. When she was knocked to the ground, Henderson said he approached the officers to ask mercy for the woman.

"When I got half way to the car, one policeman grabbed me from the rear, twisted my head back," Henderson said. That was when he was struck about the neck, he stated. The woman's husband allegedly asked officers not to hit his wife, and he was assaulted, according to the Perry Homes manager. Both were arrested.

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 4)

Police Kill

(Continued from Page One)

Seven witness corroborated his statements.

JETER APPROACHES

Several witnesses said while Mr. Henderson was being held, Jeter, who was on the opposite side of the street, started over to tell police they were holding the manager of the project. His son reportedly held him back. Witnesses said that was when two patrolmen grabbed Jeter and knocked him backwards while a third officer shot him in the chest.

"After they shot him, they dragged him and threw him on the seat of the car," Henderson told Capt. Brooks. Several minutes elapsed before police made any effort to take the wounded man to the hospital, he said. Jeter was transferred from a police car to an ambulance at Marietta and Ashby Streets. He arrived at Grady, dead, at 7:15 p.m.

GENERAL WARNING

Throughout the melee witnesses said officers pointed their guns at men, women and children and warning them not to move.

The officers "went wild," Capt. Brooks was told. One witness described the officers on the scene as appearing as though they were afraid and panicked.

As the account of the arrests and alleged unwarranted assaults were reported, several witnesses gave vent to numerous grievances in which they charged other assaults on children and adults in the area by police.

The huge crowd remained near the project entrance late Saturday night, expressing dissatisfaction with what had happened. Several incidents were reported but all were quelled immediately by officers on the scene.

Det. C. J. Perry and Patrolman R. A. Knight reported halting a disturbance in the drug store allegedly where the original call to police was made. The officers said someone apparently did not understand why officers were summoned. Miss Clara Colbert, store employee, said it was believed at first that the arrested youth had a real gun.

APPEAL TO LEADERS

Within a few hours the story of the Perry Homes disturbances had traversed the town and appeals were made to Negro leaders to go to the area to help disperse the crowd.

The Perry Homes incident came one week after two women accused police of assaulting them in the vicinity of Northside Drive and Larkin Street. A 17-year-old boy was shot by police and accused of attempting to murder an officer. Both of the women were hospitalized.

Mr. Jeter, who was superintendent of buildings and grounds in the project, was one of the originators and sponsors of the Brown Derby in Atlanta.

Several police officers investigating the incidents reported that several persons had attacked police officers. These charges were flatly denied by several eyewitnesses to the entire series of events.

FOR MR. William GORDON:

Atlanta Daily World

GREENBIAR COUNTY, WEST VIRGINIA

Note that the pro-Southern tradition centers in the town of Lewisburg. It has a couple of small colleges, and I would begin exploring with people in one of them. One is a boy's military college, and the other is a Presbyterian women's junior college. I think I would start with the Presbyterian one.

***

For least difficult situations any of the following:

Fayetteville, Arkansas

Begin with: Stephen Stephan
Professor of Sociology
University of Arkansas

Floyd, Virginia (County seat of Floyd County)

Mr. Woodrow Robinson
County School Superintendent

Or Wytheville, Virginia

Dr. Strode Brockman
County School Superintendent

Ashe County, North Carolina

See able Negro School Principal

Mr. Oddie J. Cox
Nathan's Creek (Negro) School

For a medium situation: Greensboro, North Carolina, where you begin with W. Tartt Bell, American Friends Service Committee, 617 West Market Street.

For a difficult situation: Sussex County, Virginia. Sixty-six per cent Negro. Backward plantation country. The town of Waverly in the county would have an approachable Negro community, and Mr. J. Rupert Picott, Executive Secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association, Clay Street at Fourth, Richmond Virginia, telephone RIchmond 7-0868, would know the names of approachable people.

Or Philips County, Arkansas, Sixty per cent Negro. Cotton plantation area.

Or Warren County, North Carolina. Sixty-Six per cent Negro. The town of Warrenton would have approachable people.

The Secretary of the North Carolina Teachers Association, who is Mr. W. L. Greene, 125 E. Hargett Street, Raleigh, North Carolina.

In any of the Southern states you would be much assisted by conferences with the State Superintendents of Negro Education. These persons are in every instance informed, approachable, and so far as I know, of good purposes.

From Bill Gordon

Dear Harold:

In brief, this is what I had in mind regarding my next trip from which I hope to round out an article for New South:

There is a story in Columbus, Georgia regarding a group of Negro and white ministers who have formed an interracial organization in the interest of promoting race relations of a better nature. I understand they are making some substatial headway through meetings by establishing a better line ofcommunications between the two racial groups.

Also, in this same area, that is around Columbus, one, if not two baseball teams with Negro players. There was some opposition at first, but the Negroes played so well that the attendance records are unusually high now and the Negroes getting "tremendous" support from whites.

In addition to the ministers' group and the baseball team is Fort Benning, where white and Negro families have been sending their children to school together for sometime now. I had a chance to interview one of the Negro parents about seven months ago. A very interesting story grew out of this interview. This time, I should like to interview several Negro and white parents to get their respective stories.

There is also a story in Anniston, Ala where Negro carpenters, brick masons and mill workers have been working together on an interracial basis. Incidently, A Negro is vice president of one of the local unions. I understand, he presides at most of the meetings [redacted].

There is also a white newspaper editor in Anniston whose views, I understand, have been quite liberal on civil rights. As the editor of a small town daily, I should be able to get quite a story on the position newspapers should take on present civil rights issues.

Also in Anniston, is a Negro dentist, who at ontime enjoyed a large trade from whites, male and female. I should like to see what that picture is today.

By slight contrast, I would like to drop over to Tuskegee and talk with some of the people in Macon County who have been subjected to economic pressure, but who also have been getting some strong support from whites, I have learned.

I have been informed that in Chattanooga, Tenn., Negroes are riding the buses, sitting wherever they like without reprisals.

Negroes have informed me that they have a strong organization of whites and Negroes in Chattanooga working for eventual integration.

Then, if time will permit, I should like to make another trip to Montgomery and talk to Joe Asbury, Azbell? city editor of the Montgomery Advertiser. Asbury was state's witness in the Montgomery bus case, but because he has worked with interracial groups, [redacted] published and edited a liberal newspaper in Mobile, Ala., he has taken the side WITH Rev. King and his associates. He has done considerable work on a book dealing with the "end of segregation". He is really looking for an outlet to express his views.

I believe that an article along the line of positive examples, against the background of negetative forces would give more hope in arousing some of the laten liberal elements looking for a chance to do something.

30

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Monday, December 26, 1955

RALPH McGILL -- There Is a Responsibility

Atlanta's decision to comply with a federal court order finally and specifically forbidding segregation on city-operated golf courses, the alternative being closing them to some 75,000 white players and depriving about 100 men with families of their jobs, presentsto the nations media of information still another illustration of the inescapable need for a reappraisal of ethics and public responsibility.

Just ahead of the current one in Atlanta was that of the ugly chapter of the Till lynch-murder case in Mississippi.

There is no doubt whatever but that the intense focussing of national publicity on an emotionally sick and aroused county and town of sparce white population, changed public sentiment. What had been a determination to convict the guilty became an unreasoning, self-consuming defiance and determination to convict no one.

This sort of inbred defiance feeds on itself. Today Hodding Carter, veteran editor and observer of the Mississippi scene,has written in a nationally circulated magazine that for the time being, at least, there is real doubt that any white man could be convicted of a crime against race in Mississippi.

ATLANTA

Now we turn to Atlanta.

It is, in a sense, a much less important illustration. Yet, it fits integrally into the over-all pattern and points up the need for some sound thinking by press, wire services, radio, magazine and television on their public responsibility.

It is the more necessary there be such thinking when public officials are not merely failing in their responsibility, but are fomenting violence.

The Negro plaintiffs who won their case before the Supreme Court planned to play on Saturday. One of them, Dr. H. M. Holmes, an elderly, respected man of conservative manners, had said he had long wanted to play on the Bobby Jones course because of his long admiration for Robert Tyre (Bobby) Jones for whom the course is named.

Dr. Holmes reported callers identifying themselves with CBS television were particularly insistent he inform them of the hour he and his sons intended to begin play. Others, purporting to represent publications, the names of which Dr. Holmes did not keep in mind, also sought the time of play. Those representing TV declared they "had" to know so that they could move equipment to the golf course. Dr. Holmes who said that he did not want publicity, and thought it would be a bad thing, at last said he planned to play around noon. He did not quite comprehend the result.

EXTREMISTS ENTER

Within a relatively brief time radio and television program were featuring the fact that at noon on Christmas Eve the Negro players would start play at the Bobby Jones golf course. Inflamatory quotes from politicians were included. These programs continued into the night.

By night extremists of the more neurotic nature were calling in threats to the police station, the mayor's home, and Dr. Holmes' residence.

Realizing this "publicity" was defeating the purpose for which he had brought the suit--namely that the few Negro golfers in the city be permitted to play without bother to white players, or any idea of "mixing," Dr. Holmes and his friends late Friday night called off their plans.

But, on Saturday morning Negro players went quietly, without any notice, to another city course. There was no incident. Many white players waved to them and asked how they were "shooting."

The moral is plain.

These media of information, which give repeated and feverish play to the agonizing efforts of a region grappling with a historic change in a historic problem, are doing as much damage to race relations and the nation's security -- if, indeed, not more--than all the race-baiting political demagogues who seek to advance themselves by reckless words and incitement of violence.

The Christian Century
December 28, 1955

SOUTHERNERS AND N.C.C. HELP NEGRO WIDOW

Some of the news from Mississippi is encouraging. For example, notice what has happened in the case of Mrs. Clinton Melton. She was widowed when her husband, a Negro service station attendant at Glendora, was shot and killed on December 3 by Elmer Kimbell, a white man who said he fired in self-defense. Mr. Melton's employer disputed the statement, and the assailant is in jail, charged with murder. His trial will demonstrate whether the courts of the state are capable of administering justice. After the Till case, they need a second chance. Second, three white men have offered to help the widowed Mrs. Melton. According to the Associated Press, B. W. Sturdevant, a Tallahatchie county planter, said he will build a three-room house for the widow and her four children. Mr. Sturdevant's son said he will donate $200 to a fund for the family. W. C. McQuinn, M.D., physician in Glendora, has offered Mrs. Melton a job in his clinic. This outpouring of friendly helpfulness is good news indeed. It demonstrates that there are people in Mississippi in whom the spirit of humanitarianism still is strong; who refuse to tolerate murder or to excuse it on racial grounds. We are also delighted to hear that the National Council of Churches has sent a check for $1,000 to the Rev. W. A. Harris for the benefit of Mrs. Melton and her family, thus promptly carrying out the mandate of its General Board, voted at Omaha on November 30. (See the Century for December 14, page 1455.) We hope friends of the council and of racial good will will remember this action when they decide on their year-end contributions to the council. It is encouraging also to be able to report that the Rev. Mr. Harris' Methodist congregation in Glendora has contributed $86 for the assistance of Mrs. Melton and her children.

PRESS - Letters to Editors

January 5, 1956

Mr. J. Saxon Childers, Editor
Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth Street,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Childers:

A procedural matter which I am sure will find use once it is understood down the line, on the paper.

A story one day early this week in the Journal- I think perhaps on Tuesday- began with some such heading as "Atlanta Colleges Reopen," and went on to recount in meticulous detail the statistics for students in attendance at each and every of the white colleges in the city.

But "colleges" embraces the Negro as well as the white ones. Anybody reading such a story has a right to expect it to be inclusive and give all figures for all groups. In any case, there was a note of civic pride in this story - boasting 17,000 students.

A nice place to have put the complete facts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Press-
Lit. sent to
Editors-

The Atlanta Journal

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

January 9, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 10 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of January 5.

I am making careful note of it.

Sincerely,

James Saxon Childers
Editor

JSC:shc

September 18, 1956

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

I thought you might like to know that we have distributed several thousand copies of the enclosed reprint of your article from the Atlantic.

It was an excellent piece and many people have expressed appreciation of it.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

April 23, 1957
Page 1

STATE HITS MIXED-PUPIL RALLIES

Bans Clubs For Bi-Race Conventions

Out-of-State Parleys Cited by Board

(By Bruce Galphin)

The State Board of Education Monday banned from Georgia schools all student organizations which invite Georgians to inter-racial meetings at either state or national level.

School officials and board members themselves were not sure of the effect of the action. It appeared, however, to include such groups as Future Teachers, Beta Clubs and 4-H which hold national conventions outside of the South.

In other action on its crowded Monday agenda, the board:

1. Authorized a county-by-county survey of school-building needs. The move is designed to prepare for a new building program which will cost $80 million to $90 million.

CLARIFIES TEACHER TRIM

2. Clarified and strengthened last month's policy of cutting back teacher allotments in counties with shrinking enrollments. The new resolution specifically warns that teacher allotments will be made next year on the basis of next fall's enrollments. In the past allotments have been made on the basis of the previous year's enrollments.

3. Cancelled the remainder of a $66,000 debt Johnson County had incurred as a result of "padding" enrollment figures. The cancellation will become effective only if the county consolidates the small Balls Ferry and New Home Schools.

Johnson County has been paying back about $1,100 a month since last May. Board members Francis Shurling of Wrightsville said he didn't want to punish the school children. He said consolidation will ease the county's financial problems.

AROSE FROM Y'S PLANS

The resolution on student organizations was proposed by William Bodenhamer of Ty Ty. He said it was not specifically aimed at any group but arose from plans of the YWCA to hold a mixed, nine-state meeting this summer in Blue Ridge, N.C.

The resolution says that no student group "given extracurricular status" shall be allowed to invite Georgia members to mixed meetings.

Organizations furthermore "shall be required to affirm ... (their) intention to comply with the provisions of this resolution, and thus pledge not to plan or allow any racially mixed ... meetings involving the public school students of Georgia."

Groups failing to make such affirmation "shall not be allowed to operate any local club or chapter in the public schools of Georgia," the resolution stated.

The resolution becomes effective immediately and bans any interracial meeting which may already have been planned.

Under proof that Georgia students have attended mixed meetings, either in the state or out, the organization holding such meeting "shall cease to be a recognized school activity."

The resolution was amended by James S. Peters of Manchester to include teachers and school administrators. Peters did not expand on the meaning of his amendment.

Bodenhamer said, however, that Peters did not intend to include teachers organizations such as the National Education Assn., but merely referred to teacher sponsors of student groups.

Shurling urged the board not to be hasty. He said there was no certainty how many organizations might be "caught up" in such a general proposal. However, the resolution was quickly passed.

The board also heard the latest installment on a long-standing feud among Laurens County citizens over the location of a consolidated white school for the south end of the county. The matter was sent back to Laurens for local action.

FILE COPY

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 90 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

CLARK HOWELL, Publisher

RALPH McGILL, Editor

Established June 16, 1868

Issued daily except New Year's, July 4, Labor Day, Thanksgiving and Christmas and entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at Atlanta under Act of March 3, 1879.

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RALPH McGILL

The Face Of the South

There is an old proverb: "Oh, great and wise, be ill at ease when your words and deeds please the mob."

There was a picture of a smiling Gov. Orval Faubus, of Arkansas. Neatly dressed and flawlessly barbered, he was accepting a federal contempt citation in the school issue from an impeccably clad and proper federal marshal.

There were other pictures. They revealed that the Nashville demonstrators, some of whom provided the criminals who dynamited a $500,000 school to ruins, in a typical answer of a mob, were neither smiling nor neat. Most of them, indeed, were not from Nashville. They looked, in their posed pictures, as if they had been dressed for the part by some movie director with extras hired to portray a mob.

The same generalization would describe the demonstrators as depicted by photographs taken in Little Rock and Alabama.

Looking at them, one feels pity and compassion, knowing them to be the pawns of agitators and ignorance. But one feels strongly that they must not be allowed to become the face of the South.

Law-Abiding

In both Little Rock and Nashville, the citizens, white and colored, went about their business as usual. The stores had white and Negro customers. Traffic moved in the streets. One could not assume these peaceable white citizens approved of the Supreme Court decision. But they are American citizens and are law-abiding.

We saw demonstrated that mobs of from 500 to 1,000 out of a population of several hundred thousand have provided the headlines of violence. The great body of citizens, whatever their discontent, have lived by law.

Too often neat and impeccable men, occupying high, sound ground, withdrawing carefully from violence and, indeed, denouncing it, nonetheless have reason to be ill at ease. Their words and deeds have pleased the mob.

The South has suffered an irreparable blow.

All the sympathy, all the respectable attention focused on the problem by the Southern Senate leadership in the civil rights debate, now has been blown down by the dynamite, the violence and the demonstrations of the mobs.

This Senate leadership succeeded, to a great extent, in persuading the nation their region would take a legal approach; that life and property and human rights were safe.

The men who mutilated an admittedly innocent Negro in Alabama merely to impress their fellow Klansmen, the dynamiters who blew down a $500,000 school building when the South needs more schools, not less; the disorder and violence of utterance in Little Rock—all these have become the face of the South.

And yet, the total number of those who have demonstrated and dynamited, is less than 2,500.

Truth

People do not like to be told the truth. Too much of the comment today is on the narrow basis of whether one is "for or against segregation." That is not at all the basic issue before us. The fact is that millions of Southerners who strongly support segregation and who would do all that is possible to retain it, are not willing to tear down the government with violence and anarchy. Another truth too often is concealed from the Southern people, who are as decent and law-abiding as any other. The rest of the nation is not sympathetic with, and does not approve of, the defiant and violent positions taken.

There are yet legal steps to be taken. They will be highly technical.

They have begun in Little Rock.

In Nashville, the local police are able to handle the 500-odd demonstrators. They have moved against the agitator John Kasper, who has been throwing raw meat to the mobs.

In Alabama, Ku Klux Klansmen are under arrest.

When the due processes of law are exhausted the decision must be accepted as law. As a civilized, Christian people we cannot live by the rule of dynamite.

Editors, governors, commentators, ministers—all those who speak out—will do well to remember the old text: "Be ill at ease when your words and deeds please the mob."

The face of the South must not be that of the mob.

October 30, 1957

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

I have just seen the last of Roy Harris' effusions, and while we are long since hardened to his rantings, I am disturbed at the way he is using his lies about SRC to defame you and put the squeeze on Bishop Moore.

Even before this came up, I had wanted to get together with you to discuss one or two matters of a more positive nature. I am about to leave on a two-day trip, but I will call you on return to see if we can get together sometime next week.

I needn't tell you how much I and others appreciate the able service you have been giving to decency and moderation. We particularly appreciated the helpful paragraph on SRC in your column of last Friday.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
(Signed in Mr. Fleming's absence.)

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

ltr to Sol Markoff - from Ralph McGill, Atl. Constitution

REGARDING:

Grant to Southern Regional Council

DATE

February 11, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Foundations - New York Foundation, Inc.

To M.F. for C.O. files

February 21, 1958

Persons to whom a copy of Atlanta Constitution editorial, "Our Laws, Courts must be unheld!" was sent:

Ed Lukas, American Jewish Committee

Patrick Murphy Malin, American Civil Liberties Union

Alex Miller, Anti-Defamation League

Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service

Bem Price, Associated Press

Harry Ashmore, Arkansas Gazette

Herb Davidson, Daytona Beach News Journal

Bill Baggs, Miami Daily News

Hodding Carter, Delta Democrat Times

John Popham, New York Times

FYI from FBR

HCF

JC

MM

PA

March 25, 1958

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

I wanted you to know that the New York Foundation has approved a grant of $5,000 to the Council. As Ashmore said, "You mean I did all that for a measly five!" (That's what comes of moving in philanthropic circles.) Even so, there's the extenuating fact that our prospects for further -- and increased -- aid from this foundation are good.

All thanks to you for your invaluable help.

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

March 25, 1958

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

Apropos of your good column on J. Edgar Hoover's book, I thought you would find pages 40-41 of the enclosed interesting. This hedging by Matthews is particularly significant since this reprint of his testimony is being widely distributed - apparently in Florida! - by the Georgia Commission on Education.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - "Communism and the NAACP"

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

May 1, 1958

RALPH McGILL
Editor, Atlanta Constitution

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Thank you for your generous remark about the column.

It will be all right for you to reprint it in the New South.

Cordially,

Ralph McGill

RM:gl

April 30, 1958

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

Your column in this morning's Constitution is excellent.

We would like very much to reprint it in our magazine, New South, for the May issue. We will appreciate any consideration in this matter.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Encls. Article and Editorial From Washington Star - 2/18/58

"A Futil Effort to Pin It Down..."

"Running Down a Hoax"

May 12, 1958

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

You probably long since quit bothering to read Roy Harris's fulminations. But in case you saw his last one, directed at you, you may be interested in the enclosed article and editorial from the Washington Star debunking the Israel Cohen myth.

The Pulitzers awarded to Ashmore and the Gazette were cause for rejoicing. For your important part in the whole business, we all owe thanks.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2

PERSONAL

July 21, 1958

Mr. Ralph McGill
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

Here is the material on West we discussed on the telephone.

I'm also enclosing a couple of our rebuttals to charges using association with SCHW to discredit SRC board members.

If the same kind of confusion is sown next week, I should hope that we can set the record straight.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Testimony of Donald L. West from: Communism in the Mid-South
News and Courier editorial of June 25, 1958
HCF ltr. of reply
Firing Line Analysis

August 1, 1958

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

Here, enclosed, is the AP story from the Constitution on Billy Branham's invasion of Louisville in 1956. I can easily turn up more details if you need them.

On another subject, have you received a review copy of "The Southern Heritage" by James M. Dabbs (Knopf, August 18)? Quite apart from Dabbs being our current president, I think you'll find the book unusual and helpful.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
encls. reprint of news article.

September 4, 1958

Mr. Ralph McGill
Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

Were are some extra copies of Dabney's editorial. More readily available if you can use them. We are giving it wide distribution, and I will follow your advice about Russell.

Thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 6 (Times-Dispatch Editorial)

116 Ponce deLeon Court
Atlanta, Georgia
December 2, 1958

Mr. Jim Montgomery
1267 Euclid Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Montgomery:

I would like to express my appreciation for your clear-headed series on the cost to our state of closing - or even considering closing - the public schools.

Also your column on October 16th was helpful in getting Georgians to re-appraise our role in the nation's economy and how failure to face social issues affects our position.

The days ahead will surely require even more factual information, careful analysis, and continued urgings to face facts and accept democratic national standards.

Thanks for your aid to all who have practical and/or idealistic concerns in this area.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

August 31, 1959

Mr. Ralph McGill
Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

The enclosed report by the NEA is the best single source of state figures and rankings in education, income, and so on. Naturally the deep South states cluster at the bottom. Some of the figures in your lead editorial this morning suggest that this publication may already be in your shop. If so, and you would like us to supply something more or different, let me know.

I'm also enclosing a copy of "If the Schools Are Closed..." by Gauerke and Green, as you asked.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

Green-Gauerke Pamphlet
NEA Research Report, 1959-R4 "Rankings of the States"

September 25, 1959

Mr. Mike Edwards
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Georgia

file

Dear Mr. Edwards:

A friend of ours sent us a copy of your article on the Council as distributed by the Herald Tribune Service and carried in the Dallas Morning News.

This is a word of appreciation for a skillful and interesting piece. (I'm sure I would have found it interesting even if I weren't connected with SRC.)

Call on us any time we can be of help to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

September 30, 1959

Mr. Mike Edwards
The Atlanta Journal
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mike:

We'll be happy to see that you get all of our materials and releases -- far enough in advance to enable you to file a story before the release date. I have felt for a long time that the Herald Tribune should get something better than the average wire service stories.

We have done no surveys of the practical results of trolley desegregation, but we have done periodic checks of Southern cities that have taken this step, mostly voluntarily. Enclosed is our latest published list, as it appeared in New South last February. Since then, we have learned of two additional places -- Fairfield, Virginia, and El Paso, Texas -- which with Atlanta bring the total to 37 cities.

As I believe I told you, apart from our current releases, we maintain pretty full reference files on Southern race relations and will be glad to help you with other story ideas any time we can.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

The Atlanta Journal

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

Sept. 26, 1959

RECEIVED SEP 28 1959

Dear Harold;

Yours is the first indication I've had--- other ~~than~~ than a letter from a wild-eyed professional hater in Dallas--- that the piece was carried on the Herald Tribune syndicate wire. I had seen it only in the Tribune, on the editorial page, a couple of weeks ago.

The segregation-integration issue being what it is, I'd like to be able to do other pieces about it from time to time. Any time your organization has reports to make, I'd certainly like to see copies of them as far in advance of the release date as possible. In this way, ~~[illegible]~~ I'd have time to air-mail something to New York and get it there ahead of the wire services--- which, as you know, do not always do the thorough job they should.

JC
advised
HB

I'm now thinking in terms of doing something about integration on Atlanta trolleys. I've been much impressed by the fact that whites and Negroes sit together from time to time. Do you have any information on this, or on bus segregation generally?

Thanks for your letter.

Sincerely,

Mike

Mike Edwards

December 9, 1959

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

As I just told you by telephone, Stephen Currier is looking forward to an opportunity to talk with you in the near future. He would appreciate a note from you advising him when y ou will next be in New York, or when you could come up for this particular purpose. (Needless to say, in the latter case expenses would be paid by his foundation -- The Taconic Foundation.)

His address is:

Stephen R. Currier
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Sent 4/14/60

The Atlanta Journal

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

April 13

Mr. John Constable
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Dick Bullock, whom I believe you will remember from school, is working on a doctorate at the University of Minnesota. Apparently he has got into sociology and, more immediately, into our southern racial problem. (I deduce this from the fact that he was moved to send me a copy of Woodward's "Jim Crow," apparently just having come upon it.)

The idea occurs to me that Dick might like some of your studies and I wonder if you could send me copies of the reports you have gotten out lately? Also, do you have a copy of Dr. Whitney Young's report? Margaret Shannon has copies of all these things but for obvious reasons she does not wish to let them get away.

I'd appreciate anything you can do, kind sir.

Sincerely,

Raleigh

Raleigh Bryans.

August 25, 1960

Mr. Ralph McGill
Publisher
Atlanta Constitution
Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

I understand that one of our cooperating groups, the Houston (Texas) Council on Human Relations, is planning to invite you to speak at its annual dinner meeting some time the latter part of September.

I have no idea what your schedule looks like, but this is just to say that the leadership there is responsible, and I know it would mean much to the group if you find it possible to accept.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

Reprinted from The Atlanta Constitution

August 30, 1960

RALPH

McGILL

Christianity On Trial

No person who is ever meagerly sensitive to the clamorous calamity of events, both at home and abroad, can avoid noting that the Christian church is everywhere on trial.

It also is quite plain that organized Christianity presently is on the defensive. Its enemies in Africa are insisting that it is, and has been, a white man's church. The Communists long have rejoiced over the predicament of the Christian churches. They have happily and earnestly told by radio, the printed word, and by television, the many stories of segregation in South African churches, and, of late, the turning away of Negro students by some churches in the American Southeast.

The World Council of Churches, through its central committee, meeting in historic St. Andrews, Scotland, formally has declared segregation based on race or color contrary to the Gospels. At the same time the council announced seven new church groups as members, five from Africa. They represent a new membership of 1,650,000.

Five Groups

The five were L'Eglise Evangelique de Madagascar, the London Missionary Society Synod in Madagascar, L'Eglise Evangelique du Togoland, the Methodist Church of Ghana and the Anglican Church of the Province of East Africa.

The others were the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch (where the followers of Christ were first called Christians), and the Sudanese Christian Church of West Java, whose 9,000 members are converted Moslems.

The new churches bring the council's membership to 178 church groups of the Orthodox, Protestant and Anglican faiths in more than 50 countries.

The kneel-ins in the Southeastern United States have, of course, attracted international attention. They are a part of the testing. Many persons who accept the fact that church doors should be open to any person who comes to participate in the service of worship object to the probing kneel-ins as semi-vaudeville stunts designed to attract attention. In a sense they are theatrical in effect. But without question, they do attract attention and identify those churches which have a screening policy of admission.

All these incidents are grist in the mills of Communist and Moslem propaganda. This is especially true in Africa where the Moslem church is making great gains in competition with Christianity, a fact documented by the Rev. Billy Graham, to mention perhaps the best known observer of this dilemma of the church. Missionairies have reported it over and over again.

Untenable Position

Whatever the motives of the kneel-ins, they have placed the Southern Christian church in a position of choosing. Many of its leaders are deeply disturbed by the arrival of a time of decision. They are painfully aware that those churches which have ushers at the entrances, like doorkeepers at a secret lodge, instructed to make arbitrary decisions as to who is coming sincerely to worship and who isn't, are in an untenable position bordering dangerously on the ridiculous. They know it is not wise for organized Christianity anywhere to make itself appear ridiculous.

Unless a church wishes, as it may, to become a private club with a private membership list, it cannot continue in the preposterous posture of having a committee at the doors which will pass judgment on who is sincere and who isn't.

Meanwhile, there is no blinking the fact that the Christian church is being hurt in the testing time to which it is being subjected. America, with its freedom, does not realize that in other parts of the world, there are aggressively competitive religions, especially Moslem and Buddhist, and they are gaining.

January 19, 1961

Mr. Ralph McGill
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

Dr. Gene L. Usdin of New Orleans has sent me a copy of his letter inviting you to speak to a dinner honoring the members of the Orleans Parish school board who have championed open schools.

I realize full well that you receive more invitations of this general kind in a year than a dozen people could reasonably be able to fill.

This is just to say, however, that the New Orleans invitation does seem to us to have special merit. We have worked closely with the people there who have advocated a sane course on the public school issue and who are responsible for the dinner to take place on January 30. They are fine people who worked hard and unselfishly against tremendous odds. They feel, correctly I am sure, that an occasion honoring the constructive members of the school board will boost the morale of all right-thinking people in New Orleans, and they are firmly convinced that you are the best possible choice for the speaker of the evening.

In short, if it is at all possible for you to consider their request, I hope you will decide favorably.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

GENE L. USDIN, M. D.
3432 PRYTANIA STREET
NEW ORLEANS 15, LA.
TWinbrook 1-7010

January 18, 1961

Mr. Ralph McGill
Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill,

On January 30, a group of prominent citizens is sponsoring a dinner to honor Messrs. Louis Riecke, Lloyd Rittner, Theodore Sheperd, and Matthew Sutherland, the four members of the Orleans Parish school board who have steadfastly fought for open schools.

Our committee recognized that the speaker would be of cardinal importance, and you are our first choice. We hope that you will accept our invitation to be the speaker at this dinner. The presence of a man of your stature will help us all to demonstrate that we honor those who uphold our democratic principles.

We are at an important point and your participation would help in molding together a really large vocal group of outstanding citizens.

As you well know, the legislature has tried to replace these four board members six times, but they have refused to resign and turn our New Orleans schools over to the state legislature. Now these four board members have been voted out of the Louisiana School Board Association by a resolution which was introduced at the suggestion of the legislature.

For these reasons we fell that you are needed here at this time. We do hope that you will be able to help us in our dark hour. Would you phone me collect Thursday afternoon?

Sincerely,

P. S. I appreciate that you do not know me, so please phone my good friend Cecil Alexander.

February 7, 1961

Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

I hardly know what to say about Ernst Swanson's suggestion.

The study would call for substantial support, from a foundation, I assume. Such proposals are depressingly familiar to foundation executives. So this one would have to have some unique attraction to win support. Your willingness to serve as overall director of the study and author of the report would be a strong inducement.

The question is, then, do you want to take on this big a job -- keeping in mind that Atlanta's race relations will be unsettled and highly charged for some time to come?

If you are willing, if the funds are forthcoming, and if the proper research talent can be enlisted, the project could be an interesting and useful one. However, I doubt that it would make as big a splash as The Ashmore Project, which had the advantage of regionwide scope and a sharp focus (schools).

I'd be glad to talk further with you about this, if you like.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

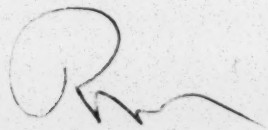
RALPH McGILL
Publisher

January 26, 1961

Dear Harold:

Please let me know what you think about this.

Cordially,



Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE • RALEIGH

School of General Studies
Department of Economics

December 14, 1960

Mr. Jim Montgomery
Business Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Jim:

Many thanks for your nice letter. I understand the difficulties of coping with the city editor. Don't forget that I spent some years in the newspaper world myself.

I would like very much your reaction to the following idea.

Over the years of my residence in Atlanta I was very much impressed with the extent to which negroes there have fared. I doubt very much that there is any other city in the United States as large and with as many negroes as Atlanta that can boast of such treatment as Atlanta has given its negro citizen. He has been upgraded economically quite significantly by comparison, even with Detroit, New York, Pittsburgh and other northern cities. He has a social status better than that which he occupies in many other cities. And, had it not been for the contrariness of the Georgia State Assembly, I suppose that the Atlanta schools would have long ago been integrated. Indeed, as I understand it, Paul West was ready to move towards some form of integration at the time of the Supreme Court Decision in 1954. All in all, as a southern city, Atlanta has so far conducted itself rather remarkably. I have a friend at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, who believes that Atlanta could show the entire world much about the role a city should play in bringing social and economic justice to a [illegible] group.

What I am proposing is this: a study of Atlanta's patterns of behavior in dealing with the negro, what has been attempted, what has been accomplished, and what has not been attempted and accomplished. These developments would be examined and studied in the light of the city's social and economic setting, the state's political structure and patterns of behavior. They would then be compared with those of other cities in both the South and the North, and analysis made to establish possible courses of action for the future in Atlanta and elsewhere.

The study could be cast in the working framework of the Ashmore Report of 1954. I would like very much to propose that Ralph McGill serve in somewhat the same role as did Harry Ashmore. With his knowledge of and love for Atlanta

and with his broad understanding of culture and social behavior, Mr. McGill would be the best choice for this purpose. He would need help so that you with your background in social psychology are the likely candidate for the spot of assistant to him. Who would head up the basic research work is of great importance, too. I would like to be in on the choice of that person; he should have understanding of the social sciences, particularly economics and social anthropology and psychology. And a good staff would be essential. All of this would take money and I propose that the Ford Foundation be broached; it defrayed the cost of the Ashmore study.

I have talked over the idea with Lambert Davis, the Director of the University of North Carolina Press, and the publisher of the Ashmore study and related reports. (Included in this group were Swanson and Griffin: Public Education in the South--Today and Tomorrow.) He is quite keen about it and thinks that this is something a southern group should definitely do; that out of such a study should come a strong program for social action on the race and related issues. He would like to publish it. Please bear in mind that Mr. Davis is a southerner, born a Virginian and now a North Carolinian.

Sometime in January I expect to be in Atlanta. In the interim could you think over the idea and evaluate it? Then, if you feel that it has merit, could you talk to Mr. McGill about it? If he reacts positively I would very much like to have the opportunity to discuss plans with you and him at the time of my visit.

Cordially yours,

Ernst W. Swanson, Head
Department of Economics

EWS F

April 5, 1961

Mr. Ralph McGill
Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

Enclosed is some biographical data on Harold for your information concerning the tribute to him in New South. Needless to say, this is a surprise to Harold, so we would appreciate your not letting our secret out.

I appreciated talking with you on Monday of this week concerning prospects for me and also am pleased that you have agreed to do this bit for New South.

Again, thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf
Enclosure - 1.

July 21, 1961

Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher
Atlanta Constitution
Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

I understand that you will soon receive an invitation from the Texas Council of Churches to speak in Dallas in February 1962. I know how full your schedule is, but if you can find time, this might be an interesting occasion for you. The Texas Council of Churches has set up a Race Relations Progress Study. This began a year ago and will complete its work before next February. What is contemplated is, in effect, an inventory of race relations practices and problems in the state. A number of commissions, made up of some rather distinguished and able people, are surveying the state and drawing together facts and insights in such fields as employment, housing, schools, etc. We have worked fairly closely with the Study, and have been reassured by the energy shown to date.

The plan is to end with a big conference in February, at which time the reports will be released. It is this conference you will be asked to address.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
cc: Mr. Joe Earl Elmore

Chairman, Steering Committee:
DR. DOUGLAS JACKSON

Director:
THE REV. JOE EARL ELMORE

Executive Secretary:
MR. HAROLD KILPATRICK

Race Relations Progress Study

Texas Council of Churches

504 West Twenty-Fourth Street Austin 5, Texas GReenwood 8-1335

COMMISSION CHAIRMEN

Churches:
DR. HAROLD LUNGER

Colleges and Universities:
DR. JESSE R. WILSON

Employment:
THE REV. BOB BREIHAN

Entertainment, Recreation and Sports:
DR. W. ASTOR KIRK

Hotels, Motels, and Restaurants:
MR. TOM REAVLEY

Housing:
MR. WILLIAM PARKER

Public Facilities:
THE REV. PAUL SIMS

Schools:
DR. CHARLES N. BURROWS

July 17, 1961

Dear Friend:

The revised dates for the conference which will conclude our study are February 13-14-15, 1962. The Steering Committee felt it is too late to plan a good conference for late August, and that the projected dates were not advantageous. Detailed plans have been made for a conference at S.M.U. in February, and we hope you will circle these dates on your calendar and plan now to attend.

The postponement will give us time to strengthen our reports. Some of the commissions have their data well in hand, and are about ready to write their reports. Others have a good deal of work to do. All can use this extra time to increase the scope and depth of the reports. Significant events of the coming fall can also be included. But we must get to work to finish the job we began last summer.

A small but helpful grant from the Southern Regional Council has enabled us to continue the study. I shall be working this summer to plan the conference, to assist you in completing the reports, and to arrange for their publication. We are seeking further funds to meet costs of publication, of necessary meetings, and of information gathering still to be done. Any suggestions of sources will be greatly appreciated.

Your commission chairman will probably be contacting you concerning the work to be done. Meantime, we would appreciate hearing from you, especially concerning information you feel would be useful in the reports--the report of your commission or <u>any</u> of the others. We need to compile all the data we can secure.

Sincerely yours,

Joe Earl Elmore

Joe Earl Elmore
Director

JEE:nm

(over)

Dear Leslie:

If you will write McGill as soon as convenient after receiving this, it ought to get there before our letter. I will mail our letter Wednesday, July 19. We appreciate your help in writing him.

We are glad that you will agree to participate in the conference. Of course we will keep you aware of details as they develop.

Things seem to be moving along, albeit slowly. Weare doing more surveying by questionnaires, and I am jacking up the commissions that had done little or nothing. I shall tell Bob Breihan about the employment study of Houston. Noland was in the office last week.

Cordial best regards - and thanks again for your support and assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

October 18, 1961

Dear Leslie:

I have tottered back to the office after more than a week of influenza, but I am spending only part time here. I have your message about Frank Graham.

I hope you will understand, first, that I admire you greatly; secondly, that I think you and your staff are doing a fine job; and thirdly, when I have to decline your meetings I do so with great regret. I am sure you know of my deep admiration for Frank Graham. It is of long standing. But according to the present plans, I will be in New York on the day of your luncheon for him. I hope to get away that day, but if I do, it will be a late afternoon plane.

Cordially,

Ralph

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

October 18, 1961

EUGENE PATTERSON
Editor

Capitol City Club
12:15

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Would you have lunch with me next Monday, October 23, and meet a State Department exchange person, David Landor, chief information officer of Israel? Landor has expressed a special interest in talking to you and since I have agreed to help him navigate in Atlanta, I hope you will permit me to make introductions at lunch. If you would ask your secretary to call Miss Meade at JA 2-5050, extension 278, with a yea or a nay, I would appreciate it.

Sincerely yours,

Gene

Eugene Patterson

To be routed in order numbered

Date_____

PLEASE CHECK, DATE, & FORWARD

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FILE

file. McGill

Staff

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

February 5, 1962

Dear Leslie:

Will you please express to the staff of the Southern Regional Council our deep appreciation for the beautiful arrangement of white carnations which was sent to Mrs. McGill in the hospital. Your thoughtfulness meant a lot to us.

Sincerely,

Ralph McGill

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

April 20, 1962

Dear Friends:

Young Ralph and I thank you out of a full heart for the memorial you have established in Mrs. McGill's name.

The kindness, the thoughtfulness and prayers of friends have been a real help to us in this time.

Sincerely,

Ralph McGill

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, #5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

BP
MMW
RR
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JBC
DM
JC
MJV
BDC

Atl. Const. 6-2-62

Eugene Patterson

The Professor Didn't Scare

Cullen Gosnell is an unafraid professor who dared to walk the dark forest of Georgia politics wearing academic robes. He retires from Emory University next week and will go down to his isolated red dirt farm south of Newnan for a rest.

His house is small and plain. From its comfortable porch he can see a rutted lane, a fence and summer flowers. "He is his own best friend," in the words of Aristotle describing ideal man, "and takes delight in privacy whereas the man of no virtue or ability is his own worst enemy, and is afraid of solitude."

* * *

Professor Gosnell is not afraid of anybody. A quiet man—dignified, bookish and tough—he crossed sabers with county unit political chieftains when he was the only man on the field without a horse.

To the credit of Emory, that institution gave Gosnell the academic freedom, and security, to draw history out of the dry leaves which he read and taught and to place it like a hot poultice on the aches of contemporary Georgia.

From the dawn of Gene Talmadge to the present new day, he did not teach that rotten boroughs were something that existed once upon a time in England; he spied them and named them in the Georgia he lived in, malapportioned in its legislature and bound in its county unit net.

He went beyond the classroom to say what he thought. Gosnell advised young Ellis Arnall when he was a young rebel running for governor. He helped Arnall frame the 1945 state constitution. He scourged the county unit system as an undemocratic evil—wrote scholarly papers against it, spoke to the public about it, organized forums to expose it. His lectures instructed some of the men who carried the fight to its present end.

The old political crowd took to excoriating him in its tabloid prints. They spelled his name "Goznell" to give it a Russian ring, and they said darkly that he was "not from Georgia." (He was born in South Carolina.)

Gosnell, a gentle man but firm, simply set his chin in quiet disgust and brought the first lawsuit ever filed to overthrow the county unit system in 1946. It was 16 years later before a similar suit won.

* * *

Undismayed through all those years, the quiet professor kept telling Georgia what he thought, and not simply applying history to some other, less controversial place. One time a powerful man wrote him with carbon copies to trustees of Emory demanding an end to his plainspoken views. Before he knew what the trustees would reply, Gosnell wrote back a plainspoken letter to the man. He said: "I am not going to scare." The trustees backed him up.

This man, upon retirement, leaves a legacy of good to the public, as well as to his students for whom he linked society to social science. He is living proof that audacity can, after all, be an academic security. He lived to see the reforms he urged come to pass, though he didn't expect to, and now honor resides with him as he retires. And the honor of Emory is increased because it gave respect and rein to the mind and dogged will of a scholar who declined to be humble.

June 7, 1962

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Gene:

I can't tell you how good it was to see your column about Cullen Gosnell. It was a very fine thing to do and meant a great deal to Doc Gosnell.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

June 7, 1962

Mr. Bruce Galphin
The Atlanta Constitution
P. O. Box 4114
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Bruce:

No need to thank me. You deserved the Nieman and I hope you will enjoy every hour you are in Cambridge. Let's get a chance to talk before you get away.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

P. O. BOX 4114

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

5 June, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta 3

Dear Les,

This finally gets around (as McGill would say) to thanking you in a sort of formal way for your letter of endorsement for the Nieman Fellowship.

We newsmen, as you probably know, are notoriously bad about all deadlines except our own (and sometimes those), so I will not burden you with long explanations of the delay.

But do let me say that a letter from you was, in my estimation, a major factor in my winning the award. The best way for me to express thanks, of course, is for me to become learned on the civil rights subject and come back and do a better job. That I shall endeavor to do.

Sincerely,

Bruce

Bruce Galphin

THE PATTERN

atl. Jnl 6-21-62

Once Again We Tell the World We Can't Solve These Problems

Medical

By PAT WATTERS

"Negroes' Suit Demands Full Grady Hospital Integration"—Headline.

SO MUCH of the classical pattern of Southern race relations of the past few years is so neatly represented in the suit filed here Tuesday seeking injunctions to desegregate just about everything medical in sight.

Here is the familiar old story of local-level requests and demands and little done, and finally the resort to the federal judiciary with the familiar figure of the NAACP lawyer from afar working in conjunction with local plaintiffs and counsel.

For years, various groups and individuals have urged various specifics of what the eight plaintiffs went to court finally to demand in one broad-gauge generality of injunctions regarding treatment of patients, staff status of doctors and dentists and training at Grady Hospital and membership in professional medical and dental associations.

OPPORTUNITY

The opportunity was so abundant for local handling of the situations involved in the more gentle atmosphere of concession and the gradualism we deem so important, and with the crucial ingredients of good will and self-interest inherent in such a handling. Now it's a matter of the harsher and less ameliorable atmosphere of the court-sought injunction and new power implications.

And once again we tell the nation and the world we can't solve these problems, local people of good will of both races working together, but must take them to the court's ancient arena of irreconcilable differences.

The Fulton Medical Society has periodically made the headlines with its soul struggles over whether to desegregate professional membership. There was the dramatization a few months back of the long history of effort regarding Grady Hospital in the picketing in slow, orderly walking lines of Negro students around the hospital with its shiny, modern buildings and its emergency clinic entrances and exits busy with the cargo of human grief that the ambulances carry. In neither case as far as was perceptible to a casual observer was any progress being made.

So now will they say that the federal courts are invading the rights of local citizens to work out such desegregation problems for themselves? Will they tell the courts or the national organization in impersonal methodical, technical efficiency helping to bring the suit that it's not the principles of segregation at stake, but the personality or the modus operandi of this or that individual demanding rights assured by the very sinew of the religious beliefs and governmental contract under which we operate?

So with the schools, and before them, with voting rights, and so on various less important levels of the struggle to end the living lie that is made of the American dream by the existence, concentrated in the Southland but by no means an exclusive institution, of second-class citizenship.

So much that is so familiar.

THICKENED

Thickets of irrelevancy are assuredly being thickened in the Southern-logic reaction to such a suit as was filed here Tuesday. We will argue everything and with the purest of skill and reason, but the very thing which is at the heart of why the suit was brought, which is the legal and moral question of whether it's right to practice segregation in the expenditure of public funds for public services.

In this case, the personal and highly emotional question of medical care is involved, and also touched upon is the new-as-tomorrow problem of whether we are best utilizing and developing the miracle minds that have the best for the age's most crucial skill, science.

But the principle is the same that is involved with the three most basic areas of the struggle to realize better our ideals, voting, jobs and education. And the pattern is so regrettably familiar.

FINALLY FED UP

Atlanta Journal
7/30/62

With So Many Dreary Outrages, Comes Insight Into the Dream

By PAT WATTERS

FINALLY YOU just get a belly-full. You get fed up.

It begins with seeing, feeling, first-hand, the Sasser spectacle of law officers and white citizens stomping into the sanctity of a church where Negroes, mostly women and children, are practicing the precious rights of free speech and freedom of assembly to discuss the most sacred right, voting, and telling them they better quit such meetings.

BACK TALK

It continues back in Albany where after dictating a story about the incredible thing, a voice in poisoned malice breaks into a long-distance connection to snarl, "Son of a ——." No longer, as reporters there had long suspected, are they just listening in. They're talking back.

You are already fed up with the continuing spectacle of a city besieged, wasting resources, $1,500 a day, according to one report, and its future on a stand-off propaganda battle that could have been ended at the beginning, and could be now, by the simple, uncompromised act of merely sitting down and negotiating honestly.

And you are fed up with the police state atmosphere of such a city, where the chief of police, wily and bright and personable, is nevertheless a police chief of an American city whose duty is to protect legal rights of all, and who acts with extreme emergency power avowedly not to protect rights but a city policy, and at times seeming if not to make policy, then certainly to be its chief spokesman.

You are fed up with a Negro leadership which seems unable to comprehend that it is up against the most sophisticated resistance to the civil rights movement yet made in the South and keeps failing to meet it, and which occasionally seems callously unaware of all the suffering involved, and which errs badly in such things as trying to have night marches through a violence-prone section of Negro bars. You get fed up too knowing that each day they continue inconclusive action, they feed propaganda to the worst elements of state politics.

And you get fed up anew reading the competitive, peashooting invective of two statesmen about who will do the most improbable worst to Martin Luther King, Jr., if elected governor, when what they and all of us ought to be searching our souls for is how to prevent in Georgia ever again such a disgrace as Albany which among other embarrassing things puts so eloquently the lie to our propaganda pratings of the American dream.

Then there is added the unrelated but equally dismal chorus of all of Atlanta's professional negativists, old discredited politicians in the fore, among those who want to stamp with misunderstanding or greed or fear or a bit of racism upon the bond issue with its hope, among other things, for a grace-giving touch of beauty and culture upon the drear reality of modern urban ugliness.

You get further fed up with parlor liberals who at this stage do not want to alienate anybody when a failure to speak out is an alienation of the very self and the premature defeat of principle regardless of who in which election wins what.

HEARTS, MINDS

And finally you get fed up with everyone's seeming to ignore that what is going on in Albany and southwest Georgia and over the South is the same unkillable thing that started with the 18th century burst of democracy's revolution. It is a dream imbued now in the hearts and minds of countless little Negro people and will never be killed no matter who wins in Albany, who wins the governor's race, who wins in competition among various Negro organizations. You don't destroy that dream in people from without.

It only dies from within the individual human being—out of self-satisfaction or complacency or not caring or unfounded fear of the majority or just plain thinking that some people deserve it while others, somehow, don't.

June 24, 1963

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Gene:

It occurred to me that the enclosed draft might be of some interest to you. It is the draft report of a conference I attended, and which gave me the enviable assignment of being reporter. It is a very safe bet that before this report sees the light of day, my fellow conferees will improve and alter it here and there.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

MAV
VJ
MJ-file

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

EUGENE PATTERSON
Editor

June 28,1963

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for sending me your draft of the Notre Dame report. I have read it and been instructed by it.

Sincerely,

Gene

Eugene Patterson

1962 Progress Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
July 28, 1962

The Honorable Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor, Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Patterson:

As the time indicates I have just witnessed "Eye Witness" and what I witnessed impels me to write to you although I do not often engage in this pasttime. However, as I listened to you proclaiming how "sick and tired" you were of certain activities around the State, I realized that I have been "sick and tired" of a great number of things for a long time.

First, may I employ your tactic of apologizing, before I get into my text, for writing this letter. I am aware that it took lots of ccurage for you to move out from the pack and say what you did tonight, especially the last part; you and Bruce Galphin and Bill Shipp. (By the way will you please inform Bill that N-e-g-r-o does not spell "nigra.") Your courage even showed through your discomfiture which was revealed by your squirming, your inability to look anywhere but at the floor and each other, and by your faces which were obviously red even on black and white sets. So, I applaud your courage, while at the same time I am impelled to state that the very obvious need for such deep courage, and the facts that make such embarrassment possible in a democracy are what make me sick to the core of my heart. I am sure, though, that you will understand that this is not intended to be a personal vilification of you by me. Let us consider it an essay on "Being Sick and Tired" then I am sure you will not mind my using the indefinite "you."

So you are "sick and tired" of Negroes demonstrating to attract attention to their miserable plight; sick and tired of his disturbing the peace of the white man's community. Again, you are advancing the white man's basic assumption that the Negro does not belong to the community, the country("why don't you go back to Africa") and therefore has no rights. Further, you are ignoring the fact that everybody who is not a full-blooded Indian migrated to this country. There is not much difference in the time of our arrivals, 1619 and 1620, or even 1607 and 1620, if you prefer.

On one occasion one rock hits one patrolman and he loses one tooth and it sickens you and makes you tired. You and the governor and every other white man in this cotton-picking South and in the pseudo-liberal North. This is an old sickness which recurs

every time a Negro makes any attempt, prolonged or not, to get rights and privileges which you take for granted. Symptomatic of this sickness is the external assertion that some "outsider" is responsible -- some Communist, some Northern liberal, or Martin Luther King, Jr. which brands local aspirants for freedom as idiots and cowards whose uprising against local authority is incomprehensible to you, and your "fear" that any demonstration or demand for his rights by Negroes will "incite" violence. Incite whom to violence? Yet when a known "hate" organization storms a State owned mountain and routs tax paid troopers (some of the 1200 available to the governor to "stop any violence") and shoots into the homes of innocent Negroes who were guilty only of happening to live near by, no one was disturbed but the Negroes. Yes, you deplored it mildly, but the governor "saw no need of an investigation." What right have you to sit in the seat of the scorner from the ivory tower of your white skin? What right have you to deplore and condemn a people for struggling to get the things that men have struggled for since the world began? Who are you to snarl and rant when the Negro cup runneth over - just once? What right have you to be impatient with the manifestations of a down-trodden people who have suppressed their individual and collective hurt for over 100 years in the hope of a better day which the white man does not nor ever has intended that he see? What power made you judge of a race of people?

I remember Albany. I arrived there early one morning when the rosy clouds of dawn were heralding the sun rise. I was a young teacher on her way to her first job in Thomasville, Georgia. I had to leave the train and transfer to a bus because the train did not go to Thomasville. I was the only passenger who left the train. Outside a man was yelling "Taxi." I indicated that I needed one. He was a white man, but that did not bother me because I had ridden in taxis driven by white men in small towns. He spat at me and snarled that he didn't "haul" niggers. Frightened, I went quietly back to my seat from where I saw him confering with the Negro janitor who came directly to me and informed me that he would carry me to the bus station. With only minutes to spare, I had to stifle my angry impulse, swallow my pride and get into that Negro-driven white man's car because I was afraid to stay in Albany a minute longer than was necessary. I was charged regular fare which, according to my chauffeur would be given to the owner of the car. That was more than 25 years ago, but Albany, to me, is still a swarthy-faced man with a mop of curly black hair with his lips pulled back into a snarl like a mad dog I once saw. He has come, too, to represent the white man's shameless double dealing.

I am sick and tired, too, of so-called experts like Charles E. Silberman in the current Reader's Digest, who claim to be able to look into the Negro's mind and tell what he thinks; into his heart and tell what he feels; and into his mechanism and tell what makes him tick. Then come up with the same old trite conclusions that are saturated with his own prejudice, the same old contrite conclusions which he knows his white readers want to read. How can any white man know the hurt the Negro lives with from birth to death. Hurt that goes back to his shamed miserable great grandmother who was ravaged by her white master. So NO white man can know what a Negro thinks, or feels. Consider the following: Have you ever felt the hurt of seeing a charming, rich educated white woman turn into a snarling dog because you, as a little child, said "yes, Mrs._____" instead of the illiterate "Yassum?" Or felt the stab of each word as she said, "Don't you say 'yes' to me! I am a Southern BORN WHITE WOMAN and you're nothing but a nigger"! Did that give her license to crush a child? Or have you stood in devastating heat of 90 degrees or more in a drug store waiting for medicine for your sick mother, your throat parched and burning after the long ride in a wagon because there was not even a hydrant in town where you dared to wet your lips? And then when you asked for and were given a glass of cold ice water by a white bystander had the glass snatched and crashed into the sink amid snarling curses and epithets which you had to listen to because the doctor had not brought your medicine. (When he did, I might add, not one cent was allowed because we were Negroes - we paid in full).

Have you ever huddled in a dark corner as far under your bed as you could go, afraid to breathe while you listened to the cries of your mother and father and heard the cutting slash of the whip as their bodies were struck time and time again, knowing that the men who beat them were white even though their faces were masked? Have you ever seen a fine, strong physical specimen of a man so humiliated before his children because he did not dare raise his head for that would have been grounds for them to "shoot in self defense." Do you think that didn't hurt? A white man never meets his black adversary man-to-man. He always carries a crowd with him "to prevent violence."

Have you ever seen the spot where human blood and flesh and bones mixed with pitch from pine wood and gasoline that had burned a man to death while he was helplessly tied? Have you felt the electrifying terror that lurked forever over that community and hovered menaningly over a people afraid, or too hurt to talk about it even in the privacy of their own homes, forever shunning the "spot", a symbol

of man most diabolical in humanity to man. If this was some one you knew, or loved, a brother, a father, a relative, can you imagine the hurt too deep for tears compounded by the knowledge that there would never be any redress? Have you ever seen a man dragged to his death while tied behind a car? Add to this the tyranny and demagoguery of politicians, the privations resulting from economic blight, and the frustration of opportunity denied. Can you then understand that a Negro might forget to be non-violent for a moment? Have you ever tried to explain to a weeping three-year-old that he can not sit on the front seat of a trolley because his face is a beautiful brown and his mother will be arrested if he does?

Negroes are sick and tired of everything being equated in terms of black and white. Sick of hearing Martin Luther King maligned for fighting against unjust laws. Did not the Boston Tea Party represent a protest against unjust laws? Did not Patrick Henry and many others use the eloquence of their voices to stir a people to revolt against unjust laws? Taxation without representation is still tyranny, Mr. Patterson. What is the Declaration of Independence itself except a protest against the unjust laws? Have you ever known the oppressor, in all of the annals of history, to voluntarily change unjust laws? Has not this always been achieved through violent protestation, like tearing down the Bastille, for instance, except when the people were led by one of the following three persons: Christ, Mahatma Ghandi, and Martin Luther King, Jr.?

You scorn the Negro's passivity, and yet any attempt on his part to get up on his feet and act like a man turn the whole white race into raving maniacs who deplore his activity because they "fear he'll incite violence," he will feed propaganda to the "worst" element of the white race and "they" will go out and "vote for and elect" a demagogue (which I may add, the white man has done all the time). However, I would like to point out that the Negro has survived for these two reasons: first he learned his lesson from the history books early. The Indian fought the white man with his own weapons and he did not survive. Secondly, he has been sustained and soothed by his mothers' prayers and their admonition to wait and have faith and God would send a "better day." But I must also warn you that young Negroes have lost faith in the latter and have found a weapon he can use, so he has gone to war and if he dies then he earns through suffering his right to stand beside all the

other heroes of the past. He has come to realize that which we who are older never even dared to admit to our own secret hearts; there is not, there never has been a free Negro in America, and there never will be unless he goes after it himself. By the same token there is no free white man in America, either. Democracy is a dream which has never been realized, and we by our passivity, and you by your intimidation and demagoguery are farther from that dream today than were our forefathers. The brass knuckles are always in plain view of the Negro, however subtlely they may be applied. The unjust laws which were passed to keep him in his place were passed deliberately and were meant to be unjust, though they were clothed in garments of "delaying tactics," tokenism, etc. They are approved by the legislators who make them, they are given moral support by the Church which refrains from speaking and by the intelligentsia who invite Griffins and the Lester Maddoxes to exclusive dinners and consider them roaringly funny when they malign Martin Luther King and make threats against his persons and reward them with loud applause. Which indicates to me that there is no difference in the thinking of the so-called sophisticate and the so-called "lesser element." You are saying to them "We are with you." So, I ask who is doing the exciting whom?

I could go on, but I am sure you are sick to death of reading this and I am sick because I had to write it, but I must inform you that whether you want it or not Albany must not win. Not only is democracy on trial there, but the essence of Christianity is at stake. If the Negro should lose, how can one ever say again "This is a democracy"? How can anyone ever again believe that doctrine which teaches, "Seek and ye shall find, knock and the door shall be open, ask and it shall be given"?

One final question, Mr. Patterson, what are we, you and I, going to do to achieve the peace we crave so fervently? Would you require me to continue to write in the humiliation of my passivity while you continue to deplore and condemn? You tell me, what can we both do besides be "sick and tired"?

Yours in the hope for a true democracy,

Ann O. Tate

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 96 Years The South's Standard Newspaper

RALPH McGILL, Publisher

EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor

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Eugene Patterson

A Flower For the Graves

A Negro mother wept in the street Sunday morning in front of a Baptist Church in Birmingham. In her hand she held a shoe, one shoe, from the foot of her dead child. We hold that shoe with her.

Every one of us in the white South holds that small shoe in his hand.

It is too late to blame the sick criminals who handled the dynamite. The FBI and the police can deal with that kind. The charge against them is simple. They killed four children.

Only we can trace the truth, Southerner—you and I. We broke those children's bodies.

We watched the stage set without staying it. We listened to the prologue unbestirred. We saw the curtain opening with disinterest. We have heard the play.

* * *

We—who go on electing politicians who heat the kettles of hate.

We—who raise no hand to silence the mean and little men who have their nigger jokes.

We—who stand aside in imagined rectitude and let the mad dogs that run in every society slide their leashes from our hand, and spring.

We—the heirs of a proud South, who protest its worth and demand its recognition—we are the ones who have ducked the difficult, skirted the uncomfortable, caviled at the challenge, resented the necessary, rationalized the unacceptable, and created the day surely when these children would die.

This is no time to load our anguish onto the murderous scapegoat who set the cap in dynamite of our own manufacture.

He didn't know any better.

Somewhere in the dim and fevered recess of an evil mind he feels right now that he has been a hero. He is only guilty of murder. He thinks he has pleased us.

* * *

We of the white South who know better are the ones who must take a harsher judgment.

We, who know better, created a climate for child-killing by those who don't.

We hold that shoe in our hand, Southerner. Let us see it straight, and look at the blood on it. Let us compare it with the unworthy speeches of Southern public men who have traduced the Negro; match it with the spectacle of shrilling children whose parents and teachers turned them free to spit epithets at small huddles of Negro school children for a week before this Sunday in Birmingham; hold up the shoe and look beyond it to the state house in Montgomery where the official attitudes of Alabama have been spoken in heat and anger.

Let us not lay the blame on some brutal fool who didn't know any better.

We know better. We created the day. We bear the judgment. May God have mercy on the poor South that has been so led. May what has happened hasten the day when the good South, which does live and have great being, will rise to this challenge of racial understanding and common humanity, in the full power of its unasserted courage, assert itself.

The Sunday school play at Birmingham is ended. With a weeping Negro mother, we stand in the bitter smoke and hold a shoe. If our South is ever to be what we wish it to be, we will plant a flower of nobler resolve for the South now upon these four small graves that we dug.

November 13, 1963

Mr. Ralph McGill
Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

I read the other day your Times review of Hodding Carter's new book, and it whetted my wish soon to get to the book itself.

It's hard to guess where the South -- and the country as a whole -- might be except for a few newspapermen such as you and Mr. Carter. The southern press has got some truly awful examples (bad as Gov. Barnett is and Johnson promises to be, Mississippi has never yet had a government quite as bad as the Hederman papers). But, on the whole, among all our institutions the press has been, I think, outstanding in courage and responsibility.

In one paragraph of your review, I suspect that you mistook Greenville (Miss.) for Greenwood (Miss.). There were some demonstrations -- relatively mild by recent standards -- in Greenville last Summer, but, from the characterization in your third from the last paragraph, I believe you had in mind the Greenwood demonstrations of last Spring. This is unimportant. What really impelled me to write was not this question of place, but your ensuing reference to "demonstrations led by a nationally known Negro comedian."

We were pretty close to the Greenwood events, closer than we have been to any of the South's recent stormy happenings. We suffered and despaired with the Negro people of Greenwood and Le Flore County, and grew a bit ourselves through the example of their courage and their yearning to be allowed to exercise the duties of free men. Because those people were so great -- and are still -- I had to write you on this matter of who led them. Dick Gregory was an inspiriting and probably a helpful figure for a few days; he did not "lead." A bunch of SNCC youngsters, most of whom were native to the Delta or to other parts of Mississippi, led during those hectic days, and still just as arduously are leading Negro pepple in Le Flore and other Delta counties in the effort to get people registered to vote. I think these people are far better "prepared for it" than are most white Mississippians.

The Greenwood story didn't get through clear to the public. In fact, there were no demonstrations at all until March 27. Prior to then, there had been only extensive voter registration attempts. Following an attempted assassination of three Negro registration workers on the night of February 28, 1963 (for which three white men subsequently were arrested on March 5; they have not yet been brought to trial), the attempts to register were greatly increased, with the result that long lines of Negro applicants were daily waiting, usually futilely, to register. There were no marches, no demonstrations.

During this time, there was repeated violence and intimidation against the Negroes, none of which led to arrests. On the night of March 26, 1963, the home of Dewey Greene, Sr., father of a Negro applicant to Ole Miss (rejected) and of Greenwood registration workers, was shot into. After this final provocation, a large group of Negroes went the next morning to City Hall to ask the Mayor and the police chief for protection. Instead, they were dispersed and a police dog was set upon them. It was only after this that marches began, joined a few days later by Dick Gregory.

On March 30, the Justice Department sought a temporary restraining order. This was doubly important, because -- for the first time -- Justice asked for a decree against interference with peaceful assembly, as it had refused to do in, for example, Albany (where, it is true, the voting issue was not paramount). The government, however, withdrew its motion on April 4, although keeping in effect its suit against the city of Greenwood. It had got an informal agreement with the city to release eight convicted registration workers. The government did not get, and apparently, did not ask for, a dropping of charges; it did get an agreement to stay execution until its own case against the city was decided. That case was scheduled for October 1963; my understanding is that Greenwood filed its brief, but that the government has not yet.

I must apologize for writing at such length. Greenwood is an interesting story, I think, of which I have recounted only a fragment of one chapter. The Coca Cola story in Atlanta was also interesting; sometime I would like to tell you what I know of it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

SEAL-FOAM BOND

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

WB ✓
VJ ✓
PW ✓
MJ-file

November 22, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter.

The book review was accurate in that I wrote about demonstrations in Greenwood. Some copy editor at the New York Times changed it to Greenville without consulting me. I wrote the Times a courteous letter, pointing out this fact, and sending a copy to Carter. The Times apologized, but it did not alter the damage, which I hope was slight.

I am glad to have your story about Greenwood. I now know I didn't understand it fully.

Cordially,

Ralph

RM:gl

Rice

Newsbakers et. al.
Atl. Constitution

November 27, 1963

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Gene:

You may already have seen the enclosures, but if not, I thought they would interest you. This is the first announcement of program by the North Carolina Fund, which begins its life with about $15,000,000; one-half from Ford Foundation and one-half from North Carolina philanthropy.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

File: Newspapers, et al. Atl. Const.

February 25, 1964

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Gene:

I was in Washington yesterday and picked up several copies of the enclosure, and I thought you might like to have one on your desk. It was prepared by the Department of Justice.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. CENTER FOR NONVIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE

Memo from **NOBBIE H. MORGAN**

7-15-64

PA --

Would you please write your comments on this -- so that I might leave it for VEJ should he come to the office tonight? Thanx

File
Newspapers, et. al.
Atl. Const.

July 1, 1964

Mr. Doyle D. Stokes
4703 Barbara Mitchell
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Mr. Stokes:

Your letter of June 15 to Mr. Ralph McGill, publisher of The Atlanta Constitution, has been referred to us. Pursuant to your inquiry, please find enclosed a reprint from the Congressional Record of remarks by The Honorable Richard Bolling of Missouri in the House of Representatives and a copy of an editorial of the Richmond Times-Depatch of August 21, 1958.

If we may be of further assistance to you, please call us.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:slw
Enclosures: (2)

cc: Mr. Ralph McGill

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

✓ Dr. Dunbar ~~reply~~ check first with Paul

June 16, 1964

Richmond Times Dispatch

Dear Leslie:

Will you send this fellow the editorial that appeared in the Washington Star (?) which apologized for referring to the Southern Regional Council as Communist. This Mr. Stokes is probably trying to be coy in this letter. I would appreciate it if you would just say I referred the letter to the Southern Regional Council for information.

I always thought the Washington Star (?) editorial was a good answer to such people.

Sincerely,

Ralph

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MM 9 6 a

4703 Barbara Mitchell
Mobile, Ala.
June 15, 1964.

Mr. Ralph McGill

Dear Sir:

There has been a smear sheet circulated claiming that the Southern Regional Council was formed by a communist and that there are members that are communist that belong to the SRC and the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

I lived in Greenville Miss for about 6 years so I wrote Mr. Hodding Carter and asked him for information on this. He wrote back that you could

perhaps furnish me with the names of the incorporators of the SCC. Since you were one of the founders.

Please furnish me with any information you can about the founders, officers of SCEF. Is it true that James A. Dombrowski is executive director of SCEF?

Thank you very much Mr McGill, its hard to seperate the truth from charge and counter charges now-a-days.

Thank again.

Doyle D. Stokes

Newspapers

December 11, 1964

Mr. Ralph McGill
Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
P. O. Box 4689
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

I believe that I have never before written a letter of complaint to a newspaper, but I felt terribly discouraged this morning when I found the news of Martin Luther King's presentation in Oslo on page nine of the Constitution. And this was despite there being room on page one to report on the Duke of Windsor's illness and another self-delivery by a mother in Greensboro, N. C.

Atlanta is Martin King's home. If Atlanta will not give him honor at least its newspapers are surely aware of his newsworthiness and of the special significance of this year's Nobel award to him. I think also the Constitution would want to acknowledge, by prominent coverage of his signal distinction, that many thousands of its readers do look on Martin King with deep affection.

I recognize that the presentation was an afternoon story; so too was the latest development in the Neshoba County story. The Constitution nevertheless properly ran that on page one, and could with at least as much reason have done the same in regard to King.

Please forgive me for bringing this up; I think, though, that it is important, precisely because the Constitution itself is so important.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
cc: Eugene Patterson
bcc: Brazeal, Clement, Haas, Hamilton, Mays, Milton, Richardson, Rothschild, Wiley, and Wilkins.

File Newspapers, etc at

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

Rec'd 4/21/65

April 20, 1965

back 4/28

Dear Leslie:

Will you let me have this back with some sort of answer?

Cordially,

R

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

file - Newspapers, et al

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

EUGENE PATTERSON
Editor

Rec'd 4/26/65

PW
MI-file

April 23, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

I appreciate the informative matters you have sent me.

I am sending you herewith a copy of a letter from a young liberal. It is typical of many I have received. Such unthinking reaction --- such confusion of values and failure of logic --- distresses me deeply.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Gene

Eugene Patterson

EP:mm

Enclosure

April 20, 1965
Sewanee, Tennessee

Dear Sir:

I would like to reply to your recent comments on the Washington march to end the war in Viet Nam. Let me say at the outset that it is disappointing when a newspaper of the stature of the Constitution weighs dissenting voices so slightly and with such ill-veiled contempt. It suggests that you are comfortably immured in convention and respectability.

Lets discuss your comments. It is interesting to hear you mention civil rights in your discussion. The government has a fine record on civil rights -- a civli rights act, a voting rights bill, federal troops at Selma, etc. But where was the federal government during the Freedom Rides, or during the first registration efforts in Mississippi, in 1961? I can't tell you, but I can tell you where those White House marchers were. They, or their big brothers, were in Mississippi, or in Danville, or in Selma (not last month, but last year), and they were in Albany. My roommate was in that march Saturday. Last summer he taught English in a Freedom School in Jackson, Mississippi. ~~We know who paid for that voting bill: Schwerner, and Chaney, and Goodman, Mrs. Liuzzo, and Jimmie Lee Jackson, and Rev. Reeb.~~ The presence of civil rights groups in the Washington picket line should not surprise you.

In the march you noted a boy who carried a sign saying " War On Poverty Not On People ". Students for a Democratic Society, the organization that coordinated the march, sponsors seven ghetto projects in northern cities aimed at economic equality, political education, and voter registration. They have been in operation for three years, and it will be another five years before any government projects are as effective. Where was the government's "War on Poverty" when those seven projects began?

Yes, they cry out for idealism in their country's affairs. Fortunately for the country, they have done more than cry. Yes,

they question the idealistic motives of the war in Viet Nam. When thousands of lives are destroyed, and a nation is split in half and torn apart in the name of idealism, then this idealism should be closely scrutinized. They have done this, and found it wanting. Their request was not simply "End the War". Opinions among the marchers varied widely. Some are religious or philosophical pacifists. Some believe that the conflict is a civil war, in which we have no right to interfere. Some fear the outbreak of a major war. Many simply think that any tactics are better than napalm and "Lazy Dog" shrapnel bombs.

But they have not been alonein their demands for ceasefire and withdrawal. Last week a group of mothers picketed the White House. Why were they spared your wise observations? Surely mothers are as fair game as 15,000 students who represent the body of the student movement in this country. Nor did you mention Senator Greuning, who addressed the group in Washington, or Senator Morse. Both of these men have demanded that we withdraw from Viet Nam. Senator Fulbright, surely the Senate's foremost expert on international affairs, has just recommended a cessation in the bombing of North Viet Nam. Many congressmen have done the same. So you see, Mr. Patterson, even today it does not seem quite so foolish or irresponsible to ask for peace in Viet Nam, as it did last Saturday.

It will not surprise me at all to read you column next year and find you congratulating yourself, and the president, and all your integrationist, anti-poverty, "liberal" friends on putting an end to international murder in Southeast Asia. And I do not doubt but that by then you and your friends will have <u>done</u> something to merit your praise.

Yours sincerely,

PS I am a resident of Gainesville, Ga.

Bob Bailey

Bob Bailey
University of the South
Sewanee, Tennessee

4/26 PW
(1965) LD

Mail to:

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta

Dear Les:

You'd be amazed at the volume of this stuff.

GP

April 24

Mr. Patterson:

I must write you in regard to you column of today, and this past Monday.

Think about what you said: that a young man or woman should be condemned because he doesn't want to kill. Is this why the churches have never practiced "Love thy neighbor", and Thou shalt not kill"--fear of liberal newspapers?

I am sure you could give me a hundred or more good reasons why we should keep on killing in Viet Nam. I am reasonably sure that I could give you an intellectually satisfying answer to each of them; but, why bother? The fact is this: anyone who wants to kill--or purposely sets out to do it--is an animal. (In my heart I know I'm right, if you wish.) I want to be a human being, how about you?

Mr. Patterson, if you want to go to Viet Nam and fight, go ahead. But please don't condemn us because we don't want to go. A man is made to live, not to die. You don't agree?--good, go die. But please don't drag me into the dirt with you. You want to be an animal?--fine, but let me have a try at humanity.

As long as you and your kind put in mandatory selective servi ce you cannot be forgiven.

Please do not recite to me the usual triteness--I have heard it too many times before, and I have no sympathy with it.
"If you want peace, prepare for war."
What in God's name does someone who wants war do?

Please do not print again that I am hurting my intellectual integrity. My intellectual ability is doubtful, but my integrity is beyound doubt. How about yours?

Must a man be condemned for wanting to live and let live?

I have worked hard for what I believe in, Mr. Patterson--please forgive me If I seem to write hate; I don't mean to, it is just frustration I don't know what to do with.

"My countrymen have now become too base,
I give them up. I cannot speak with men #
not my equals. I was an American,
where now to drag out my days and erase
this awful memory of the United States?...
'Resign! Resign!' the word rings in my soul
--is it for me? Or shall I make a sign
and picket the White House blindly in the rain,
or hold it up on Madison Avenue
until I vomit, or trudge to and fro
gloomily in front of the public school?"

Is it for you, or did the word ring too loudly?

Apt. 7
229-13th St.
Atlanta.

John Godbey

P.O. Box 1374
Albany, Georgia
April 23, 1965

To the Editor of the Herald:

An Open Letter to, Eugene Patterson, Editor of
The Atlanta Constitution

Sir:

This is in reference to your column on the editorial page of the April 19, 1965, edition of the Atlanta Constitution, in which you stated in your first paragraph, "Outside the White House Friday some 15,000 young Americans wandered about in amiable confusion, no doubt confident that a permissive nation would forgive them for this, too, on grounds of their youthfulness and their good intentions. Well, I do not."

Now, Mr. Patterson, it seems to be questionable as to whether or not these 15,000 young Americans were confused. Frankly, it doesn't stand to reason that that many people from all over America would converge upon the White House to protest a foreign policy action, unless they were dead certain that this action was clear in their minds as to intent, and end result upon living humans elsewhere in this world. Confused people simply don't react in this manner. Now, the laughable part of your first paragraph was where YOU stated that YOU did not forgive them their actions. By the Holy Beard of Allah, isn't that just too bad! Five to one, that they didn't realize that they were transgressing against YOU.

Your second paragraph was good reporting. "Theirs was a simple request. Just get out of Viet Nam." Now, that doesn't sound like a mandate from "confused" people, but more like an outraged cry for justice from humane people.

In your subsequent paragraphs you continue criticizing in various ways, these young Americans, who were exercising their CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

Your sixth paragraph, for example, in which you state, "But this was a mass of earnest youngsters from all over America who displayed a confusion too hurtful to their country and to their own intellectual integrity to be easily excused," is a display of Argumentum Ad Populum, which is devoid of rationality and good sense. It is further interesting to note that you seem to have put yourself in the position of speaking for the whole country.

Your eighth paragraph carries the inference that a foreign policy decision by a small handfull of temporary selected Government officials necessarily represents the feelings and desires of the greater majority of the citizens of our great nation, and that any dissentor to this policy represents some kind of vague treason. Frankly, I think you are out of order here, Mr. Patterson, for the war in Viet Nam has never been a popular war, and I, myself, have as yet to find a single citizen that is in sympathy with the part we are playing there.

You speak of our country being engaged in a sustained experiment in idealism in Viet Nam. For the love of Mother, Mr. Patterson, what kind of idealism is it that interferes in the internal affairs of another nation? And while we are discussing this, tell us where our Congress gets the Constitutional Authority to tax the people of this nation, to support the people of another nation? And where does our administration get it's authority to send innocent young men to their deaths and cause the deaths

of others, simply because in Viet Nam the OIL and OTHER INTERESTS of a few millionaire Capitalists are threatened by nationalization in the course of an internal revolution?

Mr. Patterson, the greatest war that this world has ever known, and the last one that our country has truly been justified in participating, has been over for twenty years now, and we are still drafting young men into the armed services. This is a wrong policy, both morally and economically. Militarism is draining the lifeblood of our great nation and we are saddling on our unborn generations, a debt that can never be repaid. I doubt that they will think very highly of us, because of it. I have two young sons that someday will be eligible for the draft, and I bitterly resent the idea that against their wills and mine, there lies the possibility that they could be sent to a "Viet Nam" and have their brains blown to hell and back, and for WHAT?

There is no military threat in the world today to this nation. No one dares attack us, and frankly, I don't think anyone wants to. To do so would be suicidal on their part, and they know it, and you know it, and I know it. There is simply no question about it.

For all those in this nation today who advocate the continuation of our outrageous interference in Viet Nam, truly JUSTICE could not be better served if they were the ones to form the front ranks on the front lines where hostilities rage, and cannons roar.

I suggest, Sir, that we begin with people like you, the president of the United States, and all the others who seem to be so careless with the lives and destinies of our precious young people, and all the other people of this world.

Ralph C. Williams

Ralph C. Williams

Copy sent to:

Eugene Patterson, Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Washington March Against Vietnam War

To the Editor:

We who were there think your coverage of the April 17 march on Washington missed the point entirely. The tone of the news article was frivolous and the implication was that the facts are unimportant. It would seem that the marchers were simply off on a springtime romp and certainly not to be taken seriously.

In fact, many of the students had traveled thousands of miles to attend the march, many will be among the future leaders of this nation, and many will be called on to fight and die if our present policy in Vietnam does lead to a wider war. These are serious matters and the students are justifiably concerned. They seem to take a more serious view of the Vietnam crisis than the reporter who wrote your story.

The article also omits all but the briefest allusions to the important speeches made by Senator Ernest Gruening and I. F. Stone. May we correct this omission and report what the speakers had to say to an attentive audience of about 20,000.

They noted that the United States had never signed the Geneva Agreements but had agreed to honor them; that beginning 1954, we muffed a golden opportunity to press for land and political reforms and make South Vietnam a showcase for Asia; that as a result, Diem prevented free elections in 1956 as called for in the Geneva Agreements, and we concurred; and that Diem and successors have alienated both peasantry and intelligent opposition, many of whom have since joined the Vietcong.

Mekong Project

They pointed out that the Mekong River Valley Project proposed by President Johnson is unthinkable without the consent of Communist China, since over 1,000 miles of the Mekong runs through her territory. Finally, they observed that continued bombing of North Vietnam and unwillingness to deal with genuine native opposition in the Vietcong is hardly likely to bring us closer to realistic negotiations.

As faithful New York Times readers, we hope your coverage of similar events is more to the point. We think war is too serious an issue to be treated lightly.

29 Faculty, Students and Technicians of The Rockefeller Institute

New York, April 18, 1965

file
Newspapers, et al -
Atl Const.
Or. ref. - Newspapers et al
"Southern Courier"
Dixie
jp -

April 28, 1965

Mr. Ralph McGill
Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

I called your office about this thing right after getting your letter, but learned that you were out of town until today. Today Mr. Richard Cotton, a Harvard Crimson veteran and sort of advance man for the Southern Courier, has been in to talk with me and Pat. I understand that he may see you.

Mr. Cotton outlined their plans to us and we indicated our willingness to help as we could. He did not ask our opinion of the undertaking, and I did not offer one. Had he asked, I would have told him that I think this could conceivably be a good thing, but seems to me a very low priority. It is a very expensive operation in comparison with most civil rights projects, and I do not see the kind of money they need justified for this particular undertaking. Moreover, there are so many things going on within student circles today that are to us exciting, and

in my view are far more deserving of both financial support and energy than is this. I am referring not only to student groups such as SNCC, the Southern Student Organizing Committee, the National Student Associations and its offshoots, but also to the very fine student affiliates to our Councils on Human Relations in North and South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, and developing elsewhere.

I don't know what help these comments may be to you. My skepticism about how successful they will be about distributing this paper, added to the reservations expressed above, mean that, for my part, if I am asked for an opinion by prospective donors it will not be strongly favorable.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

file - Newspapers. et al

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

EUGENE PATTERSON
Editor

Rec'd 6/22/65

TWL
PAL
MJ - file

June 15, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Please excuse my tardiness in returning the enclosed material from Professor Foster of The University of Wisconsin. I did appreciate having this. It helped get me on the rails with respect to Keppel's activities.

As you will note from our current reports from Reg Murphy, and from our lead editorial of June 14, some problems remain. I hope we are all headed toward the same goal now, however. I think the Governor got his fingers burned pretty badly when he began critizing the HEW aims rather than their methods.

Let me know what you're thinking from time to time. I'd like to be guided by it.

Sincerely yours,

Gene

Eugene Patterson

EP:sc

Enclosure

Free Newspapers et al
"Cit. Court"

Cr. ref.
Yale Univ.
C. Vann Woodward
Sec. 1965 Annual Mtg.

November 22, 1965

Mr. Bruce Galphin
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bruce:

Here is the promised speech.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Woodward Speech)

file

November 22, 1965

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Enclosed is the promised copy of Dr. Woodward's speech.

We were very grateful that you found the time to be with us last Monday evening.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

November 22, 1965

Mr. Ralph McGill
Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

Enclosed is the promised copy of Dr. Woodward's speech.

We were very grateful that you found it possible to be with us last Monday evening.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file
Newspapers, et. al.
"Old Court"

June 28, 1966

Mr. John Raymond
Book Review Editor
The Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Box 4689
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Raymond:

This is to call to your attention, for possible book review, Best Magazine Articles: 1966, edited by Gerald Walker and published this month by Crown Publishers, Inc. Among the twenty articles appearing in it is one from our magazine, New South, written by an Atlantan, Pat Watters of our staff.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Same note to:
WCJ
Ray Schuler
Joseph Haas

Note: Original McGill ltr. being held by PA as of 7/8/66. mj

File
Newspapers, et. al
"Atl Const."
Cr. ref - See gen
re: attacks

July 7, 1966

Dear Les,

Although Mr. McGill requested that his letter be treated confidentially, I felt that I had no choice but to share this exchange of correspondence with you. Clearly, someone in the community is rather effectively spreading untrue rumors about the Council, slanderous in fact. I am concerned about this, but more concerned that any responsible person accepts them.

Re-file as indicated

Best.

Paul Anthony

July 7, 1966

Mr. Ralph McGill
Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

Please know that I am deeply grateful for your letter of July 6th, and for the concern for SRC which prompted it. At your convenience I would very much appreciate an opportunity to talk with you. Miss Lundy informs me you are out of the city until the 18th. At that time I will call your office to determine if we can get together.

In the meantime, I would like to respond in writing, for I agree with you that this matter is crucial and must be corrected.

I, too, continue to hear disturbing reports about many things in Vine City; especially about the Vine City Council. Perhaps the most disturbing of these to us are the completely incorrect reports that we have an involvement or a financial commitment with that group.

(This morning's Constitution incorrectly quoted me as saying we were not at this time prepared to give financial support to that area. I did say it looked a mess, and we were

disturbed,but that SRC had no funds appropriated for any Vine Cities anywhere.)

Twice in recent weeks we have been approached by groups in Vine City for financial support. This was refused. In the last instance, a proper request was made to our Voter Education Project for funds for a voter registration drive. We refused this request on the basis that the Vine City Council is supporting a candidate for public office and, we, therefore, could not consider funding their effort.

To the best of my knowledge, and considerable time has been spent by me in checking this in every detail, no SRC staff persons are involved in political campaigns in Vine City or in any other area. I do know of two specific instances which have occurred and which have led to considerable misunderstanding. The most important of these concerns reports of one of our staff, Al Ulmer, supporting Mrs. Helen Howard, a candidate against Mrs. Hamilton.

Some weeks ago Mrs. Howard came to Mr. Ulmer requesting that he help her raise money for her qualifying fee. Knowing the district and the incumbent, this created quite a problem for this young man. He knew it was improper to become engaged in politics and recognized the added matter of propriety in this district. Yet, for several years he and his wife had been personal friends of Mr. & Mrs. Howard. He asked me for guidance. I told him that so long as he acted purely on his own time, did not publicly endorse this or any other candidate, and did not involve SRC, I could not instruct him on his personal opinions or politics. I did, however, express regret that Mrs. Hamilton would have any opposition, given her record as an outstanding legislator.

Subsequently, Ulmer invited a small group of his friends to him home, introduced Mrs. Howard and gave her an opportunity to request support. A few gave that support. Vernon Jordan, our Voter Education Project Director, and I refused to attend the gathering or to give our support.

Immediately following this social occasion, Al Ulmer informed Mrs. Howard that because of his position he could give no further help to her and that, indeed, he had very mixed feelings about her opposing Mrs. Hamilton. From that conversation to this date, he has neither seen or talked with Mrs. Howard. He also was under the impression, until very recently, that he had adequately conveyed to Mrs. Hamilton his feelings and his position.

The other instance which has very recently been called to my attention was that Otis Cochran, a would-be candidate from this same district, has been circulating a list of persons who have contributed to his campaign. On that list, among others, is my name and that of Vernon Jordan and Al Ulmer. None of us, and no one else in SRC's employ, has contributed to that campaign. I am now attempting to reach Cochran, and thereafter to determine what further action should be taken.

The reference to church funds perhaps refers to a contribution to SRC of $1,300 from Trinity Presbyterian for use in some way in a program in Atlanta for the poor. I, too, have heard reports that these funds were being spent in Vine City. In truth, we are still holding all of these funds, since we have not yet determined a project which we felt would be both proper and effective. As a further effort at responsibility in this matter we determined that no use would be made of these funds withour prior approval of Reese Cleghorn, who was instrumental in interesting his group at Trinity in this concern.

Your observation that we have a serious problem in the administration of a large sum of money and the ever-present problem of finding and directing a competent staff, is certainly true. But, I sincerely believe also that we have attracted an incredibly competent staff, and that the record of their programs, the use of funds, and their professional behavior is an enviable one. I say this with no personal pride, but with a great deal of pride in what these magnificent and talented men and women have and are accomplishing.

I would especially be grateful for an opportunity to review with you the work and interest of these staff people.

Finally, let me urgently assure you that I know of no SRC funds -- Ford Foundation or otherwise -- that have been used in connection with any "house on Magnolia Street." From such quarters, too, I hear disturbing reports, but again the most disturbing is the false report that SRC has any involvement in this.

On receipt of the Ford Foundation grant, I invited our auditors in to completely review every aspect of our auditing procedures and instructed them to make periodic checks at their discretion apart from our annual audit. The most responsible financial and program reporting has been instituted here in an effort to prove responsibility beyond any doubt in handling these numerous programs and these large sums of money. And, during the past several weeks -- as these rumors have come to my attention -- I have spent a substantial amount of time checking the matters referred to in this correspondence.

I am sorry for the length of this, but I felt it necessary that some of these facts be brought to your attention at the earliest possible time.

Again, please know that I am deeply grateful for the concern which prompted your letter, and for your longstanding support for which all of us owe you so much. For these reasons, especially I would also be most grateful for an opportunity to discuss these matters with you and to review the work, personnel and procedures of SRC.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Robert Ward -
Legal Panel - Sears -

Ltr to RAT -
re S. Bressler

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

July 6, 1966

Confidential

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is a purely personal letter from me to you. I continue to have disturbing reports about the Vine City Council. These come from Negroes in the area who are reporting that young people there are being given spiked punch, unlabeled cigarettes, and are being taught how to turn over automobiles. I also question very seriously your staff people being actively interested in the political campaign. I hope not, but I am afraid some of the activities and waste of money provided by one of the churches here and some of the Ford money may get into the papers. I hope present developments may be checked so that it will not get into the paper.

My personal opinion is that you have the problem of administering a large sum of money, and I know how difficult it is to find competent administrators, but it would certainly be very detrimental if the Ford money became a story of waste and in association with persons engaged in questionable activities. There are a number of affidavits at hand concerning activities of a certain house on Magnolia Street, for example, which would certainly be most embarrassing to the Ford Foundation. I have no interest in any individual or political candidate, nor has this come to me from a political candidate. I am sure some of you people would immediately suspect so. I do hope you will treat this as a personal letter with only the reputation of the Council and the Ford Foundation as my interest.

Cordially yours,

Ralph McGill

RM:gl

File
Newspapers, ed. al
Atl. Const

July 26, 1966

Mr. Ralph McGill
Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

Enclosed is the first page of the current newsletter of the Atlanta Council; a statement distributed by the Cosmopolitan AME Church on Vine Street. I'm afraid it adds nothing to the questions we have discussed. It is, however, further documentation of the confusion.

May I thank you again for the time you gave me on Monday, and for your concern and interest in the Southern Regional Council.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

file
Adl. Court

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Raymond W. Wheeler

REGARDING

PA's letter bringing Ray up to date on events surrounding the Vine City matter

DATE

July 29, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Board: Raymond Wheeler

File
Negro Topics, etc
Atl. Journal

January 16, 1967

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
The Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Reese:

Thought you would be interested in the enclosed which was sent to me from the Unitarian Church here.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

File Newspapers - Atl. Const

PW
BH
Ret PA

all corresp. from Popham & cc of article also sorted

March 22, 1967

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Gene:

I have just read your profile of Johnny Popham in the current issue of the Bulletin. It is a delight and captures the spirit of the man. I was particularly happy to see the emphasis on the pioneer role that Pop played in covering the South.

Do you have any objection to us reprinting it in New South? We will, of course, write the Bulletin for permission, and just to make sure he has no objection I am asking Pop for his reaction to this.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

PW
BA
Ret PA

March 22, 1967

Mr. Johnny Popham
Managing Editor
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Pop:

Thanks so much for your thoughtful note about NEW SOUTH. I agree that Pat Watters and his staff are doing a great job and we all appreciate praise from such quarters. I agree, too, that a publication of quality is a particular tribute to George Mitchell and Harold Fleming and we think of it as such.

I thought Gene Patterson's piece was particularly good and was happy to see how he analyzed your pioneer role in reporting on the South. Because of this angle we would like to reprint it in NEW SOUTH with proper permission, of course. Do you have any objection (you understand of course we aren't trying to "butter" up an editor or even a good friend but its news!)

Incidentally, you might enjoy the recent article from the Courier-Journal Magazine about SRC, particularly its reference to Harold.

Do come to see us sometime.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km
Enc.

PW
BA
Ret PA

March 22, 1967

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President
Potomac Institute
1501 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Harold:

Pop probably sent you a copy of the enclosed. If not, thought you would like to see it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

Dear Paul:

My copy of the quarterly review"New South" arrived today and I just wanted to drop you a note to say that I've enjoyed each one of them and do believe they get better as you go along. Anyway, for an old SRC fan it sure warms the heart to see productions of this kind from such a grand old agency...particularly when we recall the old days with the few little pamphlets and the hard-ssratch to get finance them,and then publicize them. Don't lose the faith down there---every day of good work still counts and still is needed. Also, thought you might like to see this article Gene Patterson did in the current issue of the American Society of Newspaper Editors' publication-Bulletin. I owed a lot all those years to SRC and I was glad Gene kept in the references I made to Hal Fleming and George Mitchell and what I owed them in the way of help and insights. Give my best to Pat Watters and always let me know when I can be of help to you.

Best regards

Johnny Popham

Editors' Roll Call

A Wurlitzer-Tradition Talker

by EUGENE PATTERSON
Editor, Atlanta Constitution

JOHN N. POPHAM looks like a larcenous choirboy, a weathered cherub hunting — but not very hard — for a return to innocence.

The Marine Corps haircut is a gesture to his colonelcy, though the wall-to-wall grin is a denial of sternness. The records show he made nine Pacific landings and got decorated at Tarawa. But Pop is really a very peaceful newspaperman—until somebody shoves somebody.

He has been managing editor of The Chattanooga Times for going on a decade now. Before that he put in 25 years as a New York Times reporter, 12 of them on the Southern beat before anybody else discovered Negroes are news.

He never did look like a New York Times reporter. He wears striped suits, tells improbable stories, and never made an intentional understatement. He savors hyperbole the way some men use whiskey (he takes coffee only), and if he went to Hanoi he would probably punch somebody in the nose.

Popham is, on the whole, as much a Southern institution as Old Grand Dad or Turner Catledge. Virginia-born and yard-raised in a career-Marine family, he speaks that bent Tidewater accent with the brokeback "about." And how he does speak.

When Johnny Popham turns on it's a happening.

He is one of the great talkers in the Wurlitzer tradition. Ask him a question and step back. His eyes flash as if you'd turned up the lights. He emits a gutteral preparatory sound of some deep pleasure, the smile breaks, the hands come up and the music begins. No simple melody for him. As he warms to the theme he begins to weave in the variation, put in the counterpoint and soar now and then in a golden cadenza of such virtuosity that you realize you have activated the master. One of the truly entertaining raconteurs of this mute generation, Popham is a rebuke to the terse and a scourge to the literal. He wants to get it all in—the fact-enwrapped whole in its natal mood, with Muzak.

And to know the whole Popham you have to take him the same way. Wise, warm and gifted, he's held in deep affection. But beyond and behind that, among those who know him, is a regard and respect for the remarkable integrity of the work he has done. Selma, Stokely, King and Col. Penn came way after he and The Times were on to the South story. He was down here before they were, laying down the background whole. He is one of those who did serious work early.

POPHAM got his Southern insight in New York, of all places. True, he went there with a Southern heritage. His family had used the tools of its Virginia social setting—good conversation, love of reading, respect for intellect. Moreover, the Pophams had a streak of liberalism in them. During Reconstruction his great-grandfather had published his own newspaper in Richmond, The Southern Intelligencer. The paper tried to heal war wounds and build some kind of new society for the defeated Southerner and the new freedman. Great-grandPop had even been campaign manager for the Confederate general, Billy Mahone, who became Virginia's first postwar senator, running on the Readjuster ticket.

"I guess there was always the thread in the family that the monolithic South was not completely true," he says. Yet few understand the Southerner better or respect him more. New York formed Popham for that.

He discovered the multi-cultural society on the pavement beats for The Times. He absorbed the Irish agonies in the saloons, the Jewish loneliness walking the East Side streets eating knishes. He learned a great sympathy for the ordeal of a cultural grouping that is tearing down its myth and discovering new American truths.

With that resource from his New York days added to his inborn Southernness, Popham came South like a William Tecumseh Beauregard to watch the destruction of his own home myth.

"You learn (in these groups subjected to change) that the right or wrong posture or stand is something you must take when human beings are opposing tyranny and violence," he says, "but not when they are simply shedding myths that were warming though inadequate. I learned a lot about the phantoms that walk through a man's mind all his life; when he comes to terms with them he builds his structures out of them."

JOHN N. POPHAM
"A rebuke to the terse and a scourge to the literal."

He struck out to know the Negro—a pretty much unthinkable mission in the middle 1940's. He drove 50,000 miles a year around the South, stopping in the towns, standing on the corners, visiting the Negro churches, campuses and political meetings.

When the usual celebrated white was imported for a day to make a commencement speech at Tuskegee or Morehouse, Popham covered the speech like the others. But he went back then to the campus and stood by the punch bowl and listened to the unheard people. He wound up in professors' homes for talk into the night, and he began to know and tell the truths white America hadn't known.

Armed with the trust of Southern Negroes, Popham turned to the Southern whites and began trying to put the story together. He gives credit for his own insights to the interpretive help he got from those native newspapermen he calls "the lovely ones"—the Ralph McGills and Hodding Carters and Pete McKnights and Harry Ashmores, and the Harold Flemings and George Mitchells and the young professors who had studied under Odum. He traded his shoe-leather information with them in return for an interpretive "brilliance I could only borrow from them," and he wrote this journalistic synthesis for the nation.

He went hunting his own white child-friends of the 1920's—"the

lovely young girls who went to Lake Junaluska in the summer for the Methodist assemblies, the girls and boys who wore on their Sunday jackets the markers that showed their accomplishment as Bible readers, the boys and girls who dreamed and who talked far into the summer night about the world they would explore, the carefree and happy ones—where did they go, how did they feel; did the seeds of their churchly background and courteous Southern manners always fall on barren ground?

"I went searching for them in the sense that I visited with white Southerners everywhere, stood in packed halls making what we call our Southern conversation—the little references that permit you to trace the early life rather swiftly—his recollection of Hi-Y days, of football games, of dancing the Charleston, of wringing the head off the chicken in the backyard to prepare for Sunday dinner, of freezing the ice cream on the back porch in summer—and of course the intimate expression, at this point, of how he really feels about race."

He quickly found those who made the segregationist South less than monolithic—"the agronomist at the state university experiment station, the nutritionist in the high school system, the dedicated church worker, the unassuming technician in a host of new industries and installations. And often it would be a topflight businessman, one of that breed with vision who could take some local challenge to ameliorate things or harmonize the race relations, and would carry it as far as he could go before he lost his 'safe' ground."

It was in those years that Pop learned the white South was not a monolith and the Negro was not a mute, and he laid down the background, for what was to come, as it surely did.

THROUGH all those years, and now at Chattanooga, Pop kept coming back and back to his chief conviction that education is the liberating factor for a group in change. "This more than anything else allows a man to shed that myth and take on new views without too much hurt and with no need for any organized violence."

And he has backed up his work as a managing editor—"one tries to shape a newspaper to the needs of the community"—with outside service on countless committees that support Southern education programs. When he's not hustling off to the corners of the South to to help boards plan the programs, he's beating off invitations to talk about them from program chairmen who know of his golden oratory.

He loves to bulge the eyes of young managing editors with tales of his days covering Dewev's gangbusters, Tammany Hall, the Lindbergh kidnapping and Murder, Inc. But he is, above all, one of those really good men who came to the South to see it through—to apply his understanding and his gift to helping his kinfolks at least see things clearly through the ordeal of shedding a myth.

His boy, John N., IV, and his girl, Hilary B., are teenagers making splendid records in Chattanooga. With their getting older, he hopes to get out of the office and visit around the South more. He'll be welcome wherever he goes.

The Arizona Courts and the Press

by WILLIAM R. MATHEWS
Arizona Daily Star

An excerpt from the Zenger Award address made for Arthur Krock.

THE matter of responsibility has become increasingly important in the relations of the press and news media with the courts and the administration of justice. Within the past year there have been two cases in our local courts involving the role of the press in the matter of fair trials for the defendants.

The first one is known as the Hunt case, where the county attorney's office, through its printed press releases, and the chief officer's appearance on TV, went beyond the area of responsible objectivity. The press, by giving circulation to his utterances in print and on the screen, shared that failure to be fair. (The Star refused to print that material.) The defendant was convicted, but appealed the case. The appellate court ordered a new trial. The Star commended Judge Frank Gordon of Mohave County for his decision. He wrote the opinion, declaring that both the press and TV went beyond the area of responsible objectivity.

The Schmid case involved the act of one man killing three girls in their teens. It was a gory story that made headlines throughout the world.

Again the Star played the news in a low but accurate key. It refused to editorialize until Judge Richard N. Roylston of the local superior court issued a restraining order to the county attorney, and enjoined the sheriff and police chief, and employes of the county who were not attorneys, to abide by the same instruction. The Star upheld the judge. Most of the other Arizona papers denounced the judge's act as curbing the freedom of the press. The Tucson and Phoenix chapters of Sigma Delta Chi chimed in with vigorous criticism. The Associated Press Managing Editors, meeting in Phoenix, passed a resolution calling the decision "press muzzling."

Personally, I think that this restraining order against the county attorney, sheriff and police chief, deserves wide commendation. It sets forth a reasonable way to meet the contingencies all of the press and news media of our country most certainly will face on the matter of a fair trial for all defendants. It sets a wise judicial precedent.

The heart of Judge Roylston's decision recounts the dilemma he faced, and why he issued his order.

> *"If I were to grant any type of restraining order in this, I think, without question, I would be infringing in some way into the question of the freedom of the press. On the other hand, I think if I fail to do anything, I would be infringing on the rights of the defendant to have an impartial jury at his trial.*
>
> *"So it is a just question of which constitutional right is going to take precedence over the other one and in what area. This is what we must have eventually defined for us by the higher courts."*

As an editor I do not believe that these two rights of freedom of the press and to a fair trial can be codified into regulations, informal agreements or laws. I do believe, however, that there always will be, under the American system, a gray area where a responsible press must conduct itself with the same fairness and decency every editor would like to have when his life and freedom might be at stake in a court. It is also the duty of all judges to

(continued on page 16)

Free Newspapers
Cath. Court.

May 3, 1967

Mr. Eugene Patterson, Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Gene:

All of us here extend our warmest congratulations on your receipt of the Pulitzer.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 5/19/67 file Newspapers

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

EUGENE PATTERSON
Editor

May 17, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N W
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Your thoughtfulness in writing me about the Pulitzer meant a great deal to me. Many, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Gene

Eugene Patterson

See Newspapers.
Ed. Court.

June 21, 1967

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Gene:

A note to underscore my agreement with your column this morning that racism is racism and anyone concerned with such things certainly needs a univeraal standard.

Stokeley's recent behavior certainly is a classic of shouting fire in the crowded theatre, and as is always the case with demogagues, innocent people are the victims. We shall attempt at SRC to find occasion to say this.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File: Newspapers etc
Atl. Journal

September 26, 1967

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
The Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Reese:

Just a note to tell you how much I enjoyed your piece in the September Atlanta Magazine.

Beautiful, important writing!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Jim
Washington Post
Atlanta Journal

November 28, 1967

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
The Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Reese:

Enclosed is a copy of a clipping from the Washington Post, I believe. I am told he is a very fine person and that he has done a superb job in the kinds of things we are interested in.

Thought you would like to know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

See: Newspapers, et al.
Atl. Const. - Life fellows
Cr. ref. Judge Waring.
re: death of J. Waties Waring
Jan. 1968
See: Atl Const. Editorial
of Jan. 12 1968 by
Gene Patterson

January 16, 1968

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor
Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Gene:

Just a note to thank you for your excellent piece on Judge Waring. I am so glad you did it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File Newspapers et al

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

EUGENE PATTERSON
Editor

January 22, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N W
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I appreciated your note about my column on Judge Waring. Certainly he deserved it. I am glad that you thought so. We tend to forget too soon in the turn of the generations.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Gene

Eugene Patterson

file
newspapers, etal
Atl. Const

April 10, 1968

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Gene:

Of the thousands of words I have read on Martin Luther King's assassination, your comments this morning were the most pertinent and the most meaningful. I hope you will continue to express these thoughts frequently.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File Newspapers.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30302

EUGENE PATTERSON
Editor

April 12, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N W
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

I especially appreciate your note about the King column. I hope this bad event has moved us some way toward the light.

Sincerely,

Gene

Eugene Patterson

September 26, 1968

Mr. Eugene C. Patterson
2855 Normandy Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Gene:

For a long time I have suspected that you have been trapped in the middle by any number of forces and pressures. So far as I am concerned, it takes not only a very good man but a very strong man to serve under such circumstances. You have certainly proven yourself to be both, and I hope that now some of the yahoos of this community finally will realize that.

While I hope to speak to you on the telephone before you receive this letter, I did want to write and have it a matter of record that you know how much I have appreciated the contributions you have made to this community.

With warmest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Invite to Annual Winner

October 22, 1968

Mr. Eugene Moore
The Atlanta Journal
Box 4689
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Dear Eugene:

It was a pleasure talking with you yesterday. After you had gone my secretary discovered the correspondence you mentioned. Copies are enclosed.

While I think it important for you to have this information, I do hope and know you will be discrete in using it, since many of our friends and supporters are readers of the New-Republic. Of co-equal importance, it seems to me, are the facts of Miss Lil's early firm beliefs and refusal to do anything which she interpreted compromising, and her later warm relationship with the SRC.

If we can be of any further help, give me a call.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2.

The Atlanta Journal
Covers Dixie Like the Dew

AREA 404 · JA 2-5050 · BOX 4689 · ATLANTA, GA. 30302

October 21, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Many thanks for your time and for the interview about Lillian Smith. It was quite helpful, particularly the information about her relationship with the SRC. I'd like to know more about that if anything else occurs to you. And if possible I'd like to see the correspondence that you believe Miss Titus borrowed from your files.

I'll look forwoard to the meeting on the 13th, to the address by your president and to the awarding of the plaque to George Tindall.

Sincerely,

Eugene

Eugene Moore

December 4, 1958

Miss Margaret Shannon
The Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Shannon:

This is just a note to express my appreciation for your excellent article in last Sunday's Journal-Constitution.Magazine.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File

The Atlanta Journal
Covers Dixie Like the Dew
AREA 404 · JA 2-5050 · BOX 4689 · ATLANTA, GA. 30302

Paul:

I appreciate the note from you.

Here's an earlier article I meant to send you and, I believe, didn't.

Best,

Reese Cleghorn

The Housing Report reproduction methods really dress it up -- it looks like something.

October 29, 1953

Mr Harry S Ashmore
ARKANSAS GAZETTE
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr Ashmore:

This is a reminder of your kind promise to have someone send over to me a copy of the paper containing the account of Governor Cherry's statement about his intent to comply with whatever may be demanded by the Supreme Court.

Good to see you a few nights ago.

Have a copy of a letter from Ocie Lee Smith to you. Do give one more push to finding someone suitable for carrying on the Arkansas Division.

I had never answered your letter about the Board. The technicality of it is that your membership on the Board expired with the new elections held May 15, 1953; and as you did not accept re-election you are a free-wheeling member of the Council without responsibility for the Board. Here is the list of the new fifty-man Board.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure-1

RECEIVED
OCT 22
Southern Regional Council

1500 Bishop St.
Little Rock, Ark.
Oct. 20, 1953

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
Editor Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Ashmore:

I told Rev. Deer before he left thta I would make contact with you, sothat we can make an effort to sevive our Ark. Chapter of the SRC. Thus far I have not done so, so I thought to write you in this regard.

Although I am Vice-Chairman of this chapter I beleive it would be expedient for you and another White memeber of the chapter, (I suggest Mrs. W. Floyd Bates) to call a meeting sometimes early in November. We need to hold an election of officers, and make plans for the continuance and growth of our chapter.

I feel sure you understand why I say I don't think it expedient for me to take the lead in this, if not, I will explain when I see you. You and Mrs. Bates are members of the Executive Board, which positions may be used as your authority. At-any-rate lets get to work and get things amoving, I am ready whenever you holler.

Sincerely, O.L.S.

cc: Mrs. W. Floyd Bates, 125 Atkins, Rose City, Ark.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E., Atlants, Ga.

Charge all mistakes to the inefficiency of my secretary Vera; Ocie L. Smith

making plans with secretary of Ark Assoc for Negro teachers regarding the material

Will write you soon. about this

Ocie Lee

Gazette Publishing Company, Publishers

Arkansas Gazette.

Established 1819
Arkansas's Leading Newspaper

Little Rock

RECEIVED
NOV 5
Southern Regional C

November 3
1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

As I am sure Harold Fleming has told you by now, we talked a little bit while he was here about finding someone to carry on the Arkansas Division. I'm afraid I haven't come up with a live prospect yet, but I am still looking.

I hope you didn't feel that my decision not to seek re-election to the Board reflected any lack of faith in the Council. It was simply, as I explained, a matter of having too many commitments to permit my doing justice to the work.

Incidentally, I saw Hodding Carter this morning as he was passing through town, and I think there is a chance to interest him in the Council's work in Mississippi.

I am up to my ears in the Ashmore project, so I trust you will forgive me for not sending along the account of Governor Cherry's statement. I am enclosing it with this.

Regards,

Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor

HSA:map

April 2, 1954

Mr. Harry Ashmore
The Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

Happily the Fund for the Republic has agreed to a grant to SRC which will enable us to get State programs with paid personnel. Money enough, in prospect, to run for three or three and a half years, with a full time State executive, a clerk, usual office expenses, travel, and part of the services of a Negro associate, divided among every two or three States.

The grant will not be publicly announced until Sunday week, April 11.

We want to proceed soundly. I realize that the Arkansas Division of SRC is in the doldrums. Will you be thinking about how it should be reconstituted, in order that its Board would really reflect thoughtful Arkansas opinion? We could talk further about it at the Williamsburg meeting.

The State organizations can take any name they wish. Whole object is to build on-going programs, State by State, which could move ahead independently after the promised assistance comes no more.

We are not in a hurry. If Arkansas's body got really under way by October we would be gratified.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/m

April 20, 1954

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

We are as sorry as can be not to have you at the Williamsburg meeting. You are really to be a key figure in the subject that will be up, and your not being there will leave a real hole. But we will get it all out on the table and do as good a thinking job as we can.

I saw in great delight Jonathan's speech and rather think we will carry it soon in New South.

Walker tells me that a small meeting of our Arkansas friends will occur April 23, to do some first planning for a revived Arkansas movement. I count heavily on you for informal advice to them then and later on.

The enclosed first memorandum outlines the offer we can make. Do read it if you can possibly find the time. Copies of which were sent to the president of the Arkansas division and to the Arkansas members of the Board of the SRC.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED
APR 14 1954
Southern Regional Council

Gazette Publishing Company, Publishers

Arkansas Gazette.

Established 1819
Arkansas's Leading Newspaper

Little Rock

April 12
1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

When Harold Fleming first told me that the Williamsburg meeting had been set for the first week in May I expressed my dismay. Ever since I have been trying to shake loose from the commitments I have here at that time (they have piled up mightily, since I postponed everything while we were laboring on the opus) but I am afraid it will be impossible for me to be away from Arkansas.

I am deeply disappointed that I can't make it.

However, I am pleased that the Fund for the Republic came through with a grant which will enable you to expand the work of the state committees. There is going to be much to do in the wake of the Court decision -- but in many ways I think the job will be easier. I like the term Jonathan Daniels used in his Urban League speech recently (which I commend to you, if you missed it) to the effect that the white and Negro people in the South now have important business together.

I shall be very happy to help in any way I can in establishing or reestablishing the organization in Arkansas. I'll discuss the matter with some people I know are interested within the next few weeks, and will give you a report on their reactions.

Again, my regrets at being unable to attend the Williamsburg meeting.

Regards,

HSA

Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor

HSA:map

Ashmore, Harry

MEMO TO Phil Coombs, Phil Hammer and Harold Fleming:

Well, sir, there was a time about 3 a.m. this morning when I seemed to hear old John Calhoun whispering in my ear. Sounded like he was saying: What was that stuff that hit the fan?

Looking out over the debris this morning, I'm right proud of the South. Herman Talmadge exploded on schedule, but virtually every other politician of standing took to the high ground. And the Southern press, as I have had a chance to check it so far, seems to have acted with complete responsibility.

Put this down to undue immodesty if you will, but I am convinced that the project had a lot to do with it. The book was in the hands of all the key editors and most of the politicians by the time the blow fell, and it can only have had a soothing influence. Furthermore, I am convinced they will be turning to it in the critical days ahead. I believe we can already assure the Justice that the Fund's risk capital investment is paying dividends.

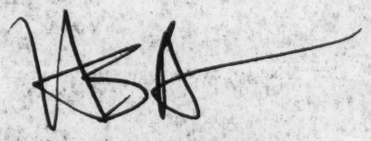
Incidentally, while I have by no means seen all the Southern reviews of the book I have looked over a couple of dozen. All are favorable, and most important of all, everywhere we are being credited with objectivity. Remarkably enough, at this reading at least, we haven't been blasted anywhere.

Since the decision came down yesterday I have talked to dozens of people all over Arkansas, many of them educators. A few are distressed, but all are calm. Actually, if I had to define the prevailing feeling here -- and I believe this is generally true over the South except in the really hot spots-- I would say it is one of relief that the other shoe has finally dropped. There is a great difference in brooding over an abstraction and wrestling with a concrete problem that has edges you can get hold of. I think I can see the beginning of that time I have always dreamed of -- when you can conduct a conversation in the South without having it degenerate into an argument over where a man should sit in a street car.

The manner in which the Court handed down the decision was magnificent -- so much so that I am thinking about writing a fan letter to the Chief Justice if I can only figure out the protocol in the matter. The unanimous opinion spiked many a gun, and the setting of the new precedent well in advance of handing down the specific decrees was a master-stroke. It gives everybody time to get used to the idea, and opens the possibility of intelligent and specific argument on ways and means before the Court which was impossible while the advocates felt they would have to concede their major point if they

discussed anything less than Armageddon.

We've got a good many things to talk about now -- including possible revision of the book -- but I'm passing these for the moment in favor of these random reflections. Also, I am sending along a copy of one of the nation's great newspapers -- not only because I am proud of the job my boys did under the gun last night, but because I think it is very probably the most comprehensive roundup available anywhere at the moment. Yours in the faith,



Dred Scott Ashmore

May 18, 1954

Gazette Publishing Company, Publishers

Arkansas Gazette.

Established 1819
Arkansas's Leading Newspaper

Little Rock

April 6, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you all.

It's a very unnerving experience to have a title and no book to go under it, but in New York last week W. W. Norton Company kept waving a contract at me and so I suppose I'm going to have to sign it. When I got through with the last one, it was my feeling that I not only would never write another book but I doubted that I would ever read one. Ah, well, all such resolutions die an early death.

When are you coming out this way? Make it soon.

Regards,

HSA

Harry S. Ashmore

HSA:map

Gazette Publishing Company, Publishers

Arkansas Gazette

Established 1819
Arkansas's Leading Newspaper

Little Rock

7 October
1955

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your kind note about my decision to join Adlai Stevenson.

I know it's going to be an interesting year for me, and I hope it will turn out to be a profitable one for the Governor.

I'll be going to Chicago early in October, and my address will be 231 South LaSalle Street. Don't forget where I am.

Regards,

HSA

Harry S. Ashmore

HSA:map

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Ashmore

February 7, 1956

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
231 South LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Harry:

We got a batch of hate group materials the other day, and I thought you would be interested in the characterization of Arkansas in the attached memorandum. They evidently don't know that you are now a Negrophile emeritus.

The description of Oklahoma on the second page is also noteworthy.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Enc.

C O P Y

From the People Column - ARKANSAS GAZETTE 2-16-56

INDUSTRY ASKS FOR STABILITY FIRST OF ALL

To the Editor of the Gazette:

There may not seem at first glance to be any connection between the efforts of Arkansas to obtain new industries and its efforts to solve the school integration problem. But I think there is an important connection and that more thought ought to be given to it.

It is not that the average industrialist in the North and East has any strong feelings about Negroes, one way or the other. I doubt that he does, any more than the average citizen outside the South. He probably has little social contact with Negroes, but the thought that they are not entitled to equal rights probably never has occurred to him.

But he is interested strongly, when considering the establishment of a new plant, in the stability of the society and the government and the general attitudes of the people in a region which is new to him.

And he has a big nation in which to choose. It should not be supposed in the South that only the Southern states are making strong efforts to attract industry. Every state in the Union is doing it, some of them spending far more money in their efforts than would be possible for Arkansas.

Does anyone really think that the kind of industrialist Arkansas wants and needs is going to be attracted to a state where there is a prospect of years of turmoil and expensive litigation before it decides how its public schools are going to be operated? The fly-by-night sweatshop operator would not be concerned about such matters, of course, because he doesn't care what kind of atmosphere he is in so long as he has cheap labor and a free tax ride.

But any community which thinks this kind of "industry" is a blessing is due for a sad awakening.

I have been away from Arkansas too long to know how the people feel about integration of the public schools, but I can imagine that there is a good deal of opposition to it in some parts of the state. That was anticipated, obviously, in the Supreme Court order, which allowed for a slow and gradual process of integration. But to talk of a refusal even to begin the process and to smoke the opium of the "interpositionists" is something else again. The years of friction, turmoil and waste of the taxpayer's money that such a course would entail would make Arkansas unattractive to even the potential tourist, much less a responsible industrialist who is seeking a peaceful, orderly place in which to establish a plant.

The campaign to attract industry to Arkansas has made a splendid start. It would be a tragedy if its efforts were nullified by other actions which made it appear that the people of Arkansas are not mature enough for it to share in the orderly prosperity our nation is enjoying.

Arlington, Va. Douglas Smith

December 12, 1956

AIR MAIL

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

I had meant to follow up our brief conversation in Atlanta long before now, but was deflected first by a three-day fact-finding visit from John Bartlow Martin (who is doing a series on The Problem for the Saturday Evening Post) followed immediately by a severe case of the pip, from which I am still trying to recover.

Anyhow here is the policy memo that was approved by our annual meeting. It leaves something to be desired as a full exposition of what I have in mind -- particularly with respect to contemplated services to the press and other media. But it will at least give you the basic idea.

I will call you within a couple of days to discuss chances of our sitting down together for full discussion -- not on business, I hope.

Meanwhile all the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

P. S. I only discovered after you had gone that Martin and you were fellow workers in the campaign. He said he hopes to see you in the course of his Southern travels.

April 18, 1957

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

Here's a copy of our request to the Fund, as formally adopted by our Executive Committee yesterday. Before preparing it, I talked at length with Freeman about form, length, terms, etc., and this reflects his suggestions.

I hope you will feel, as we do, that it's a sound and reasonable proposal. I'll be looking forward to discussing it with you when we get together week after next.

I hope you were serious about its being convenient for me to stop over with the Ashmores on Thursday, May 2. If for any reason it turns out not to be, don't fail to let me know.

It will be good to get together again.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

Enclosure

June 19, 1957

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mas'r Harry:

The rest of your MS arrived as I was on the eve of a trip behind Union lines. I read it straight through with relish last night and have sent it over to McGill today.

Aside from a proprietary twing at your brief but rugged dismissal of human relations folk, I have nothing but praise. I will hope for a chance to communicate with you in a more full-lipped fashion soon. Meanwhile, all the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 27, 1957

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

Thanks for your note of condolence on Bim Price's article. It seems to have run everywhere except in Atlanta, for which I suppose I should be profoundly grateful.

When I talked to Hutchins in New York last week, I found a copy of your manuscript prominently displayed on his desk. He spoke of it and you warmly, and we agreed that you had achieved the remarkable feat of offending everybody except the most hardened advocates of pure cussedness. We included ourselves in that category, of course, and found a common identity in the old politician's remark to you about running for S.O.B. without opposition.

I thought you ought to see a copy of the enclosed article from the American Mercury, since it builds all of us properly and in its own unintentional way is a delightful piece of prose.

Best,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Cleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 article taken from American Mercury

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Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

SEPTEMBER 30, 1957

HARRY S. ASHMORE
ARKANSAS GAZETTE
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

GREAT JOB ON "FACE THE NATION." MAN, YOU WERE

REAL SARTORIS.

HAROLD FLEMING

Arkansas Gazette.
LITTLE ROCK
ARKANSAS

OFFICE OF THE
EDITOR

11 November 1957

Dear Mr. Constable:

You have my permission to reprint in New South my speech before the Anti-Defamation League at Washington (November, 1956.)

Sincerely,

Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October 14, 1957

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Ashmore:

The October 14, 1957 issue of NEW LEADER carried an article by you which I understand is a speech given to the Anti-Defamation League.

I think the article excellent, and wonder if I might have permission to reprint it in NEW SOUTH.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Sol Markoff from Harry S. Ashmore, Arkansas Gazette

REGARDING:

Grant for Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DATE

February 14, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

New York Foundation

JULY 29, 1958

AIR SPECIAL

MR. HARRY ASHMORE, EXECUTIVE EDITOR
ARKANSAS GAZETTE
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

DEAR COLONEL:

I HAVE JUST RECEIVED A COPY OF A LETTER WRITTEN YOU BY GEORGE CULBERSON INVITING YOU TO BE THE BANQUET SPEAKER ON NOVEMBER 19 IN PITTSBURG.

NAIRO IS AN OLD AND WELL-ESTABLISHED ORGANIZATION. IT IS, IF YOU WILL EXCUSE THE EXPRESSION, THE AMA OF THE INTER-GROUP RELATIONS FIELD. I AM PRESENTLY ONE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS OF NAIRO.

I KNOW YOU ARE ONE OF AMERICA'S BUSIEST MEN, BUT I URGE YOU TO ACCEPT THIS INVITATION IF IT IS AT ALL POSSIBLE. IT WOULD BE A REAL SERVICE TO THE MANY PROFESSIONALS WHO WORK IN THE VARIOUS HUMAN RELATIONS ORGANIZATIONS ACROSS THE NATION.

WE ARE ALL KEEPING OUR FINGERS CROSSED ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF TODAY'S EVENT IN ARKANSAS.

IF YOU COME TO PITTSBURG, I WILL PERSONALLY PROVIDE THE SUPPLIES FOR ELBOW-BENDING.

YOUR REBEL COUSIN,

FREDERICK B. ROUTH
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

FBR:ls

August 11, 1958

Mr. Harry Ashmore, Editor
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Cousin Harry:

Thanks for the copy of your letter to George Culberson. I appreciate how far you have to dig. Naturally I am disappointed you couldn't make it for I was one of those who avidly pushed your name.

I can well understand your reluctance to take on any additional burdens at the present time.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

ARKANSAS GAZETTE
Little Rock, Arkansas

August 5, 1958

Dear Mr. Culberson:

I am deeply grateful for the invitation to appear before the conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials in Pittsburgh on November 19 and regret that is is impossible for me to accept.

Unfortunately, my present commitments are such that I simply cannot take on any additional speaking engagements in the months ahead.

Sincerely,

Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor

Mr. George W. Culberson
National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials
518 City County Building
Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

cc: Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

FRED — SORRY — I'M STILL DIGGING OUT FROM UNDER THE LANDSLIDE — HSA

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

December 17, 1958

Mr. Harry Ashmore
Editor
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

I understand J. B. Matthews is rampant on a field of radicals out there and is doing his usual job on everybody left of John Temple Graves.

I can't recall whether I sent you the enclosed editorial which Virginius Dabney ran some weeks ago; in any case, you've probably seen it. Considering the source, I thought it might be useful at this point, and I wanted to be sure you had it. It may well be that Matthews is already so thoroughly discredited that this is superfluous, but that is for you to judge.

Much, much too long since we sat down together for a quiet sob or an agonizing laugh. I've been counting on old John Griffin to remedy that by bringing you back for an encore at Emory. I gather he still hopes to do that and am looking forward to the day.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Richmond T-D Editorial)

Arkansas Gazette.
LITTLE ROCK
ARKANSAS

OFFICE OF THE
EDITOR

April 14, 1959

Dear Cousin:

I have more funerals than I can say grace over. Please tell the folks I'm sorry.

Regards,

Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

April 8, 1959

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Harry Ashmore
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

An Arlington Council on Human Relations has been cranked up and will be holding its first major public meeting in May. It's a reasonably strong group -- as you might expect of Arlington -- and they are anxious to get a top-flight speaker -- namely, you.

For some reason, they have asked me to proposition you. I told them, of course, that such meetings are to you as funerals are to preachers. Then it struck me that you might find a Washington trip timely.

Anyway, if you are available for a one-night stand any time between May 10-22, the meeting could be scheduled accordingly. They would expect an attendance of 300 to 500 souls. And they have a sufficient treasury to pay travel expenses plus an honorarium of $100. If you can be had, they will write you in more detail.

Give me a simple "yea" or "nay" when you get a chance.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

Arkansas Gazette.
LITTLE ROCK
ARKANSAS

OFFICE OF THE
EDITOR

June 11, 1959

Dear Cousin:

The Klan material finally floated in on the uncertain tides of the Republican postal service, and got here in time for us to buttress the Hightower piece on Sunday. I think this fellow is more sheet salesman than zealot, and is likely to wind up like the nervous bank robber if he tries anything.

I have your release on your two new hands. If they're as good as they sound they ought to bring the roses back to your withered cheeks.

Regards,

Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

July 20, 1959

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Cousin Harry:

Many thanks for the full text of Chester Bowles' speech. (I had seen an expurgated version in the New Republic or somewhere that managed to divest it of most of its merit.) We share your high estimate of it and are reprinting it in full in New South.

While I'm writing, do you know a young fellow there named Donald Hall? I believe he works for the Little Rock Industrial Development Corporation, or whatever that private outfit is. He has greatly impressed some of the savants at the University of Chicago and Vernon Eagle, the executive of the New World Foundation. They are eager to find him grocery money (New World can't help for charter reasons) to write a major opus on how Little Rock lost its voice and (hopefully) regained it. I promised Vernon I would ask you whether you knew the guy and, if so, whether you shared the feeling of enthusiasm for what he might do along these lines.

Have you heard the latest definition of Yom Kippur? It's "Instant Lent."

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

Arkansas Gazette.

MEMO from EXECUTIVE EDITOR

Date 10 JULY

To: COUSIN HAROLD FLEMING

RECEIVED JUL 13 1959

SEEMS TO ME THIS IS WORTH RE-PRINTING IN ITS ENTIRETY IN NEW SOUTH. IT SEEMS TO ME TO DEFINE THE REALITY WITHOUT COMPROMISING THE PRINCIPLE — AND THAT AIN'T EASY TO DO.

HSA

Arkansas Gazette.
LITTLE ROCK
ARKANSAS

OFFICE OF THE
EDITOR

July 30, 1959

Dear Cousin:

Donald Hall is a pleasant young man of wealthy family -- and beyond that I have no idea what his capacity to write an opus on Little Rock might be. But he might as well try -- everybody else has.

Thanks for Yom Kippur. In return I offer the girl who fell off her water skis and broke the world's record for the hundred-yard douche.

Regards,

HSA

Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

via air mail

August 28, 1959

Mr. Harry Ashmore
Editor
The Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Harry:

George McMillan called us this morning, with problems. In the interest of time, he had called Chief Smith for a definite appointment next week. Smith said he had thought further about the matter since his conversation with you and had decided he shouldn't give the interview at this time. (He didn't mention last night's tear-gas episode, but I suspect this had something to do with it.) Smith's argument was that he wasn't out of the woods yet, the elementary schools were still to open, and so on. He ended the conversation by saying that he would call you next week if he changed his mind.

McMillan apparently made all the right reassuring noises and reported that the conversation was completely cordial; so I don't think it was a problem of personalities. Unfortunately, McMillan didn't know of last night's events at the school board meeting, or he might have waited for a more propitious time to call. Smith hinted that he might be more receptive after the other schools open on September 8, but McMillan didn't sense much conviction in this.

I wanted you to know about this development, in case Smith should call you next week. If he doesn't call, and you feel you could legitimately approach him again, I'll appreciate it. In any case, we see nothing further to do but wait hopefully for favorable word.

I finally found the list of persons considered for Dabbs' image conference. The definite acceptances I know of so far are Robert Penn Warren, Paul Green, Van Woodward, Hodding Carter, and tentatively Benjamin Mays. Others invited are Clement Eaton (historian, University of Kentucky, proposed by Bell Wiley), Gideon Fryer of the University of Tennessee, Andrew Lytle of the University of Florida, expatriate John Crowe Ransom, and possibly William Faulkner. There have been a few turn-downs including, I believe, Eudora Welty and McGill.

I will pass on your telephone suggestions to Dabbs. If you think of any other obvious choices, do let us have them.

Thanks and regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- I failed to tell you the other day that the new compilation of editorials strikes me as a most impressive job. As they say in jacket blurbs, this is an invaluable piece of current history.

HCF

Arkansas Gazette.
LITTLE ROCK
ARKANSAS

OFFICE OF THE
EDITOR

September 10, 1959

Dear Cousin Harold:

With the faint, familiar smell of burned dynamite in his nostrils, I doubt that Cousin Gene Smith will be in any mood to talk to journalists for a while. He hasn't talked to any of ours, or at least he hasn't said anything we can print.

I suggest, therefore, that George McMillan put the Little Rock Story in the bring-up file for the time being. I'm sure it can eventually be done, and if Gene gets the bombers it will be even better.

I'm still faintly hopeful about Williamsburg, but the great transition is in such a state of flux I can't be definite. Put an image on the back of the stove for me, and I'll try to make it.

Regards,

Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Editor

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-3764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 8, 1960

via air mail

Circulation Department
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Sirs:

Our request was for a three months' subscription to the Arkansas Gazette instead of the year's subscription you billed us for. Will you please make a notation on your records and bill us for the three months' subscription.

Sincerely,

John Constable

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

File - Ashmore

Nieman Lecture

The Story Behind Little Rock Was Its Meaning Lost in Reporting Its Drama?

By Harry S. Ashmore

(The first Nieman Lecture, to mark the 20th year of Nieman Fellowships, was delivered at Harvard, February 21, by Harry S. Ashmore, editor of the Arkansas Gazette. *He discussed the performance of journalism on the Little Rock story. He felt its meaning was largely lost in reporting that limited itself to the surface facts. He saw Little Rock as an illustration of "journalism's unfulfilled responsibility to provide perspective and continuity—to add the why to the what.")*

THEY tell a story down my way—or used to—about a native son who, when he traveled in the great world, always replied to the inevitable query about where he came from by saying, "Arkansas—go ahead and laugh." That, however, was in a simpler time when the state was largely known to those who live in the great cities, and are the most provincial of Americans, as a name which alternated in bad jokes with Oshkosh and Brooklyn.

Since last September there has been nothing funny about Arkansas, or its capital, Little Rock. Outsize headlines have converted the name into a symbol which arouses strong emotions not only among Americans but among people everywhere. It has become a new battle cry for those on both sides of the great moral issue that has divided this nation through most of its history and still divides it. "Remember Little Rock" proclaims the great seal that adorns propaganda-bearing envelopes going out from the headquarters of the Southern Citizens' Councils. The same words have been sounded by Negro hoodlums moving against whites with drawn knives in the slum streets of Northern cities.

For anyone who lives in Arkansas, and particularly for one who practices journalism there, Little Rock has become an inevitable topic of conversation wherever he may find himself. Here in this proud seat of Abolition it is, I know, inescapable. So I shall deal with the Little Rock story tonight—but not so much with the dark and tangled tale itself as with the singular and alarming fact that it is a story so many have heard and so few have understood.

To me, at least, this seems an appropriate place to discuss the matter—particularly since I am here to help celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Nieman Foundation, that remarkable non-academic appendage of the University which once sustained me for part of a memorable year in Cambridge. Perhaps the only pretentious thing about the Foundation is its statement of purpose, as defined in the will of its founder, Agnes Wahl Nieman—"to elevate and promote the standards of American journalism." But I do recall that the little group of police reporters, political correspondents, sports writers, and the like with whom I shared Mrs. Nieman's bounty took the injunction seriously. When we were not sitting at the feet of Harvard's great men we were most often assembled in a saloon, or other place conducive to reflection, pondering the ways of our calling, trade, business or profession. (We never decided exactly what job description best fits journalism, but then better men have tried and failed, before and since.)

This was, as time is reckoned nowadays, a long time ago. The Foundattion was still classified as an experiment; we were the third class of guinea pigs summoned from the city rooms of the nation to see if, through a process of exposure and osmosis, our breed was capable of absorbing a meaningful dose of higher learning. I am too obviously prejudiced a party to pass judgment on the result—but I can note that, without significant departure from its original practices, the experiment has become a permanent institution which commands the respect of the communications industry.

THE world, and journalism, have changed a good deal in these 17 years, and not necessarily for the better in either case. The mass media have expanded to include the formidable newcomer, television, and a new dimension has been added to the raw stuff of history. Newspapers, although financially weakened by the additional competition for attention and the advertising dollar, have improved their techniques; we get the news faster and dish it up in prettier packages. We are as free as we have ever been—which means that we are as free as our proprietors have the heart and the will to be.

Yet with all of this, we seem to be no nearer to a solution to the fundamental problem my generation of Nieman Fellows wrestled with in our after-hours seminars at the Stag Club—how to present the day's events in meaningful perspective. Indeed, in some important ways, we seem to be moving in the opposite direction. The concentration on technique can, and often has become a sort of refuge from this more complex problem. One of the major wire services is still bemused by Dr. Rudolph Flesch's formula which seeks salvation through syntax, and holds that public understanding can be improved through shorter sentences and more frequent paragraphs. It seems to me it doesn't really matter what tools we use so long as we wake up each morning and discover a whole new world, and write about it as though nothing relevant had gone before.

THE Little Rock story is a case in point. It was, by universal judgment, the second biggest news story of the year—topped only by Sputnik. It attracted a concentration of correspondents, photographers, and radio and television technicians comparable to that which assembles for a national political convention. The newspapers, wire services, and networks sent their best men, too—seasoned hands to handle the fast-breaking spot news and think-piece experts to back them up. For many days the story had top priority on every news desk in this country and abroad—which meant the men on the ground could count on whatever space or time it took to report their findings in full. It is fair to say that journalism's best effort went into the Little Rock story.

Yet Harold C. Fleming, the perceptive executive director of the Southern Regional Council, whose business it is to chart the shifting pattern of race relations in the South, has

written of the result:

> ". . . what do the millions of words and television images add up to? Have they given Americans—to say nothing of foreigners—a clearer understanding of the South's malaise? As a result of them, will the national shock be less or the insight greater if a similar eruption accompanies desegregation in Dallas or Charlottesville or Knoxville? We can hope so, but not with much optimism. Only a few major newspapers, like The New York *Times,* a few thoughtful television and radio commentators, and a few good magazines sought to give a meaningful perspective to their reports from Little Rock.
>
> "Conspicuously lacking in most interpretations is any sense of continuity. The upheavals in Tuscaloosa, Clinton and Little Rock were not isolated events, but episodes in an unfolding drama of social change. . ."

So speaks Mr. Fleming, and I can file no dissent from his verdict. All the traditional shortcomings of journalism were on display there on my doorstep. The cowboy reporters rode in to the scent of blood. They did not have to seek for drama; it was thrust upon them, with a complete cast of heroes and villains, and these readily interchangeable, depending upon point of view. I do not charge that the press sensationalized the Little Rock story; the facts themselves were sensational enough to answer any circulation manager's dream. Moreover, I believe that with only rare and negligible exceptions the men and women who wrote the Little Rock story were competent and conscientious. Similarly, I have no reason to believe that any but a tiny handful were bound by any home office policy considerations or blinded by their personal prejudices. They performed their traditional function, within the traditional limits. They braved the mob that formed for some days around the High School, they interviewed the ~~principles~~ PRINCIPALS on both sides and many of the minor characters, they sketched in personalities and filled in color, and some at least tried hard to define the feeling of the community. Over a period of weeks they did a reasonably accurate job of reporting what happened at Little Rock—but as Fleming said, they have failed to tell why it happened.

The reason, I think, is that to American journalism the Little Rock story had an arbitrary beginning and end. It began the day Governor Fuabus surrounded Central High School with his state guard. It continued so long as there was a naked edge of violence. It ended when federal troops restored a surface order to the troubled city. It has had subsequent footnotes only when the edge of violence reemerged in clashes between white and Negro children inside the school. It survives in the press today largely in the sort of occasional oblique reference that passes for the background of more immediate news.

YET it is quite obvious that the Little Rock story did not begin in September. It is equally obvious that it has not ended yet. For Little Rock was simply the temporary focus of a great, continuing, and unresolved American dilemma which touches upon fundamental concepts of morality, of social change, and of law. Journalism has concentrated on only the exposed portion of the iceberg; the great, submerged mass remains uncharted.

It was, admittedly, an extraordinary difficult story to handle. A journalist is trained to seek out spokesmen for both sides in any controversy. They were readily and anxiously available in Little Rock. The case for resistance to the Federal Court's integration order was made at length by Governor Faubus, and bolstered by the more flambouyant utterances of the unabashed racists in the Citizens' Councils. The case for compliance was made by the local school officials, the mayor of the city, and, belatedly, by the president of the United States, with somewhat more passionate arguments freely offered by spokesmen for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. But this was a controversy that had at least three sides. Caught between the committed and dedicated partisans was a substantial and silent mass of plain citizens —confused and deeply disturbed. They were people who deplored desegregation and also deplored violence. They felt, many of them, a deep compassion for the nine Negro children exposed to the anger and contempt of a white mob. But they also felt that the Negro children should not be attending the white school in the first place. They had been, most of them, willing to undertake what they considered the unpleasant duty required by the courts. But then, at the last moment, their governor had stepped forward and proclaimed that what they had accepted as the law was without substance—and that their failure to resist desegregation amounted to treason to their own traditions and to their own people. It may be true that most of those who accepted this thesis—and the majority have done so to some degree—did so with conscious rationalization. But it is also true that when emotion triumphed over reason they did not actively join the crusade of the governor and the Citizens' Councils; rather they simply subsided into troubled silence and by so doing withdrew their support from those few who attempted to stand against the tide. And because they were silent their attitude went largely unreported; the press took due note of the fact that in fairly short order Governor Faubus was obviously in command of the field; but here again it did not explain why—which is the heart of the story.

IT can be argued that these matters are too subtle for the proper practice of journalism—that those who rode to Little Rock as though it were a four-alarm fire could not be expected to plumb the hidden attitudes of the populace, and indeed that the effort to do so would represent a dangerous departure from proper standards of objectivity. Perhaps so, but there were other aspects of the Little Rock story that were equally vital and by no means so elusive. There was, conspicuously, the failure of leadership in Washington which matched the default of Southern leadership and made the ultimate showdown between state and federal force inevitable.

Before pursuing this thesis I should, perhaps, note that I am, to borrow Sam Rayburn's description of himself, a Democrat without suffix, prefix or apology. It should be noted too that I spent ten months in the wilderness with

Adlai Stevenson in 1956, when the Democratic candidate's cries on this subject, along with all others, went largely unheeded. But, making all due allowance for my prejudice, I submit that the record shows that from May, 1954, when the United States Supreme Court reversed the old Plessy doctrine, until September, 1957, when the chickens finally fluttered in to roost in Little Rock, the Eisenhower administration took no affirmative action to pave the way for the sweeping social change the Court required or to temper the inevitable dislocations it would occasion. Indeed, the incredible fact is that the administration without preliminary moved directly to the ultimate resort of armed force, and then was confounded by its own belated audacity.

It required no delicate thumbing of the public pulse to chart the course of growing defiance in the South. It was evident in the violent utterances of some of the South's public men and in the silence of others. It was made a matter of record in the passage of a variety of restrictive laws in the Southern legislatures. A conspicuous public monument was erected in Washington when 100 Southern members of the Senate and House signed their breast-beating Manifesto in the spring of 1956. Yet Mr. Eisenhower's only reaction to all this was an occasional bemused press conference statement about the difficulties of changing the minds and hearts of men. His administration, it is true, made token efforts to pass stringent civil rights legislation—which only served to lacerate the Southerners in Congress and certainly had an adverse effect upon their minds and hearts. And, of course, Vice-President Nixon, in the days before he sheathed his hatchet, along with other administration spokesman, made the proper obeisance to their party's Abolitionist tradition when they were campaigning in those areas where the Negro vote is heavy. But at no time did Mr. Eisenhower attempt to use the great moral force of his office to persuade Southerners of the justice of the course the Supreme Court required of them, or his great personal prestige in the region to allay their fears that they were being forced into a revolutionary rather than an evolutionary course. Nor did he employ the vast political powers of his office to negotiate with the recalcitrant Southern political leaders from a position of strength.

I am not one who accepts without reservation the thesis that the Republican allegiance of most of the proprietors of the press has been translated into a conspiracy to wrap Mr. Eisenhower in bunting and protect him against criticism. I do not believe that this was a primary cause of the press' conspicuous failure to take due note of the troubles that were shaping up in the South, and of the administration's apparent unawareness. I suspect that it stems rather from the limiting journalistic axiom that what happens is news, and what doesn't isn't.

Thus the reporters rode into the region only when there was action—when a couple of red-necked hoodlums in back-woods Mississippi dropped Emmett Till into a river, or a mob ruled that Autherine Lucy couldn't attend the University of Alabama, or John Kasper incited the citizens of Clinton to wrath. In between, an occasional reporter, usually from one of the magazines, toured the region, but these too often caught only the sound and the fury on the surface. A notable example was the series in the *Saturday Evening Post* last summer called "Dixie Says Never." The author, John Bartlow Martin, is a competent and conscientious practitioner, but his pieces were largely distilled from the utterances of the extremists without any qualifying balance. The certainly unintentional result was to give national credence to the contention of the Councilmen that they spoke for the whole of the Southern people, and the Council leaders themselves regarded the *Post* series as invaluable propaganda in their campaign to enforce the doctrine of brute resistance upon the silent majority. But the other and equally essential part of the story—the drift in Washington—went largely unnoticed except by a few peripheral critics who address a limited audience.

IF the reporting of the prelude to Little Rock was conspicuously inadequate, it seems to me that the postlude provides an even more distressing example. The stirring martial events of September were, it is true, somewhat confusing—particularly when President Eisenhower and Governor Faubus held their historic peace conference at Newport and there remained some doubt as to who came out with whose sword. Out of the communiques issued by the White House on this occasion, however, and the later meeting with the intermediaries from the Southern Governors' Conference, there emerged an assumption that the executive department of the federal government was prepared to back to the utmost the orders of the federal judiciary. This notion was reinforced by the arrival of the 101st Airborne Infantry, and by the presence in Little Rock of so many FBI agents they created a problem of hotel accomodations. Indeed, there was public and official talk of a vast document compiled by the FBI, at the direction of the United States attorney general, presumably in preparation for court action against those who were clearly defying the injunctions of a federal judge. During those fall days the embattled Little Rock School Board, under fire from the state government for carrying out the judge's order and deserted by a city administration intimidated by a show of strength at the polls by a Citizens' Council slate of candidates, waited for the federals to ride to their aid. All they got, as it turned out, was a withdrawal of the regulars of the 101st and a perfunctory guard detail of federalized national guardsmen under orders to observe what went on in the school but not to arrest any malefactors within the school who might come to their attention.

It soon became apparent that this was far from enough to preserve any semblance of order. The mob which once came close to forcing entry into the school did not re-form, it is true, but it didn't need to. A far safer course was to inspire a small group of whites against the isolated Negroes. And as it became apparent that Washington had done all it was going to do, the Citizens' Councils became bolder and bolder in their campaign of intimidation, coercion and boycott directed against any who dared dissent from the defiant course they had chartered. This week the campaign bore its first tangible fruit in the expulsion of one

STUDENTS TO UNDERTAKE A CAMPAIGN OF HARASSMENT

of the nine Negro children who had responded in kind to caluculated mistreatment—an event greeted by the appearance of cards on the lapels of the student activists bearing the cogent notice: "One down—eight to go."

HERE again, in spasmodic, uncoordinated fashion the surface of these events has been recorded by the press. But the other and more significant portion of the story has attracted little attention. In Washington, the decision to leave to the Little Rock School Board the entire burden of carrying out the court order against imposible odds has never been officially announced, in these terms, but has been clearly acknowledged by the Department of Justice. The new attorney general, Mr. Rogers, said that there were no present plans for further legal action in Little Rock. He further noted that the administration had no plans for pressing for additional civil rights legislation as this session of Congress—a matter of some moment since the Justice Department had previously used as an excuse for inaction at Little Rock the failure of Congress to enact the enforcement provisions in the last civil rights bill. These pronouncements were followed by one of the most remarkable scenes enacted on Capitol Hill since adoption of the Missouri Compromise. Mr. Rogers appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee to be interrogated as to his fitness as attorney general, received cordial greetings, and was recommended for confirmation without a single question being addressed to him regarding his past or future course in the Little Rock case—and this before a committee that counts among its members Senators Eastland of Mississippi and Johnston of South Carolina. This singular occurrence was accorded no more than passing mention in the press and no one of consequence speculated in print or on a television tube as to the dimensions of what must have been one of the most remarkable political deals in recent years.

Just as the Little Rock story did not begin in Little Rock, it will not end there—whatever the ultimate fate of the eight children still remaining in the beleaguered high school. These events have already had tragic consequences in Arkansas and the South; those who were disposed to support an orderly adjustment to the new public policy have been discredited and disarmed—not so much by the extremists who are now in control, as by a national administration which deserted them in the first collision between federal and state force and declared in effect that the rule of law propounded by its own courts is not enforceable. And so, by default, what started out as a local issue has been built into a national constitutional crisis.

And it is no less than that—perhaps the most critical the nation has faced since 1860. I do not suggest that civil war is imminent, because of course it isn't. I do say that the drift in Washington has gravely compounded the dislocations that were made inevitable by the historical developments [redacted] affirmed by the Supreme Court in 1954, and has left the country sharply divided on a complex moral and social issue at a time when national unity could be the price of national survival.

THERE are many who share the blame. There is reason to wonder if our system of education has served us adequately when in its ultimate flowering it has produced a generation, north and south, that appears not only unable to grasp the implications of the race problem but unwilling to face it squarely. I have said of the South that its besetting problem is not the accomodation of the rising aspirations of its Negro people, difficult as that may be, but its inability to reduce the issue to rational terms. In slightly different terms the same thing is true of the non-South—called upon now to translate its pious principles into action and blinking painfully over the mote in its own eye.

CONTEXT,

But my concern here is with journalism. No one can say with certainty that the course of events in the South could have been altered had the president exercised firm leadership—or that Mr. Eisenhower would have been disposed to act even if those who are supposed to man the watchtowers of public affairs had sounded the alarm. And now, after the fact, this is perhaps not of consuming importance. But the watchtowers still remain largely silent, and I suggest that this is a matter of pressing concern. For it seems to me that the American people are still not aware of what Little Rock really demonstrated—that not only did the administration have no plan to meet the crisis when it came, but even now, with all the bitter lessons before it, still has ~~charted~~ no effective course of action nor displayed any disposition to do so.

MY

CHARTED

I am the first to argue that time is of the essence in any resolution of the problem. In so delicate an area of human relations progress must be evolutionary. Yet time is of value only if it is put to some practical use; perhaps the most cogent single question yet raised was that put by Francis Pickens Miller of Virgina to a group of Southerners who at a national conference were pleading for a breathing spell. What, he asked, did they propose to do with it? It is clear that the Southern leadership has no program and no policy except the negative one of delay at any price—and part of that price will be a steady deterioration of race relations not only in the South but in the nation at large. And the administration has offered nothing except the politician's usual device for postponing unpleasant decisions—the creation of a study commission, which, if it does not founder on its partisan division, at some distant date presumbably will come up with the facts the press should have been setting forth all along.

THESE then are some of the aspects of the Little Rock story which seem to me to be largely unrecognized or generally misunderstood despite the millions of words that have adorned the front pages and boomed out through the loudspeakers. I suppose that a patient man with endless

time on his hands might have put together the lurid fragments that were hurled at him and divined their meaning—but readers and listeners are usually both impatient and busy. It remains, then, journalism's unfilfilled responsibility to somehow provide perspective and continuity—to add the why to the what.

How can it be done, in the face of the real and in many ways growing limitations of time and space that beset all of us who live by the clock? I will confess that I have no readier answers than I did in the days when we Nieman Fellows brooded over the matter in the Stag Club. But I do know the task is urgent and steadily becoming more so.

And I think perhaps it begins with recognition that this is so—and that, valid as they may be, the excuses we have made to ourselves in private, and the proud boasts of freedom and infallibility we commonly make in public, are no longer good enough. I think we have got to get over the notion that objectivity means giving a villain equal space with a saint—and above all of paying the greatest attention to those who shout the loudest. We've got to learn that a set of indisputable facts do not necessarily add up to truth. Perhaps what we need most of all is simply the courage of our own convictions—to recognize that news is not merely a record of ascertainable facts and attributable opinions, but a chronicle of the world we live in cast in terms of moral values. We will err, certainly, and we will be abused—but we will at least be in position in the watchtowers, trying to tell the story in all its dimensions.

The Presbyterian Outlook

AUBREY N. BROWN
Editor

JAMES S. BROWN
Business Manager

DIAL 2-9492 . 1 NORTH 6TH STREET . RICHMOND 19, VA.

Old in Service . Established 1819 . New in Spirit

February 11, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Thank you for your recent note. The program committee is delighted to anticipate your discussion on April 13 in Washington. You will be receiving the printed program later on.

Gratefully yours,

Aubrey N Brown

ANB/dk

FEB 14 1955

January 19, 1955

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown
Editor
The Presbyterian Outlook
One North Sixth Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brown:

Fair enough. I can be there the 13th of April, and will. I can always do other useful things in Washington, and the $50.00 will make the trip that much easier for the Council.

I look forward to the opportunity to be with that influential group.

When you are ready to hand out exact topics, let me know. I suppose what I do best is to sharpen the question before us on the matter of schools.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

AUBREY N. BROWN, Editor
ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON, Co-editor
JAMES S. BROWN, Business Manager

The Presbyterian Outlook

1 NORTH SIXTH STREET
TELEPHONE 2-9492
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

January 17, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAN 19 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I am very glad to be able to invite you on behalf of the Associated Church Press to speak at our annual meeting in Washington on the morning of April 13. The meeting will be at the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, 212 East Capitol Street. We want you to come and take the period from 11 to 12 o'clock, speaking for perhaps thirty minutes and then giving thirty minutes for questions and discussion on the whole question of integration.

I don't know whether you know about the Associated Church Press or not, but it is the one organization of editors of religious organs in this country, including both official and unofficial publications in its membership. We ordinarily would have about a hundred people in such a meeting.

You recognize that such an organization cannot be expected to be overcome with resources, but we would offer you an honorarium of $50.00 if you could see your way clear to work this into your schedule.

Please let me know as soon as you can about this.

With all good wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,

Aubrey N. Brown

ANB/dk

P. S. I have intended writing you ever since last summer to express my appreciation for the fine things which I heard that you were able to do with that group at Montreat.

March 11, 1955

Mr. William B. Lipphard
Executive Secretary
The Associated Church Press
152 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Lipphard:

All is in order for my end of the meeting of the Associated Church Press in Washington, Wednesday, April 13. The topic "Desegregation and Integration" is quite acceptable. 10:30 a.m. is all right. I will probably arrive on an early morning train and get myself to the meeting.

I shall be staying at the Cosmos Club where the telephone number is Dupont 7-7783.

The only thing I don't yet know is where the meeting is.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE ASSOCIATED CHURCH PRESS

152 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

ROBERT J. CADIGAN
VICE-PRESIDENT
WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

G. ELSON RUFF
PRESIDENT

MRS. DAVID D. BAKER
VICE-PRESIDENT
WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD
TREASURER

February 25, 1955

MAR 4 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Aubrn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am delighted to know through Editor Aubrey N. Brown, of the PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK, that you are to talk to the editors at the annual meeting of The Associated Church Press, in Washington, on Wednesday, April 13.

In the preliminary edition of the program, which is now being printed, I am listing your topic as "Desegregation and Integration" because I did not know how you would prefer to have it phrased. Accordingly, if you will let me know I will change it in the final edition of the printed program.

The time suggested is 10:30 A.M. and I presume a train from Atlanta could bring you into Washington at a convenient hour that morning.

We would like to have you talk for about 30 minutes and then permit another 15 minutes for questions from the floor.

Looking forward with great anticipation to your contribution to our program, I am

Cordially yours,

WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD
Executive Secretary

WBL:MM

I enclose copies of programs of our annual meetings in 1954 and 1953

March 28, 1955

Mr. William B. Lipphard
Executive Secretary
The Associated Church Press
152 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Lipphard:

All is in good order about the meeting April 13th in Washington.

Delighted to stay for lunch and to promise to be there for dinner that evening at 6:00.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE ASSOCIATED CHURCH PRESS

152 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

ROBERT J. CADIGAN
VICE-PRESIDENT
WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

G. ELSON RUFF
PRESIDENT

MRS. DAVID D. BAKER
VICE-PRESIDENT
WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD
TREASURER

March 21, 1955

~~FOR DEPOSIT~~
~~SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.~~

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

MAR 25 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am delighted indeed that you will be with us at our annual meeting in Washington, April 13, and that the topic as I have phrased it is acceptable to you.

A copy of the preliminary program is enclosed, which will give you full information about the entire setup of our annual meeting. We will be delighted to have you as our guest at the luncheon Wednesday noon and at the dinner Wednesday evening, if you can arrange to stay in Washington after your own program participation.

I envy you staying at the Cosmos Club. I had dinner there last week. It is quite an institution. Apparently the former home of Mr. Sumner Wells has ideally been adapted to its purposes.

Our meeting will be held in the Fireside Room of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation at 212 E. Capital St., which is directly behind the Supreme Court Building.

Cordially yours,

WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD
Executive Secretary

WBL:MM

Save the program

April 11, 1955

Mr. William B. Lipphard
Executive Secretary
The Associated Church Press
152 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Lipphard:

I will be Johnny-on-the-spot for the Wednesday morning, April 13, session.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE ASSOCIATED CHURCH PRESS

152 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

ROBERT J. CADIGAN
VICE-PRESIDENT
WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

G. ELSON RUFF
PRESIDENT

MRS. DAVID D. BAKER
VICE-PRESIDENT
WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD
TREASURER

April 7, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director of the
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, C.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

APR 11 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is a copy of the program for next week's annual meeting of THE ASSOCIATED CHURCH PRESS, in Washington, D.C., April 13-15.

I have indicated in blue pencil your own scheduled participation in this program.

Advance registration, as of this date, indicates an attendance of about 100 editors of the Protestant church press. It will be a thoroughly representative audience. I can promise you an attentive and appreciative hearing.

I need not assure you that all of us are deeply grateful to you for taking time out of your busy life to come and take part in this annual meeting. We all look forward with keen anticipation to your contribution to the program.

In case you need to get in touch with me, I shall be registered at the Dodge Hotel, near the Union Station, on and after 6:30 P.M., Tuesday, April 12.

Thanking you again for your participation, I am

Faithfully yours,

WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD,
Executive Secretary

Preliminary Edition

The 36th Annual Meeting

of the

ASSOCIATED CHURCH PRESS

Washington, D. C.
April 13-15, 1955

PROGRAM

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OFFICERS

President, G. ELSON RUFF, Editor, *The Lutheran*

Vice-President, ROBERT J. CADIGAN, Editor, *Presbyterian Life*

Vice-Presdent, MRS. DAVID D. BAKER, Editor, *The Church Woman*

Executive Secretary, WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD, Editor Emeritus, *Missions Magazine*

Treasurer, WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD, Editor Emeritus, *Missions Magazine*

PROGRAM

Program Committee: ROBERT J. CADIGAN, *Chairman*, G. ELSON RUFF, AUBREY N. BROWN, MRS. DAVID D. BAKER, WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD. For tickets, luncheon, dinner, and bus reservations, consult the Executive Secretary.

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

FORENOON SESSION

In the Fireside Room of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, 212 East Capitol Street, behind the Supreme Court Building.

9:30 A. M. — INVOCATION

THE PROGRAM: An interpretation by Robert J. Cadigan
Election of new member publications
Welcome by the President
Changes in editorial personnel
Report of President G. Elson Ruff
Report of Committee on Resolutions (*Action on Friday*), Robert J. Cadigan
Report of Executive Secretary

10:00 A. M. — THE WASHINGTON SCENE, a summary of legislative issues before Congress, by Richard L. Strout

10:30 A. M. — QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

10:45 A. M. — DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION, by George S. Mitchell

11:15 A. M. — QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

11:45 A. M. — ADJOURNMENT

NOTE—Special buses will leave *immediately* after adjournment for the luncheon at the National Press Club.

AFTERNOON SESSION

12:15 P. M. — LUNCHEON at the National Press Club

NOTE—The Associated Church Press will be the guest of the Public Relations Department of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States, and the luncheon program will be under the direction of Donald C. Bolles, and will include as a main feature an address by new Council President Eugene C. Blake.

3:15 P. M. — ADJOURNMENT

3:25 P. M. — Special buses will leave *promptly* for the Department of State.

3:45 P. M. — In the auditorium of the Department of State. Address by John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State. It is expected that his address will be followed by an address by some departmental official who will interpret American foreign policy with particular reference to the present situation in the Far East, with opportunity for questions.

4:45 P. M. — ADJOURNMENT

5:00 P. M. — Special buses will leave *promptly* for the Dodge Hotel as a convenience to editors having hotel accommodations in the Dodge Hotel area.

EVENING SESSION

In the Parish Hall of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation

6:00 P. M. — DINNER

INVOCATION
GREETINGS, by Lawrence D. Folkemer
CURRENT TRENDS IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
A Panel Discussion by Edward L. R. Elson, and Francis B. Sayre, G. Elson Ruff, Chairman

9:30 P. M. — ADJOURNMENT

Thursday, April 14, 1955

FORENOON SESSION

In the Fireside Room of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation

9:30 A. M. — INVOCATION

Report of the Treasurer
Report of the Auditors
Proposed Budget for 1955
Proposed amendments to the Constitution (*Action on Friday*)

9:45 A. M. — DOCTRINE IN THE CHURCH PRESS. A discussion of its place, importance, significance, and relevance for today. Three brief addresses of 15 minutes each, respectively, by: Peter Day, John W. Bradbury, and Andrew Vance McCracken, with the final 15 minutes for questions and discussion.

10:45 A. M. — PROPAGANDA AND THE CHURCH PRESS, by Ralph Lord Roy

11:15 A. M. — QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

11:30 A. M. — EDITORIAL CRUSADES, by John Marvin, Aubrey N. Brown, and Neil M. Compton. Brief addresses of 15 minutes, with the final 15 minutes allotted to questions and discussion.

12:30 Noon — ADJOURNMENT

Each editor makes his or her own arrangements for luncheon

AFTERNOON SESSION

In the Fireside Room of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation

2:15 P. M. — INVOCATION
Time and place of Meeting in 1956

2:30 P. M. — ATTRACTING READER INTEREST, by Claude Stanush

3:15 P. M. — QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

3:30 P. M. — IMPROVEMENT AND PROGRESS IN THE CHURCH PRESS, by Roland E. Wolseley

4:15 P. M. — QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

4:30 P. M. — ADJOURNMENT

NOTE—The program for Thursday may be subjected to modification if an invitation is received to call at the White House. In that event, special buses will make the trip to the White House and return to the church.

EVENING SESSION

In the Parish Hall of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation

5:30 P. M. — RECEPTION

6:00 P. M. — ANNUAL FELLOWSHIP DINNER
INVOCATION
Address: FOREIGN POLICY AND THE CHURCH PRESS, by John W. Nason
Address: IT IS A NEW DAY, by Charles T. Leber
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

9:30 P. M. — ADJOURNMENT

Friday, April 15, 1955

FORENOON SESSION

In the Fireside Room of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation

9:30 A. M. — INVOCATION
Adoption of amendments to the Constitution
Adoption of resolutions
Report of Committee on Nominations, by C. Ray Dobbins
Election of officers and committee members for 1955-1957

10:30 A. M. — UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING
A presentation of this important subject before the American people, respectively by Carter L. Burgess and John Swomley, with 30 minutes each and the final 30 minutes allotted for questions and discussion.

12:00 Noon — ADJOURNMENT

12:30 P. M. — FAREWELL LUNCHEON in the President Room of the Congressional Hotel, within 10 minutes walking distance from the Church
Address. (Speaker to be announced)

3:00 P. M. — FINAL ADJOURNMENT

3:15 P. M. — MEETING OF THE NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE for any business that may have been referred to it.

Who's Who on the Program

EARL FREDERICK ADAMS — Washington Secretary of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States

EUGENE C. BLAKE — President of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States

DONALD C. BOLLES — Editor of *The National Council Outlook,* and Director of Public Relations of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States

JOHN W. BRADBURY — Editor of *The Watchman-Examiner*

AUBREY N. BROWN — Editor of *The Presbyterian Outlook*

CARTER L. BURGESS — Assistant Secretary in the Department of Defense

ROBERT J. CADIGAN — Editor of *Presbyterian Life,* and Vice President of the Associated Church Press

NEIL M. COMPTON — Editor of *The Anglican Outlook* of Canada

PETER DAY — Editor of *The Living Church*

C. RAY DOBBINS — Editor of *The Cumberland Presbyterian*

JOHN FOSTER DULLES — Secretary of State

EDWARD L. R. ELSON — Minister of the National Presbyterian Church in Washington, D. C.

LAWRENCE D. FOLKEMER — Minister of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation

CHARLES T. LEBER—General Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions

WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD—Executive Secretary of the Associated Church Press, and Editor Emeritus of *Missions Magazine*

ANDREW VANCE MCCRACKEN — Editor of *Advance*

JOHN MARVIN — Editor of *The Michigan Christian Advocate*

GEORGE S. MITCHELL — Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council

JOHN W. NASON—President of the American Foreign Policy Association

RALPH LORD ROY — Methodist minister, graduate student at Union Theological Seminary, and author of *Apostles of Discord*

G. ELSON RUFF — Editor of *The Lutheran;* President of the Associated Church Press, 1953-1955; Vice President, 1951-1953; Executive Secretary, 1947-1951

FRANCIS B. SAYRE — Dean of The Washington Cathedral, Washington, D. C.

CLAUDE STANUSH — Religion Editor of *Life* magazine

RICHARD L. STROUT—Washington correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor*

JOHN SWOMLEY — Executive Secretary of the National Council Against Conscription

ROLAND E. WOLSELEY — Professor of Journalism in Syracuse University, and recent Fulbright Lecturer in India

Final Edition

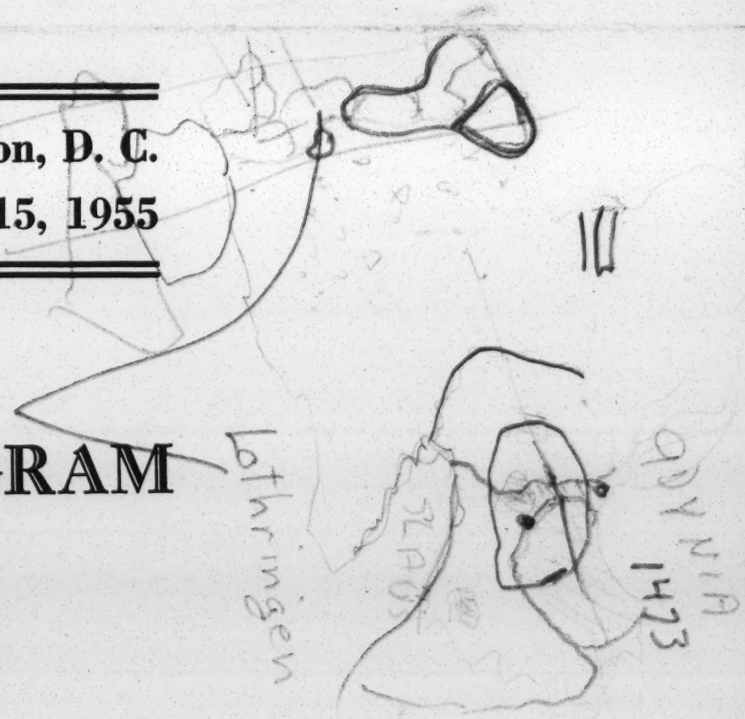
The 36th Annual Meeting

of the

ASSOCIATED CHURCH PRESS

Washington, D. C.
April 13-15, 1955

PROGRAM



OFFICERS

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Program Committee: ROBERT J. CADIGAN, *Chairman*, G. ELSON RUFF, AUBREY N. BROWN, MRS. DAVID D. BAKER, WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD. For luncheon, dinner, and bus tickets consult the Executive Secretary.

Wednesday, April 13, 1955

FORENOON SESSION

In the Fellowship Room of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, 212 East Capitol Street, behind the Supreme Court Building.

9:15 A. M. — INVOCATION, by George Walker Buckner, Jr.
THE PROGRAM: An interpretation by Robert J. Cadigan
Election of new member publications
Welcome by the President
Changes in editorial personnel
Report of President G. Elson Ruff
Report of Committee on Resolutions (*Action on Friday*), Robert J. Cadigan
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AFTERNOON SESSION

12:15 P. M. — LUNCHEON at the National Press Club

NOTE—The Associated Church Press will be the guest of the Public Relations Department of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States. Presiding as toastmaster will be Earl Frederick Adams. The program will include an address by the new Council President, Eugene C. Blake, and this will be followed by remarks from Donald C. Bolles and others.

3:15 P. M. — ADJOURNMENT

3:25 P. M. — Special buses will leave *promptly* for the Department of State.

3:45 P. M. — In the auditorium of the Department of State. Remarks by John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State. Following his remarks there will be an address by William J. Sebald who will speak on the situation we face in the Far East. There will be opportunity for questions.

4:45 P. M. — ADJOURNMENT

5:00 P. M. — Special buses will leave *promptly* for the Dodge Hotel as a convenience to editors having hotel accommodations in the Dodge Hotel area.

EVENING SESSION

In the Parish Hall of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation

6:00 P. M. — DINNER
INVOCATION, by John C. Slemp
GREETINGS, by Lawrence D. Folkemer
CURRENT TRENDS IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
A Panel Discusson by Joseph R. Sizoo, and Francis B. Sayre, with G. Elson Ruff, as Chairman

9:30 P. M. — ADJOURNMENT

Thursday, April 14, 1955

FORENOON SESSION

In the Fellowship Room of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation

9:30 A. M. — INVOCATION, by Juliette Mather
Report of the Treasurer
Report of the Auditors
Proposed Budget for 1955
Proposed amendments to the Constitution (*Action on Friday*)

9:45 A. M. — DOCTRINE IN THE CHURCH PRESS. A discussion of its place, importance, significance, and relevance for today. Three brief addresses of 15 minutes each, respectively, by: Peter Day, John W. Bradbury, and Andrew Vance McCracken, with the final 15 minutes for questions and discussion.

10:45 A. M. — PROPAGANDA AND THE CHURCH PRESS, by Ralph Lord Roy

11:15 A. M. — QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

11:30 A. M. — EDITORIAL CRUSADES, by John Marvin, Aubrey N. Brown, and Neil M. Compton. Brief addresses of 15 minutes, with the final 15 minutes allotted to questions and discussion.

12:30 Noon — ADJOURNMENT

Each editor makes his or her own arrangements for luncheon

AFTERNOON SESSION

In the Fellowship Room of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation

2:15 P. M. — INVOCATION, by Paul Erb
Time and place of Meeting in 1956

2:30 P. M. — ATTRACTING READER INTEREST, by Claude Stanush

3:15 P. M. — QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

3:30 P. M. — IMPROVEMENT AND PROGRESS IN THE CHURCH PRESS, by Roland E. Wolseley

4:15 P. M. — QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

4:30 P. M. — ADJOURNMENT

NOTE—The program for Thursday may be subjected to modification if an invitation is received to call at the White House. In that event, special buses will make the trip to the White House and return to the church.

EVENING SESSION

In the Parish Hall of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation

5:30 P. M. — RECEPTION

6:00 P. M. — ANNUAL FELLOWSHIP DINNER
INVOCATION, by Louis B. Reynolds
Address: FOREIGN POLICY AND THE AMERICAN CHURCHES, by John W. Nason
Address: THIS IS A NEW DAY, by Charles T. Leber
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

9:30 P. M. — ADJOURNMENT

Friday, April 15, 1955

FORENOON SESSION

In the Fellowship Room of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation

9:30 A. M. — INVOCATION, by Benjamin P. Browne
Adoption of amendments to the Constitution
Adoption of resolutions
Report of Committee on Nominations, by C. Ray Dobbins
Election of officers and committee members for 1955-1957

10:30 A. M. — UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING
A presentation of this important subject before the American people, respectively by Carter L. Burgess and John Swomley, with 30 minutes each and the final 30 minutes allotted for questions and discussion.

12:00 Noon — ADJOURNMENT

12:30 P. M. — FAREWELL LUNCHEON in the President Room of the Congressional Hotel, within 10 minutes walking distance from the Church
INVOCATION, by A. J. Wilson
Address: REFUGEE AND MIGRATION PROBLEMS, by Edward Corsi
BENEDICTION, by G. Elson Ruff

3:00 P. M. — FINAL ADJOURNMENT

3:15 P. M. — MEETING OF THE NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE for any business that may have been referred to it.

Who's Who on the Program

EARL FREDERICK ADAMS — Washington Secretary of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States

EUGENE C. BLAKE — President of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States

DONALD C. BOLLES — Editor of *The National Council Outlook,* and Director of Public Relations of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States

JOHN W. BRADBURY — Editor of *The Watchman-Examiner*

AUBREY N. BROWN — Editor of *The Presbyterian Outlook*

BENJAMIN P. BROWNE — Editor of *The Baptist Leader*

GEORGE WALKER BUCKNER, JR. — Editor of *World Call*

CARTER L. BURGESS — Assistant Secretary in the Department of Defense

ROBERT J. CADIGAN — Editor of *Presbyterian Life,* and Vice President of the Associated Church Press

NEIL M. COMPTON — Editor of *The Anglican Outlook* of Canada

EDWARD CORSI — Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, for Refugee and Migrant Problems

PETER DAY — Editor of *The Living Church*

C. RAY DOBBINS — Editor of *The Cumberland Presbyterian*

JOHN FOSTER DULLES — Secretary of State

PAUL ERB — Editor of *Gospel Herald*

LAWRENCE D. FOLKEMER — Minister of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation

CHARLES T. LEBER—General Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions

WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD—Executive Secretary of the Associated Church Press, President, 1947-1949, now Editor Emeritus of *Missions Magazine*

ANDREW VANCE MCCRACKEN — Editor of *Advance*

JOHN MARVIN — Editor of *The Michigan Christian Advocate*

JULIETTE MATHER — Editor of *Royal Service*

GEORGE S. MITCHELL — Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council

JOHN W. NASON—President of the American Foreign Policy Association

RALPH LORD ROY — Methodist minister, graduate student at Union Theological Seminary, and author of *Apostles of Discord*

G. ELSON RUFF — Editor of *The Lutheran;* President of the Associated Church Press, 1953-1955; Vice President, 1951-1953; Executive Secretary, 1947-1951

FRANCIS B. SAYRE — Dean of The Washington Cathedral, Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM J. SEBALD — Deputy Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State

JOSEPH R. SIZOO — Head of the Department of Religion, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

JOHN C. SLEMP — Editor of *Missions Magazine*

CLAUDE STANUSH — Religion Editor of *Life* magazine

RICHARD L. STROUT—Washington correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor*

JOHN SWOMLEY — Executive Secretary of the National Council Against Conscription

A. J. WILSON — Editor of *The United Church Observer*

ROLAND E. WOLSELEY — Professor of Journalism in Syracuse University, and recent Fulbright Lecturer in India

April 18, 1955

Mr. William B. Lipphard
Executive Secretary
Associated Church Press
152 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Lipphard:

You and all of the others were extremely kind to me the other morning, for my part in the Conference.

I do not know of any American audience which can do as much to have this country come out of this matter on the right side.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
(Dictated April 18)

KINGSLEY 6-2880

ROBERT J. CADIGAN, Editor
JAMES W. HOFFMAN, Associate Editor
CARL G. KARSCH, Associate Editor
HENRY L. McCORKLE, Associate Editor
PAUL GRIFFITH, Art Editor

PRESBYTERIAN LIFE

Published by The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

A JOURNAL OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY • WITHERSPOON BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

April 20, 1955

APR 22 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I want to thank you personally and, as President of the Associated Church Press, officially for coming to Washington to address our meeting on the morning of April 13.

A considerable number of the editors expressed appreciation for your excellent presentation. I am sure that your message brought understanding to many.

Very truly yours,

Robert J. Cadigan

RJC:ed

April 22, 1955

Mr. Theodore Wittrock
American Lutheran Publicity Bureau
2112 Broadway
New York 23, New York

Dear Mr. Wittrock:

How very nice that is to have our pleasant luncheon association to continue with your letter of April 20th. I send three of the smaller pamphlets and two of the big ones, and here is the bill.

We could supply the Answers for Action in quantity at 15¢ a hundred, and the bigger one at 42¢ apiece, either plus carriage. I do wish you could consider getting Answers for Action, particularly, out in some volumn to local church groups.

It is a sober and constructive treatment of a difficult problem, and we drew it up with great care to make it as useful as possible to local church discussion meetings. It has been widely so used.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

American Lutheran Publicity Bureau

Lutheran Press American Lutheran Magazine

2112 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • Telephone: SUsquehanna 7-6270

April 20, 1955

APR 22 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am very happy I was privileged to hear you speak at the Associated Press Meeting last week. It was also a pleasure to be at the same table with you for luncheon.

I am wondering, Mr. Mitchell, if you could send me several copies of the booklets we discussed after your talk last week. Since I do not know what the cost is, please let me know and I will gladly send whatever amount is necessary.

May the Lord bless you in your efforts.

Sincerely,

Theodore Wittrock

Theodore Wittrock
Executive Secretary

TW:lv

3 a for A
2 Changing Patterns
bill him 1.60 plus postage
① RA to ship w. bill
② GSM to write

PA —
F.Y.I.
H.

September 20, 1957

Mr. Claude A. Barnett
The Associated Negro Press, Inc.
3531 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Barnett:

I cannot tell you how much I appreciate your recent letter. You're more than kind to offer to strengthen our hand with our foundation sources.

You may recall that we have had major assistance from the Fund for the Republic, an independent fund created by the Ford Foundation and headed by Dr. Robert M. Hutchins. The Fund has recently given us a grant for a further period, but a letter from you to Dr. Hutchins commenting favorably on our information program would help greatly. The address is:

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins
President
Fund for the Republic, Inc.
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

I hope it isn't an imposition for me to make one further request. A letter of commendation from you, addressed to the Council itself, would support us substantially in our request to other foundations and potential contributors.

Events have certainly moved swiftly, if not smoothly, since our meeting at Capahosic. Although we and our state councils have been

active in the troubles of recent weeks, like many people we feel a great sense of frustration. I do hope you will pass on to me any suggestions that occur to you as to how we may better serve the ANP and constructively influence the press in general.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED SEP 13 1957

September 11, 1957

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1915 14TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.
ADAMS 2-6400

PARIS BUREAU
CLIFTON S. HARDY
15 RUE JASMIN
PARIS, FRANCE

CABLE ADDRESS:
NEGROPRESS, CHICAGO

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director,
Southern Regional Council,
263 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The special reports The Southern Regional Council has been distributing are most useful. I note they have been used in some notable places.

My hope is that the Ford people will be so impressed that they will extend your support when the two years are up.

If any word from us would be useful in helping to balance the scale, please suggest what we should do and who we should write.

Sincerely,

C. A. Barnett

Claude A. Barnett

Enjoyed seeing you at Cuphahosic.

October 28, 1957

Mr. Claude A. Barnett
Director
The Associated Negro Press, Inc.
3531 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Barnett:

We are deeply appreciative for your letter to Dr. Hutchins in support of the Southern Regional Council. I was recently in New York, where I talked with principals of the Fund for the Republic who were most favorably impressed with this commendation.

While I was there, I also saw Wilton Dillon and discussed with him various projects that the Phelps-Stokes Fund is considering. Some of them grow directly out of our discussions at Capahosic and seem to me most promising. The Southern Regional Council will cooperate with the Fund in every way it can to make these projects effective.

Again, my warm thanks and every good wish.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED OCT 18 1957

The Associated Negro Press Inc.
National News Service
3531 SOUTH PARKWAY
CHICAGO
(15)

CLAUDE A. BARNETT
Director

PHONE:
OAkland 4-6400

October 15, 1957

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, President,
Fund for the Republic, Inc.,
60 East 42nd Street,
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Hutchins:

During these days of racial tension, it seems important to venture the opinion that The Southern Regional Council, Inc., one of the organizations which receives partial support from the Fund for the Republic, is doing a particularly useful job.

Composed as it is of Southerners of both races, it is moderate in its approach but nevertheless courageous. Had it not been for the rapid growth of intolerant activity due to politicians taking advantage of the current fear and unrest, the Council's sane guidance perhaps would have been acclaimed. As it is, its voice is sometimes lost in the clamor of those seeking to make capital out of dangerous racial antipathies. The Council's influence is growing nevertheless.

Each week we distribute to 60 newspapers an editorial written by one of the vice-presidents of the Southern Regional Council. We believe this material, constructive in tone and logical in content, is one of the best influences appearing in Negro newspapers in this country. We wish it could be multiplied.

In a story we syndicated some weeks ago we noted that the Southern Regional Council had received a terminal grant. The budget of this group seems extremely small in proportion to the gravity of the problems with which it grapples. We believe the Fund would be making a great contribution if it not only continued its grant to the Council, but strengthened it materially.

Sincerely,

Claude A. Barnett

November 4, 1957

Mr. Claude A. Barnett
Director
The Associated Negro Press, Inc.
3531 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Barnett:

Thank you for sharing Hallock Hoffman's letter with me. Hallock is quite right that the Fund has contributed generously in recent years to SRC and its twelve affiliated state councils. But I am afraid he is mistaken about the SRC requesting a terminal grant; that was a decision of the Fund itself. Of course, there is no point in disputing the issue.

In any case, your letter was a very helpful note of commendation. Again, my appreciation and warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED OCT 31 1957

October 29, 1957

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PARIS BUREAU
CLIFTON S. HARDY
15 RUE JASMIN
PARIS, FRANCE

CABLE ADDRESS:
NEGROPRESS, CHICAGO

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Geprgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Please find inclosed a letter from Hallock Hoffman, Secretary of The Fund for the Republic, in reply to my letter asking continued support for The Southern Regional Council.

Best wishes in your effort to secure additional backing.

Sincerely,

C. A. Barnett

Claude A. Barnett

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 23, 1957

Dear Mr. Barnett:

Mr. Hutchins has asked me to thank you for your kind letter of October 15.

We share your views of the Southern Regional Council. As you know, the Fund has made grants totaling $757,000 to its work.

Our decision to make a terminal grant for the years 1957 through 1959 was based on the request we received from the Council. But it is also true that this Fund is a liquidating corporation; we will ourselves have exhausted our resources in the next few years. Perhaps the Council's request for a "terminal" grant is in part an expression of their desire to avoid a dependence on a foundation that is going out of business.

We also regard the program now going forward in the Fund as support for the work of the SRC. The SRC, and other agencies, we believe, will profit from the examination of basic issues. In case you are not familiar with this program, I enclose a couple of brief pieces of literature about it.

Once again, thank you for your interest and your views. We will be grateful if you will continue to let us know what you think about the Fund's program.

Yours very truly,

Hallock Hoffman
Secretary

Claude A. Barnett
The Associated Negro Press, Inc.
National News Service
3531 South Parkway
Chicago 15, Illinois

March 13, 1958

EXECUTIVE STAFF
CLAUDE A. BARNETT DIRECTOR
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15 RUE JASMIN
PARIS, FRANCE

CABLE ADDRESS:
NEGROPRESS, CHICAGO

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Chicago Council of Foreign Relations furnishes speakers to audiences on various topics. There are one or two high class suburbs where they wish to furnish a speaker.

Miss Lillian Smith was booked but I understand she has become ill suddenly and they wish to have a suggestion for a speaker who could do the sort of wonderful job which Miss Smith would do on Race Relations.

I suggested Mrs. M. E. Tilly and if you will give her the name and address below, and she is interested, they may be able to make her an offer.

The organizations are white women's clubs. I do not think the honorarium is too large but she can work that phase out with them.

You may have someone else to suggest. I believe they prefer a woman because the clubs are women's organizations.

Chicago Council on Foreign Relations,
Attention: Mrs. Rosenthal,
116 S. Michigan Avenue,
Chicago, Ill.

Sincerely,

C A Barnett

Claude A. Barnett

July 23, 1954

Mr. Ben Price
Associated Press
330 Starr Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

We figured you'd gotten waylaid by the attractions of Phoenix City, and our suspicions were confirmed when your piece showed up in last Sunday's Journal-Constitution. A good job, and very timely in view of the recent imposition of martial law there. I hope you get favorable action on your memo to New York re SRC. If so, would that mean a trip to Atlanta? If so again, make Margaret come with you even if you have to drag her.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab

P.S. We finally got out this long-awaited pamphlet on the Supreme Court decision. I am sending you a copy separately.

Associated Press

January 13, 1955

Mr. Bem Price
The Associated Press
Star Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Price:

This is to express my appreciation for your fine series of articles on school segregation in the South and the subsequent article on racial attitudes in Mississippi.

Too often such treatment of Southern problems in the national press is glib, superficial, lacking in basic understanding of the complexities of Southern race relations. All the more reason to welcome the insight with which you observed and reported the developments that have followed the Supreme Court's decision of May 17.

Perhaps the most significant tribute to your articles was the wide play they received in Southern newspapers. The results of our clipping service showed that they appeared in virtually all of the major daily newspapers in the region. These Southern editors, who are intimately familiar with the problem, obviously shared our high opinion of the integrity of your work.

As an organization concerned with getting the soundest possible public understanding of racial matters, we were gratified by this exceptionally good job of interpretation.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Jan. 5, 1954

GSM--

Bem Price called to say that his recent series on the South had been submitted for the Heywood ~~xxxxxx~~ Broun award and that he would greatly appreciate a commendatory letter from you.

You may want to draft the letter yourself, but in case you don't I submit a tentative draft herewith.

HCF

DRAFT

(Associated Press)

Mr. Bem Price
Star Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Price:

This is to express my appreciation for your fine series of articles on school segregation in the South and the subsequent article on racial attitudes in Missipsippi.

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As an organization concerned with getting the soundest possible public understanding of racial matters, we were gratified by this exceptionally good job of interpretation.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

OK
GSM
would sign,
so please sign,
take up.

April 12, 1955

Mr. Bem Price
The Associated Press
Star Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bem:

A good story, nobly done. We particularly liked the way you ended it!

As soon as our slow moving clipping service comes through, we will have some idea of how widely it was run, and I'll let you know in case you're interested. Meanwhile, keep working on that prospect for another Southern swing.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
330 STAR BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

JULY 12, 1955

DEAR HAROLD:

I'M GOING TO BE IN ATLANTA TO SEE YOU AND GEORGE WEDNESDAY NIGHT, JULY 20. I'M INVITING MYSELF TO STAY WITH THE FLEMINGS, BUT IF IT SHOULD NOT BE CONVENIENT HOW ABOUT MAKING A RESERVATION FOR ME AT THE DINKLER. IT IS ON NEGROES AGAIN.

BEST,

Bem

BEM

FILE COPY

March 24, 1955

Mr. Bem Price
Associated Press
Star Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bem:

Floating around in history and in the minds of many people at the hearings, and of many people who read about the arguments made at the hearings, will be an important conflict of doctrine. The conflict will be between those who take an old view of what should be done to bring forward a disadvantaged and dependent population and those who take a more modern and perhaps a more instructed view. The old view was that you should put welfare on the people who needed it, and you held them in subordination until you thought they had received enough welfare. The new view is that unless people feel tangibly the boon of freedom and equality, they take on welfare skimpily and with such gaps that it is of little effect.

By far the greater portion of thoughtful Southern white people have held to that comfortable first doctrine. They said, "Here is a people making a lot of progress. They are still handicapped by poor housing, poor schools, insufficient skill, and poor health. When more has been done along these lines and after a further long period of years, then maybe it will be time to talk about yielding respect for equal human dignity." So Mr. Churchill said about India before India was set free. And they have done very well, thank you. So the French said about Indo-China, and mighty nearly got us into a hopeless bit of warfare on that. They are still saying it about French North Africa. Never mind more examples: they are a'plenty.

Examples are also a'plenty to show that if a dependent people is given self-government its humblest members work like beavers to achieve literacy and health and skill and stability. The Gold Coast is a nice case. So is Liberia, Ceylon, Java, the Phillipines -- many more.

The Supreme Court of the United States last May 17th in a thunderclap of decision said that the United States was going to do it by recognizing equal human dignity first.

Of course that makes it hard for the people who have made up their minds to see the job through along old lines. And it is going to be quite a wrench for a great many Southern communities to bring themselves around to providing locally and in detail respect for equal human dignity. But that's the job the South faces.

And we don't get on with the job by arguing that the time hasn't come; that we need more slum clearance; and Negro people need to show greater strength of character; and so on.

You get on with the job by meeting openly, frankly, and equally with courageous local Negro citizens, and finding the facts about the two local school systems and planning together on the basis of accurate shared knowledge how, in the light of the situation in that community and in the light of change in the law, to combine the two school systems. And you plan the pace at which it is to be done. That process involves the whole community, white and Negro, in the public decision. The South will learn what a great many Southern people more than half know anyway is the truth, that under these circumstances Negro citizens in the South will show constructiveness, reasonableness, temperateness, statesmanship, ingenuity, courage, and purpose. And these qualities are the end-product of welfare.

Put another way: the argument for long postponement falls in proportion as equal dignity is offered.

As far as the schools are concerned themselves, both the white children and the Negro children will get a lot more and better education under the new arrangement than under the old. They will learn how to run a democracy together. And unfortunately for all we have lavished on segregated education in the South thus far, that end-product of education we haven't achieved.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

November 29, 1955.

Mr. and Mrs. Bem Price,
Route 1 Box 272,
McLean, Virginia.

Dear Margaret and Bem,

Many thanks all at once for the help in getting our case before AP and for your recent note enclosing the Washington Post article, which I hadn't seen.

Enclosed is a copy of the answer we got from AP in New York. I guess the matter can rest at this point. I think we are much better off for having raised the question, and Bem's advisory from inside was a great assist.

Also enclosed are a couple of items which show the noble uses to which the Journal American story is being put by the Southern hate groups.

I was recently in New York to explore possible counter-actions of both legal and public relations. Libel action by some of the Board Members named seems a definite possibility, though final decision is awaiting the results of legal exploration now underway. The Negro Press is raising something of a howl about the Hearst attack, and some direct protests are being made by some of the minority group agencies in New York. I have the further job of trying to promote a major favorable treatment of SRC in one of the mass circulations magazines, on a network TV show, or both. Haven't had a chance to do much about it yet.

This is the age of attacks, it seems, and there's nothing to be done for it except to fight back as effectively as we know how. Meanwhile, a good many things are happening that give us cheer. We remind ourselves that forces much more important than

Cook and Griffin and the Hearst Press are dragging us, kicking and screaming, into the twentieth century.

I hope to see you all soon, one way or another, and meanwhile will keep you posted on the battle of the smears. Jane is getting more obviously maternal everyday and sends her best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Enc. AP letter
Virginia Ad
Mynders column

WASH, D.C. STAR
JUNE 5, 1958

Howard Official Attacks South on Race News

ATLANTA, Ga., June 5 (AP).—A Washington Negro lawyer says backers of racial segregation "have embarked upon a well-organized and co-ordinated campaign to divide and poison the minds of Northern whites" through the media of mass communications.

Dr. James M. Nabrit, jr., a civil rights attorney and secretary of Howard University, called on Negroes to use the same facilities to counter such efforts.

In an address at commencement exercises at Atlanta University yesterday, Dr. Nabrit said articles by Southerners in national magazines and their appearance on network radio and television programs constitute a "dangerous course of action."

He said opponents of integration aim to "confuse and dissipate all activities which lend moral, political and economic or financial support to the Negro's effort to achieve equal justice under the law."

Two Objectives Seen

They have two objectives, he said, adding:

"One is to convince the North that the South is adamant in its opposition to integration and will never accept it. The second is to bewilder the North with stories of the Negroes and their diseases, ignorance, political crookedness and immorality as to cause the North to wipe its hands of the question and relegate it to the South for solution."

Dr. Nabrit said the Negroes "need selected persons to appear on radio and television—before college and forum groups, to prepare newspaper and magazine articles, and to separate fact from fiction."

"We need to answer Byrnes, Talmage, Waring, Faulkner, Price, Shivers, Clark and others," he said.

He referred to former Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina; former Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia; T. R. Waring, editor of the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier; Novelist William Faulkner, Associated Press Reporter Bem Price, Gov. Allan Shivers of Texas and Gen. Mark Clark.

Opposes Articles on North

Mr. Price, a reporter of the Washington Bureau of the Associated Press, recently covered the legal battle over the attempt of Autherine Lucy to gain admittance to the University of Alabama. Later, he made a tour of several Northern cities and wrote an article on segregation in the North.

Mr. Price also has written a series of articles on segregation and racial tensions in the South.

Dr. Nabrit spoke of "Price and others writing articles in the Northern press about segregation and racial tensions in Northern cities with large Negro populations."

59 Receive Degrees

HAMPDEN - SYDNEY, Va., June 5 (AP).—Fifty-nine graduating seniors received degrees from Hampden-Sydney College yesterday.

Every Year is Election Year

Cunard runs every year and every year is ed by an overwhelming plurality of trans- voyagers. No speeches. No bonf

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
330 STAR BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4. D. C.

HCF

DON'T KNOW HOW I GOT THERE, BUT THERE I AM. TO THINK I WOULD LIVE TO SEE THE DAY WHEN PRICE AND TALMADGE WOULD BE PAIRED.

BP

BC: Mr. Bem Price

June 7, 1956

Dr. James M. Nabrit
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Nabrit:

In reading newspaper accounts of your recent address at Atlanta University, I was astonished to note your inclusion of AP reporter Bem Price with such Southern demagogues as Byrnes and Talmadge. I have known Price personally for many years and have followed his work closely. I can not think of a newspaper man who has more consistently and effectively exposed hypocrisy and excesses of the pro-segregationists, or who has given better news treatment to the efforts of Negroes and whites to achieve an integrated society. Indeed, Price's work over the years has brought him the active denunciation of southern racists on many occasions. They have made strenuous efforts to pressure AP into denying him all assignments dealing with the south and rece relations generally. I enclose a copy of a recent editorial from the Montgomery Advertiser which demonstrates this point of view very clearly.

I can only suppose that your mistaken view of Bem Price arises from the way in which some of his copy has been edited by southern newspapers - a privilege, as you know, which all of the wire services extend to their subscriber papers. For example, Price's series on segregation in the north was run in full by such papers as the Louisville Courier-Journal under the headline "Northern Negroes is approaching equality". On the other hand, the Atlanta Journal-Constitution cut the story in the most biased fashion and headlined it "Negro running from South finds same things up North".

I am writing you about this matter in such detail because I feel that you have inadvertently visited an injustice on a fine, liberal newspaper man and I feel sure that you would want to have the facts of the situation.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
330 STAR BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4. D. C.

12 JUNE 1956

DEAR HAROLD:

MANY THANKS FOR THE VIGOROUS DEFENSE. I MUST ADMIT, THOUGH, THAT I FOR ONE WAS DELIGHTED. IT IS ALWAYS NICE TO HAVE THE OTHER SIDE SCREAM PARTICULARLY SINCE MOST OF THE COMPLAINTS HAVE COME FROM JUST ONE SIDE; NAMELY, SOUTHERN EDITORS. ODDLY, NY HAS NEVER MENTIONED THE EDITORIAL BY HALL. I JUST ASSUME THEY HAVE HIM PEGGED FOR WHAT HE OBVVOUSLY IS. I READ THE EDITORIAL WITH SOME CONSIDERABLE AMUSEMENT, PARTICULARLY THE OBVIOUS AMBIGUITY OF ASSAILING THE AP, THEN QUOTING THE AP AND FINALLY NOT RECOGNIZING THE CONTRADICTIONS CONTAINED IN THE OVERHEAD TO HIS OWN VIEWPOINT. THANK GOD FOR THE CALIBER OF SOUTHERN RACIST EDITORS. THEY COULD MAKE IT AWFULLY TOUGH IF THEYWERE VERY BRIGHT. AS FOR NABRIT, I PUT HIM ROUGHLY IN THE CLASS WITH HALL. IT IS NICE TO HAVE SUCH PEOPLE CLUTTERING THE LANDSCAPE.

BY THE BY, IF YOU HAVEN'T ALREADY, I RECOMMEND FOR YOUR LEISURE TIME A BOOK "AMERICAN POLITICAL TRADITIONS" BY RICHARD HOFSTADER(?). HAVEN'T ENJOYED ANYTHING AS MUCH IN YEARS.

I AM RETURNING TO PARRIS ISLAND ABOUT JULY 14 FOR THE MCKEON TRIAL

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
330 STAR BUILDING
WASHINGTON 4. D. C.

AND, WITH LUCK, I SHALL TRAIPSE OVER TO ATLANTA FOR A BRIEF VISIT. THIS IS GOING TO BE A MESS FOR INSOFAR AS I KNOW THE THING WILL LAST ABOUT TWO WEEKS AND PI IS HOT AS HELL IN JULY. BESIDES, I GOT A LETTER FROM THE PIO TODAY SAYING IN ESSENCE I AIN'T VERY POPULAR THERE THESE DAYS. I'M DOING AN ADVANCE ON COURTS MARTIAL IN GENERAL AND WHEN I COMPLETE THAT, I KNOW I'M NOT GOING TO BE POPULAR. HOW NICE IT WILL BE TO POINT OUT PUBLICLY FOR ONCE THAT A COURT MARTIAL CAN BE RIGGED SINCE THE COMMANDING GENERAL EXERCISES THE PANEL CHOICE.

THANKS AGAIN.

BP

P.S. ANY CHANCE OF GETTING HOLD OF THAT SOUN REPORT BEFORE THE 14TH OF JULY?

June 12, 1956

Mr. Frank Starzell
General Manager
The Associated Press
50 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Starzell:

Mr. Herbert M. Davidson of the Daytona Beach Morning Journal asked me to send you this pamphlet.

The fact that we send it is some indication of the esteem in which we hold Mr. Davidson and yourself, because the pamphlet is entirely out of print and we have removed this precious copy from our files. I admit that we have five more -- but only five more!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. Race in the News

cc: Mr. Herbert M. Davidson

June 25, 1956

Mr. Frank J. Starzel
The Associated Press
50 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Starzel:

Yes, it would be kind of you to send back Race in the News when you are through with it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
GENERAL OFFICE
50 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

June 14, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

RECEIVED JUN 18 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending me a copy of "Race In The News" at the request of Herbert M. Davidson of Daytona Beach. I shall read it with interest and would be glad to return the copy if you desire, in view of the shortage.

Sincerely yours,

Frank J. Starzel

SH

FRANK J. STARZEL
GENERAL MANAGER

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
GENERAL OFFICE
50 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

June 28, 1956.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

RECEIVED JUL 1 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am returning herewith the copy of "Race in the News" as suggested in yours of June 25. We appreciate your lending us the copy.

Sincerely yours,

Frank J. Starzel

Enclosure

FRANK J. STARZEL
GENERAL MANAGER

SL

Copy to Bem Price

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

OFFICE OF
THE SECRETARY

June 29, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Geoegia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to acknowledge receipt of and thank you for your letter of June 7, 1956 and to thank you for the information on Bem Price.

Sincerely yours,

James M. Nabrit, Jr.
Secretary

September 21, 1956

Mr. Bem Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Bem:

I thought you and Margaret would want to see the enclosed "fan" letter from the Dixie Rope & Gun Klan in Texas.

On the more constructive side, the article, which got good play in the Atlanta papers, has occasioned a good many favorable comments. As a summary of the Southern report, it was very well done. And, of course, I appreciate the build-up you gave this guy Fleming - though, I must say, it made me feel worse than ever at not being able to acknowledge the real prime mover in the report. (Miss Walzem I mean)

Thanks also for the clips, which were very good.

More later.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF:mbo
enc.

Rec'd

File
Oct. 19, 1956

Dear Bem:

A word (or several hundred) about the idea of the social-science-and-segregation series.

A good case could be made that the press is missing a bet by not tapping the "experts" in this field of race relations. Compare with juvenile delinquency, mental illness, and other social problems as they came into the limelight. The press got good copy by interpreting the concepts and work of ~~xxxx~~ specialists concerned with these problems. Same can be done with social psychologists, anthropologists, socielogists, and others who have studied racial traits, "intergroup" relations, personality-and-prejudice, and social change.

There is a good concentration of such experts in the New York area, though a few of the best are elsewhere. Columbia University has some of the top men in several fields--for ~~xxxxxx~~ example, Otto Klineberg (intelligence), Robert Merton (housing, etc.), Eli Ginsberg (economics), Marie Jahoda (personality factors), and others. A Dr. Robert North in New York (will supply address) has just finished a review of <u>all</u> the studies and literature on racial intelligence and capacity for education; his findings haven't yet been published.

If interviews are not limited to New York City, there are several other highly desirable interviewees elsewhere: Prof. Gordon Allport (psychologist) of Harvard has written extensively and is recognized as one of the leading authorities on relations between racial and ehhnic groups. At ~~xxxxx~~

Cornell University, a group of social scientists under the direction of Prof. Robin Williams has carried on intensive action-research on intergroup tension and what can be done about it. They have done studies and surveys in all parts of the country and could contribute a lot of useful stuff. Finally, the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina would be the best Southern concentration of experts and findings in this field. Guy Johnson there could birddog the right people in addition to himself.

The object would be to "translate" into plain English what these respected authorities know or theorize that is relevant to the current national crisis over race relations. All of the people quoted should have top standing in their fields. The biggest part of the job will be working out with them understandable language. However, several of the experts -- Allport and Ginsberg, for example -- have written popular books and articles and can express themselves in layman's language.

At this point, it is hard to say exactly how many people should be interviewed or how many words it would take to do an adequate job. This is the kind of piece that needs to be developed rather than just written. Three or four articles would seem to me a minimum.

If the general idea gets a favorable reception, the first step probably should be a quick exposure to some of the best summary literature in the field and a more definite line-up of people to be seen. I'll be glad to advise on both points.

(over)

Let me know, too, if something more than these general comments would help you in working up the idea.

Best,

HCF
for your info -
FBR
File

November 8, 1956

Mr. Ben Price
Associated Press
Washington Bureau
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Price:

A large number of our readers have indicated that they are distressed to find your name included in the first paragraph on page 287 (Phylon, Third Quarter, 1956) in Jim Nabrit's article as part of an "organized and coordinated effort to divide and poison the minds of Northern whites...." I want to reassure you that this opinion in no way reflects the editorial views or policies of Phylon. As a University Journal devoted almost exclusively to assessing the trends and dynamics of the frontiers of racial and cultural groups, we have tried to guide our publication to always remain morally responsible and objectively evaluative. As such, we have not attempted to lead any crusade and we have copiously rejected articles that engage in "name-calling" and "guilt by association." However, Mr. Nabrit's article, as is indicated, was taken from his commencement address delivered at Atlanta University June 4, 1956. It is customary here at the University to publish commencement statements if indeed they fit into our editorial emphases. In all respects, Mr. Nabrit's article, "Desegregation and Reason," meet these requirements. We believe it is an excellent paper, but we regret that your very good name has been placed into a context which is, in my own personal judgment, unjustifiable. We plan to say just this in our forthcoming winter number under "This Quarter." It seems to us that this is the right and moral thing to do, as we do not wish to besmirch the names of even our enemies, let alone our good friends. Best wishes for continued success in your endeavors and when you are in Atlanta, please look in upon us.

Sincerely yours,

MCH

Mozell C. Hill,
Editor

MCH:rav

December 7, 1956

Mr. Bem Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Bem:

Thanks for the social science piece. Despite your gripes, I think you got a good story out of it. Of course the highly charged language (your specialty) is bound to make people mad on both sides of the fence. But this is what sells newspapers and besides I'm for it. Let me know when the piece is scheduled to run.

I hope Margaret has received the stuff by now. I understand it was mailed on Friday the 30th. If it hasn't come, ask her to let us know post-haste. Tell her I'm still sitting on the Tennessee stuff; to mired down with a cold to focus on it. But will do.

Best to you both.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

RECEIVED DEC 6 1956

Dec. 5, 1956

Dear Harold:

Here is the final piece on the Sociologists. By and large these people, especially Stauffer at Harvard, and I were weren't on the same wave length. Allport still is out of the country--won't be back until January. You sure these people got all their marbles? Out of about 12 interviews, I got three people with usable quotes.

The real gold mine in this field is Williams at Cornell. He has stuff sitting on the shelf that would be invaluable from your point of view. The next time you see Frank Loescher you might tell him that what is lacking is time--and money. Most of it is in double-speak but it could be digested.

Deutsch interview was fruitless. He wound up by saying he had done a housing study--but didn't want to give it to me for fear I would mis-use it. Pleasant enough.

I am sending this air mail--and I want it back the same way.

M.M. says to tell you the stuff mailed from Atlanta last week hasn't ~~xxxiv~~ arrived yet, though she has hopes.

BP

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

February 11, 1957

Mr. Paul Simmons
Associated Press
10 Forsyth Street Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of material that we have just compiled on Koinonia Farms. As you probably know, Koinonia has been in the news in the past and will probably be in for some more publicity. I thought that this might be useful to you in any news releases you might be doing on the Sumter County situation.

I have been meaning to call you and Irene for some time, but things have been popping here lately. Do give Irene my best regards.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:fc
Encl.

January 27, 1958

Mr. Bem Price
The Associated Press
Star Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bem:

I was talking with Wilma Stokely the other day, and we were bemourning the general lack of attention given by the Southern papers to Neither Black Nor White, the book written by her and her husband. It is one of the few things that have given some flavor of the positive potentialities within the South. I suggested that she send you a copy, with the thought that you might be able to do yourself or promote somebody else's doing a review for AP. This may be completely unworkable, but at least you should enjoy reading the book.

Margaret tells me that you are now an expert on outer space and missiles, guided and unguided. I am about ready to volunteer for the first trip. Tell Margaret I received her good letter, and she will hear more from me soon.

All the best from all the Flemings.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

FRANK FOGARTY

TO:

WA
5778

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I thought you might be interested in seeing what we came up with in our story on the Negro. The piece starts on p. 76, and there's an editorial on p. 164.

Thanks so much for your help and the time you took to talk to me.

A very merry Christmas,

Frank Fogarty

RECEIVED
12/31/54
Southern Regional Council

Business Week

Business week

January 11, 1955

(Dictated January 7)

Mr. Kenneth Kramer
Managing Editor
Business Week
330 West Forty-Second Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Kramer:

A few weeks ago your Mr. Frank Fogarty came to see us here and said he was doing an article on Negro progress in the South. Various of us here in the Council talked with him, and thereafter went about our business.

Fogarty very kindly sent us a copy of the December 18th issue which had his story in it. It is quite the best such story that I have seen. He got much more deeply into the facts than most people have done, and he put a careful and wise judgment on the facts.

Our Council gets called in on a good many stories of this kind; this is the best done that we have encountered.

If the article is to be reprinted, please let us know, as we should like to have a modest number to distribute.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Mr. Frank Fogarty - N.Y. Off
Mr. William H. Kearns - Rhodes, Haverty Bldg, Atlanta

October 30, 1957

Business Week
McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., Inc.
330 West 42nd Street
New York 36, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us two copies of the October 26th issue of Business Week. Bill us for cost.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:fc

January 12, 1962

Mrs. Dolores Pakulniewicz
Reprint Department
Business Week
330 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mrs. Pakulniewicz:

Thank you for your letter of January 11th. At your convenience please ship us 500 reprints of the article New Business Ways In The South from the August 5th issue of Business Week. We understand that the charges are $40.00 plus shipping costs.

We appreciate your help in this matter.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mbb

BUSINESS WEEK
A McGRAW-HILL PUBLICATION

330 WEST 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 36, N. Y.
LOngacre 4-3000

January 11, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your letter of Jan. 9th. to Mr. Kenneth Kramer, Managing Editor, has come to me for reply.

Reprints of the article entitled "NEW BUSINESS WAYS IN THE SOUTH" which appeared in the August 5, 1961 issue of Business Week are available, upon specific request of 100 or more reprints.

This article can be reproduced Photo-offset as a four page folder with the black and white typeset cover. The cost of 500 is $40.00; plus shipping charges. Delivery can be expected within two weeks after receipt of your confirming letter stating shipping and billing instructions.

If you are still interested in receiving these reprints, please advise.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Dolores Pakulniewicz

(Mrs.) Dolores Pakulniewicz
Reprint Dept.

January 9, 1962

Mr. Thomas W. Young
Norfolk JOURNAL AND GUIDE
719 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Tom:

Finally, a reply to your inquiry concerning the BUSINESS WEEK reprint.

We don't have any copies left, but have today written to the magazine to see if more can be obtained, since their costs are far less than we can otherwide get.

Your trip to Tanganyika has us all envious. Congratulations.

Best wishes

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

Enclosure

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

TELEPHONE 53686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

December 14, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I had read the article in the August 5 issue of Business Week which the Council has reprinted, titled "New Business Ways in the South."

These could provide a great deal of much needed "education" to some of the members of the business community in Norfolk. If the plates are still available would you have run off for me about 200 copies of this reprint and let me know what the charges are. We will, of course, refund the cost.

I am sure that you don't have that quantity of extras on hand you could spare and that's why I'm suggesting a re-run to fill this request.

I got back from Tanganyika Wednesday after a very thrilling and interesting trip.

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas W. Young

jy

BUSINESS WEEK

November 13, 1965

Fifty cents

A McGraw-Hill publication

Next in banking: Pay bills by phone

Page 82

Below: Many strong men chafe at being No. 2, but Hubert Humphrey is putting drive and influence into the Vice-Presidency [Government]

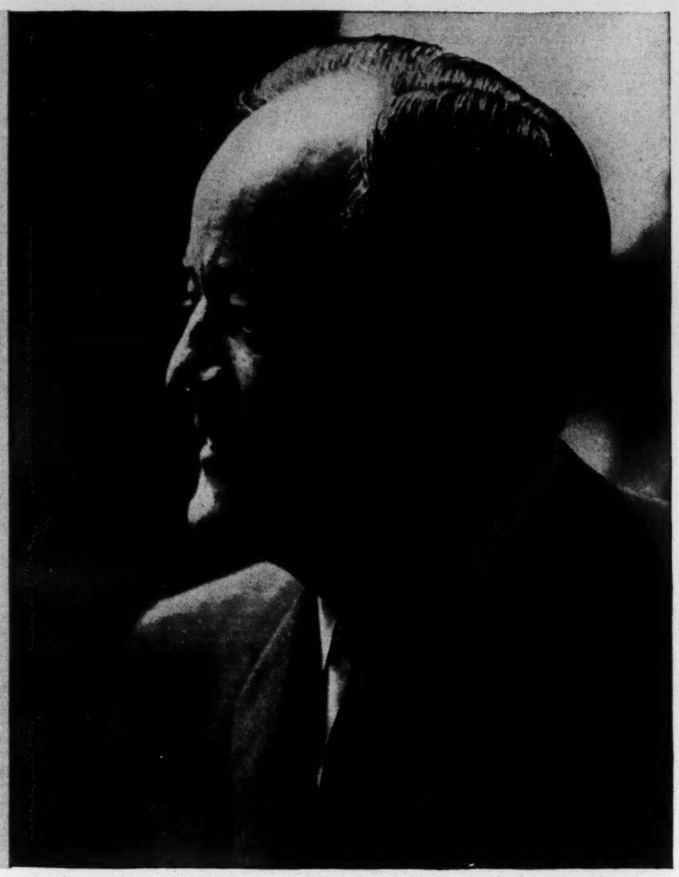
DR LLOYD ELLIOTT
YOU REGL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST N W
ATLANTA GA 30303

A big job without real authority

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President...

The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.



GOVERNMENT

Humphrey: a strong No. 2

For Johnson, the Vice-President is now more than a stand-by. He works hard to win acceptance for White House programs and in so doing becomes a leader in his own right

The language at the top of the page is virtually all that the United States Constitution has to say about the authority and duties of the Vice-President. Notes the present occupant of the post, "I have no authority except the power of brotherhood and goodwill."

Yet Hubert H. Humphrey, lifelong politician, a man who is accustomed to—and clearly takes pleasure in—working the levers of power, is enjoying the job immensely. He is emerging as a hustling, active, and influential stand-in for the President, but is developing large responsibilities on his own and retaining a key place in the Democratic Party.

Rising stature. On Capitol Hill, with labor and civil rights leaders, in talks with business groups, and at political meetings across the country, Humphrey is energetically promoting the Great Society and helping win the consensus that Johnson seeks. In the private councils of government, the Vice-President's advice is often sought and freely is given. And, in the course of it all, the former mayor of Minneapolis and Senate Majority Whip more and more is becoming a national leader in his own right.

I. The limits

Humphrey is not a major shaper of Administration policy, nor is he a decision-maker. As he himself is the first to say, there are no "Humphrey policies." The nature of the office imposes limits, as it did for his predecessors. But Humphrey has not disappeared into limbo, the fate of so many American Vice-Presidents.

Johnson's illness has focused increased attention on the No. 2 man. Even before that, Humphrey had started to carve out significant responsibilities on his own and to enlarge his hold on the affections of the Democratic Party. There, he must be counted as a leading possibility as candidate for the White House someday.

Working together. To rise above the often demeaning limitations of the office takes not only talent and energy but a great measure of trust between the Vice-President and President. There is growing evidence that Johnson and Humphrey have forged an integral working relationship that makes the Vice-President more than a stand-by.

Moreover, the nature of the job

has changed. Gone are the days when a Vice-President could be picked solely to balance the ticket geographically or toss a bone to one faction of the party. The mortality of Presidents is too much in the public mind to permit second-rate men in the second job. Kennedy, his biographers say, had this strongly in mind when he picked Johnson. And Johnson tapped the man he and most Democrats felt best qualified to succeed him.

Correspondingly, recent Presidents have felt obligated to make something of the job in order to keep an ambitious politician satisfied with being No. 2, and this has not always been easy. Eisenhower and Nixon, a generation apart and differing in their views on political methods, lacked real rapport. With Kennedy and Johnson, the marriage of Austin and Boston was marred by tension between Johnson and some of Kennedy's closest associates.

Another voice. Within the Johnson Administration, no one, with the possible exception of Press Secretary Bill Moyers, speaks for LBJ with more authority than does Humphrey. At times, he speaks a little too freely, as when he appeared to promise more of a minimum wage increase than Johnson had committed himself to. However, such incidents are rare.

When Humphrey differs with Johnson, he does not hesitate to tell him so—privately. The two men, associates say, can get into a good shouting contest in the seclusion of the White House, as they did before in Congress.

But there is no more articulate and persuasive spokesman for the President's Vietnam policy than Humphrey, sometimes to the dismay of his old liberal colleagues. The one-time charger of barricades, who upset a carefully worked-out compromise on civil rights in the 1948 Democratic convention and caused angry Southerners to stalk out, has become, like Johnson, a pragmatic political leader, a negotiator for the acceptable half-loaf.

Apt pupil. Humphrey has learned, in his long years of intimate association with Johnson, to work within the system, not against it. He did not become Assistant Senate Majority Leader and Vice-President by being a loner.

Not that he regrets the liberal aggressiveness of his earlier career. "One of the best things I've done with my life," he says, "was to pioneer as a senator." To a lot of people, "I was the black knight incarnate. I stood for civil rights and medicare and repeal of Taft-Hartley. But most of these things have come to pass. I'm in the Executive Branch now; my job is to promote the policies of this Administration. And I like being an advocate."

In the early months of the Administration Humphrey appeared to be under wraps. He accepted few speaking engagements, and he suddenly had little to say to old friends in the Washington press corps. Had that situation continued long, Humphrey would have been a manifestly unhappy Vice-President. But it took time to feel his way on just what kind of role he could play under a strong and forceful President.

II. Finding the spot

Humphrey's personal identity began to emerge in the new job most clearly as a Johnson emissary to Congress. Humphrey is happiest when he is extolling, cajoling, and wheedling to break a logjam in the stream of progress. His talents were

Humphrey, as President of the Senate, signs every bill passed by that body.

As Vice-President, Humphrey has a constant flow of visitors to his office, including mayors, businessmen, labor leaders, and VIPs from abroad.

put to work by the President to shepherd much of the legislative program through Congress.

Humphrey's role on Capitol Hill is unique for a Vice-President, who traditionally wields the gavel in the Senate but very little power. Humphrey's secret is his close relationship with Johnson, and the fact that Congressional leaders know that when Humphrey speaks, he is speaking for the President.

Getting it through. Until Congress adjourned, Humphrey spent about half his time on that assignment. On the farm bill, he rode herd on every detail. He was the chief architect in a series of meetings with members of both houses on the key section of one-price cotton and ended up with the first four-year farm program in history.

With the foreign aid bill in trouble, Humphrey arranged a series of seminars in his office, inviting a half-dozen senators or congressmen at a time to meet with David Bell, director of the Agency for International Development.

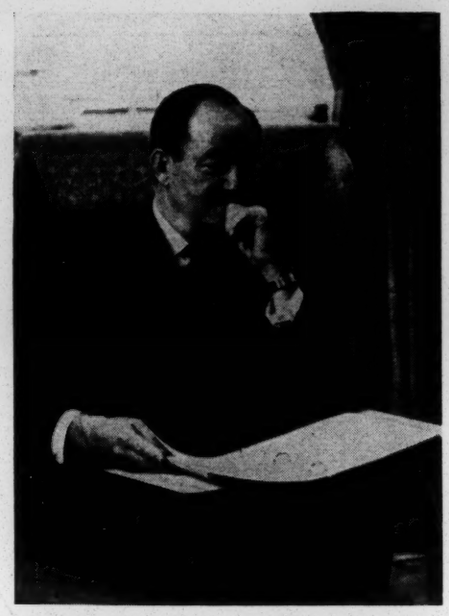
It was Humphrey who carried to key congressmen the message that Johnson would veto the government pay raise unless the 4.1% increase passed by the House was trimmed. "This Administration," he said, "doesn't intend to ask the private sector to live within the guidelines and then violate them itself." Congress obliged, and accepted the smaller raise passed by the Senate.

Deep feelings. Says Humphrey of his own role with Congress: "I have no authority except the power of brotherhood and good will. But I don't see how a man who hasn't been a member of Congress could do anything as Vice-President. You have to be a member of the lodge, understand how these fellows work. It takes a light touch, all the way."

On his own, Humphrey probably would be a bit more aggressively liberal than Johnson on such matters as civil rights, perhaps show less public concern for penny-pinching in the bureaus. But there is little reason to think he feels uncomfortable in a close partnership with LBJ; the President's record in enacting liberal legislation is hard to beat.

In many ways both men speak the same language. The Southwestern dirt-farmer, easy-money Populism that Johnson grew up with is not much different from the Minnesota Democrat-Farmer-Labor Party that nurtured Humphrey. Both are plain-spoken men of few intellectual pretensions who work hard for what they get.

Like Johnson, Humphrey is a mercurial, demanding extrovert, capable of chewing out an aide royally one minute, kidding him affectionately the next. Johnson and Humphrey feud, banter, and rib each other and, for all anyone can tell, get along famously.



Humphrey wants to look on federal outlays as investing, not just spending.

Contribution. Moreover, Humphrey brought with him to the Vice-Presidency a special hold on his own constituency, the "liberals" both at home and abroad, which redounds to Johnson's benefit.

During the Santo Domingo crisis, for instance, Humphrey was one of those who urged the President, in the light of what was known at the time, to send in the Marines to protect U. S. nationals. He felt the U. S. could not afford another Communist take-over in the Caribbean.

However, it was a move that shocked many of the social-democrat leaders of Latin America, men with whom Humphrey, as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, had developed a good relationship over the years.

To many voters, Humphrey has come across as a perpetually glad-handing politician with a remedy for every malaise. His long association with Americans for Democratic Action made him a special target of the opposition. But in the Democratic Party, only the Kennedys inspire the same kind of personal devotion.

III. Working with business

With the business community particularly, he has gained new acceptance. Last month, at the Virginia meeting of the Business Council—a group that Humphrey noted represented 25% of the country's gross national product in one room—his address was a paean of praise to private incentives and the profit motive as the road to economic growth and all the social progress that wealth makes possible.

Grumped one California businessman: "I've always thought he was a skunk—but that was a hell of a good speech!" A more common reaction was summed up by Robert S. Ingersoll, chairman of Borg-Warner Corp.: "This group has known him for a long time. They like him."

Humphrey drew a hearty laugh when he told the executives and their mink-draped wives at the dinner: "This has been quite a year. The Pope goes to Yankee Stadium, and Humphrey comes to the Business Council!"

Skeptics. Those less personally exposed to Humphrey are more likely to remain unconvinced. Said Democratic Governor Philip Hoff of Vermont, on the occasion of a recent Humphrey speaking appearance: "The businessmen up here, frankly, are afraid of him." A big business admirer of Humphrey admits that his Wall Street colleagues distrust the Vice-President. "The problem is," he says, "he can't reach everybody personally."

What scares some businessmen is the Vice-President's reputation as a spender. Retorts Humphrey: "I'm not for spending. I'm for investing. We have to invest in our cities. By the year 2000, some 90% of the population will live in the cities, and we have to make them livable. One of the biggest spending programs in the country was in Pittsburgh, and it was done by the Mellons."

Warming up to the subject, Humphrey lashes out: "The biggest spenders in the country are General Motors and AT&T, and they seem to do all right. It's the people who don't spend who go broke."

Humphrey himself believes he is slowly convincing the business community, particularly its younger members, that he doesn't wear horns. He notes with satisfaction that, when the announcement was made that Johnson would undergo surgery, the stock market dropped only two points, then bounded up again.

New image. Humphrey's wooing of businessmen has caused some murmuring among his old supporters. Recently a staff aide clipped a magazine item to the effect that Humphrey had "gone over to business" and carried it to the Vice-President. "Sitting in the office at the time," he recalls, "were two of the biggest labor leaders in the country. Outside in the hall eight

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DISCOVER HOW YOU CAN "PAY AS YOU GROW" IN THE NEW PENNSYLVANIA

civil rights leaders were waiting. We all had a good laugh about it."

But Humphrey is a strong believer today in incentives to business to enlarge the national pie from which welfare slices must be cut. A protege of fellow Minnesotan Walter Heller in his economic thinking, he plugged for a corporate and personal income tax cut in the Senate before President Kennedy adopted it as policy, and voted happily for tax credits for plant and equipment spending. He fought for joint government-industry ownership of Communications Satellite Corp. (Comsat) when some Senate liberals were filibustering for complete government control.

He is still president of the family drug store run by his brother in Huron, S. D., and goes over the figures every month. "I think businesses ought to make a profit," he says. And he clings to an old cause of which he is one of the few remaining champions in high circles—fair trade. "I've watched the other five independent drug stores in our town go under from the competition of the chains and discount houses," he laments.

IV. Being prepared

Johnson has tossed trouble-shooting and administrative assignments Humphrey's way, including chairmanship of the Travel USA program and last summer's drive to persuade industry to hire teen-agers.

But, as Humphrey once noted when speaking of his role, "The President giveth, and the President can taketh away." Johnson did recently take away Humphrey's formal assignment as overseer of all civil rights activities in the federal government. Instead, enforcement powers were lodged with the heads of the various departments in what was billed as a streamlining of administrative channels. Some civil rights leaders have been concerned with the trimming of Humphrey's authority.

Local level. A role Humphrey pursues vigorously is one Johnson assigned him early in the game: liaison with the nation's mayors. Systematically, he has met with groups of mayors starting with the 12 largest cities and working down to communities under 10,000. The program is designed to enlist the mayors in helping put across Great Society programs. In turn, the meetings provide a forum for mayors to sound off to the highest official, short of Johnson, on their special woes with the poverty program or with getting a sewer project approved.

In one session an agency head was hemming and hawing on a touchy subject when Humphrey piped up: "Can't we just give him a straight answer?" Humphrey's aides take notes on everything the mayors ask about. The next day a memo goes out to the agencies: "Regarding Mayor Smith's inquiry about his project grant, I would like to know tomorrow what you have done to expedite . . ."

During one meeting, Mayor James DiPrete of Cranston, R. I., rose. "Mr. Vice-President," he volunteered, "I'm a Republican. I thought you would breeze in and out of here. Here you've been with us for five hours talking bread-and-butter problems, and I want to say I'm impressed."

The mayors—like an increasing number of other groups—see in Humphrey a useful conduit to the President. Several months ago, the Conference of Mayors was set to pass a resolution censuring the Administration for bypassing them on the poverty program; it was headed off in favor of bringing the problem to Humphrey.

The running contact with mayors can only do Humphrey good politically. These are the men, after all, who control the big delegations to political conventions.

On foreign matters. Should Humphrey, by accident or political fortune, become President, the question on many minds would be: How would he handle foreign affairs?

The probable answer: About the same as John Kennedy or Lyndon Johnson. Like his two predecessors, Humphrey is a product of the Senate where international affairs are the stuff of everyday business and the arts of persuasion and political settlement are honed to a fine edge.

As Vice-President, he seldom operates in foreign affairs. His talk with President de Gaulle of France, under cover of escorting two astronauts to the Paris air show, was an exception, and what his mission accomplished only the President knows.

But over the years he has been an avid student of foreign affairs, cultivated foreign leaders like Prime Minister Harold Wilson of Britain, fathered the nuclear test ban treaty in the Senate, and was an original promoter of the Peace Corps.

Today he keeps completely informed; his first item of daily business is an intelligence briefing at home or on the way to the office. His most important job, he says, is simply to "be ready." And as far as a man can be prepared for such responsibility, he is. **End**

Nov.28,1956.

Dear Hal:

Just a quickie to thank you for the wonderful help. The summary was excellent and backed up the synthesis and mood which you gave so eloquently over the telephone and from which I shall crib at great length. I was planning to call you last Monday and thank you for your help, but the office had me so busy all day I didn't get the chance then I drove up to Knoxville that night, then all day driving here yesterday and I have worked on the Sunday piece some today and had to check in with the convention. So this is the first chance I have had to thank you. Do overlook the messy paper but the typewriter went on the blink and you are viewing my efforts to fix it. Am certsinly looking foreard to our next meeting in Atlanta.

All the best

Pop

June 29, 1956

Mr. John Popham
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Pop:

I was distressed to learn that I missed seeing you at the last Sigma Delta Chi meeting, which I couldn't make.

It's been entirely too long since we have talked. I've got several interesting things on the fire I would like to discuss with you. Any prospect of a trip to Atlanta soon?

Best,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF:mbo

April 10, 1956

Mr. John Popham
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear "Pop":

I waited to write you until you would be back from your junket with Kefauver - very well handled, I may say. I am eager to talk with you about Kefauver's pitch in Florida.

Your story on the Grimes article was right on the button. I couldn't agree more that this kind of positive analysis is a major need in the present conflict centered situation. We are going to try to do more of it, and I hope it will offset some of the negative stuff in the press. Meanwhile, we owe you a large vote of thanks for setting the key-note with this article.

I haven't forgotten that I was going to write you about Gladwin Hill's articles in the special supplement. I enclose a special note for that purpose.

I hope we can get together soon for some palaver. Meantime, the best as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:o
enc.

April 10, 1956

Mr. John Popham
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear "Pop":

I don't think I have written you to say what a fine job the special supplement on the South was. When the "team" started digging in down here, I must say I had some misgivings about what would result from so many reporters coming in cold to so complex a situation. But the final product was certainly one to be proud of, due in large part, I am sure, to your guidance.

I was particularly impressed by the treatments of Mississippi and Louisiana by Gladwin Hill. The sharp insights in his analyses were worthy of a veteran top flight reporter on these parts. Next to your own article, I thought his were the savviest of the lot. If the Times has occasion to import auxiliary manpower again, I hope Hill will get a further opportunity to write on the South.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:c

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JACKSONVILLE 2, FLORIDA

DEAR HAL:

SPENT TONIGHT (SUNDAY) HERE BEFORE STARTING 4-DAY JUNKET WITH KEFAUVER. THIS STORY WAS IN THE SUNDAY TIMES, THE ONE I MENTIONED TO YOU IN OUR LAST CONVERSATION. I THINK SOMETHING LIKE THIS MULTIPLIED OVER AND OVER DOES MORE THAN ALL OTHE PROJECTS. HOPE TO SEE YOU SOON —

BEST ALWAYS

Pop

John Popham

Once a Guest ∽ Always a Guest

Feb.16,1957.

Dear Ed:

This is to acquaint you with one of my dearest friends in this neck of the woods,Harold Fleming,and to tell you of his purposes and his need for some help from you, help which I believe you would care to give because of the subject involved.

Hal Fleming is the executive director of the Southern Regional Council, with headquarters inAtlanta, and with chapters in some fourteen southern states. It is without question the foremost interracial organization in the South. Indeed,in the present climate it is the only hope for building a rational voice, a sense of sanity in furthering the democratic process. I would pledge my life and honor on the integrity of this outfit and particularly on Hal Fleming. As you know I cover this situation from a news standpoint more than any other reporter in the country.This is the one great outfit on the scene. The record is there,Ed.The topflight people for improving the democratic process know it and back the council.Dave Dubinsky,Ford Foundation,NAACP, scores of groups like that have helped them along with money and moral support over a twenty-year period or more. You know how these things are,though, the money runs out and the donor forgets that such operations have to spend the gift, or else the council happens to apply for a new donation in the particular year when the donor is either tight for money or has committed himself to some other worthy cause.

more.

Anyway, Fleming has been with the council for many years as public information director, and last month he took over as executive director from Dr. George Mitchell as executive director, which means that now Fleming has to make the rounds for money support. By the way, Dr. Mitchell was the recipient of the annual award of the Catholic Committee of the South for outstanding work in furthering the interests of humanity through the council. Indeed, the council is the one major outfit in the South on which leading Catholics serve as directors and trustees and so forth, Msgrs. Maurice Shean in South Carolina and Joseph McNamara in Savannah, and personal contributions have come from Cardinal Stritch of Chicago, a native of Nashville, Tenn., my wife's hometown and where I was married in his old church there, and from Cardinal Spellman. Make no mistake, Ed, this is a high-class organization, fighting against great odds and reprisals in this current climate.

To get on, Fleming mentioned to me the other day that he would arrive in New York on Feb. 25 and spend perhaps a week or so looking around for some dough, which the council sorely needs right now. They are in a critical stage for money right now, like all sincere groups they go right down to the bottom of the larder before they go begging again, and while the situation in interracial improvements is a dark one in many senses, still this group can now see some remarkable chances for long-term advances in the wake of some of the remarkable Federal court decisions of recent weeks at the grass-roots level. The fight for meaningful democracy can be won in terms of balance and sense and not the emotional distortions stressed by extremists of both sides. The council knows that better than any other group.

So Fleming off-hand asked me if I knew of any likely money prospects, knowing of my New York background. I told him that I had never xx run with a money crowd in my life, that I was one of the street-corner boys in New York, that I always belonged with the people and was xx proud of it, so many southerners getting that fancy approach when they went to New York to live. However, I stressed that among my dearest friends were real, honest fighters for fair play, for defeat of all kinds of bigotry, for labor advances, for cultural discrimination to be erased in allareas of life. I explained to him the kind of hard-hitting Irish and Jewish people I always lived and worked with and some idea of the old days when allof us knew the right battlefield on which to take our stand. I had in mind you and Paul O'Dwyer, who have spent your lives battling for real rights for people. I tried to convey to him what Bill O'Dwyer had always meant to many of us in terms of leading the fight against bigotry and how that was distorted by some enemies. Well, you know the picture. I said that these people haven't got dough, but they know the moral measure of the xxxxxx issue and they often are able to put you in contact with money people who willsupport a good cause when the recommendations are right. And that is where this letter comes in. Hal Fleming xx is going to call you xxx when he gets totown and I am asking you to give him an appointment to see you at your convenience. He fully understands the picture,Ed, he has no intention of putting the bite on indiscriminately, absolutely nothing would be expected of my friends, who are not money-bag people in that xxxxxxx sense. Allhe wants is to have xxxx a talk with you on the basis of my friendship and to see if you can possibly

help in opening a few doors to key people or vouch for him or give him leads. Things like that. He has a contact with the staff of Herbert Lehman, for instance, which he will tell you about, but perhaps you could also send along the word there that this ia a right guy, a grand outfit and a truly worthy cause. Ed, these people would like to pick up about $50,000 at this time. Hell, it doesn't have to be one angel for that amount. A purse could be put together, five grand here, two grand there, and so forth, until the fullamount was realized. Maybe Lehman and that type will go for five, maybe some guy with guts and a factory in a loft building would go for two. That garment district ought to have twenty people good for two grand a piece and he could leave town with $40,000 and be happy, or else he'd be a nut. He has a lot of contacts, Ed, church, labor, commerce, but this is his first time to make the rounds in Dr. Mitchell's footsteps, and new faces are always important in such matters, and he can tell you what he is hoping to line up from old contacts, and maybe somehow you could just get him in the path of a few money-bags who would love to goose one like this, but nobody has approached them on it and they never knew how to go about it themselves.

As I say, Ed, this outfit is real and genuine, Fleming is one of the finest and most dedicated and most thoroughly intelligent young men I've ever known. He and his outfit have sense and tact and balance and all the great human rights and civil rights leaders know about them and count on them. Don't ever worry about the validity ofthis outfit . And knowing that you are always on the side of the underdogs, that you know the long-range values of this fight to improvements

for all classes and groups in this country, I am only asking that you contribute ONLY some possible assistance inFleming's search for Ali Baba in Baghdad, for the pot at the end of the rainbow. That's all he wants, some good and realiable breed of fighter for good causes who understands all the thorny paths that must be followed, and with knowingness and charity will help him to the extent of introductions,perhaps,leads, tips, angle and so forth. So you will be hearing from him on Feb25 or 26 at your office.You might leave word with your secretary there where you can be reached atvariousstimes in the day. This is one, Ed, that just calls for the heart and the kind hand to be extended to a good group fighting a worthy cause, and nothing else is required.Just tall some of the boys that a purse put together in the old neighbohood fashion would do a fine job for some fine people.

Meanwhile, my best to you,Commish, and give my warmest regards to your daughter.Say hello to the redhead and Boyle, and have a quickie for me in Chandler's. I hope to get up inApril for the usual school teachers' talk, and if I can steal a couple of days from the office, you and Bill and Joe and I will have to get in a fast round or two, but not any problem over the parking place. Again,Ed,thanks for hearing me out and take my word this is a worthy project.

Best regards

John Popham

O'DWYER & BERNSTIEN

PAUL O'DWYER
OSCAR BERNSTIEN

ANTHONY E. SACCO
JOAN O'DWYER
HOWARD N. MEYER
FRANK P. DURKAN

40 WALL STREET
NEW YORK 5
TELEPHONE BOWLING GREEN 9-3939

February 21, 1957

Mr. John Popham
New York Times Bureau
c/o Chatanooga Times
Chatanooga, Tennessee

My Dear John:

I have just opened your letter of February 16, regarding Harold Flemming.

For what you have done to me, may blight fall on your potatoes, may your cattle get the morn, the upland parch for want of water and the floods take away your hay from the river bottom.

For several years now and up to the time I received your letter my thoughts have been concerned with the comforts of life and the acquiring of respectability. I am on speaking terms with the Cardinal and it has been more than a year since anyone called me a Communist. My friends had ceased to suspect me and mine enemies were ready to grant me absolution for past indescretions. The accumulation of great wealth was not at all foreign to my ambitions. I had visions of creating a great house and marrying my daughter off to a rich man and of establishing my sons in a position of great security. I felt like an Irish landlord sitting on top of the hill watching the grateful tenants place their well deserved rents at his feet, and he feeling noble about it all.

To all these things was I dedicated up to the time the mailman left your letter on my desk. I was on my way to Court in pursuit of more money when I opened it. I started to read it at the Wall Street station, I missed my stop and when I finished it, I was already at Atlantic Avenue and my house of cards tumbled around my head.

Mr. John Popham February 21, 1957

I walked out into the street feeling like Christ with the Devil on the top of the hill as he rejected the proffered empire. I felt like giving the land away to the tenants. In short you have raised havoc with all my thinking, destroyed my most recent concepts and have driven me back whence I came.

So send along your Mr. Flemming now that you have done your worst. I am ready for him and will do everything we can for him.

Maybe sometime I can see you in person someday soon when I can heap the more vulgar Gaelic incantations on your head, ones that may shock the ears of the scrivener.

Yours,

Paul O'D

PO'D:dg

Feb.22,1957.

Dear Hal:

This is confidentially yours...you can save it and return it to me at any convenient time. It arrived in the mail tonight. It sure is a good mood piece. It might click.Light a candle. Best of luck.

Pop

EDWARD C. MAGUIRE
50 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

February 25, 1957

Dear John:

After spending two weeks in Florida, I returned today and found your letter of February 16th. It was misdirected, went to another Edward Maguire and finally he forwarded it to me.

When Mr. Fleming gets in touch with me, I will be glad to sit down with him and see if there is anything I can suggest.

I spoke to Bill Donoghue this morning and he seems to be in good shape.

I hope you and the family are well and look forward to meeting with you when you return to civilization.

Meanwhile, kindest regards

Sincerely,

Ed

Mr. John Popham
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

March 9,1957.

Dear Hal:

Sorry I had to delay this letter so long, but I got so fouled up trying to meet some office demands and at the same time get ready for two weeks away from the family on the active duty tour, that I just found this chance to make up for the oversight. I have to hustle home now and get things packed and make a train in about two hours. The enclosed is the MaGuire letter. Mea nwhile keep your ear tothe ground and I will be intouch with you as soon as I get back and let's see if there isn't anything we can work on for the good of the region, shall we sa y. Love to Jane and the children.

Best always

JOP

John Popham

March 27, 1957

Air Mail

Mr. John Popham
The New York Times
c/o The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear John:

We learned today that the Grand Jury in Sumter County has asked for the records of Koinonia Farm. They have been advised not to turn over these records unless legal charges are brought against them, and not then unless such charges specifically relate to the records. And so it is believed that charges of some kind will be brought against the Farm very soon. Osgood Williams, here in Atlanta, is the Koinonia lawyer in case you want to talk with someone else besides us.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/eab
Encl. - Chronology

SHERIFF IN ANDERSON OUSTS KASPER CROWD

CLINTON, Tenn., May 28 (AP) —Sheriff Glad Woodward today ordered John Kasper and six pickets from the Anderson County Courthouse, where they appeared for the assault trial of Clyde Cook.

The trial was postponed until September, because the chief prosecution witness, the Rev. Paul W. Turner of Clinton's First Baptist Church, is out of town. Cook is charged with assault and battery in connection with an attack on the minister after he escorted a group of Negro pupils to integrated Clinton High School Dec. 4.

Kasper is executive secretary of Seaboard White Citizens Council with headquarters in Washington, D.C. He and 15 Clinton residents — including Cook—face trial in U.S. district court in nearby Knoxville July 8 on charges of criminal contempt of court on grounds they stirred up opposition to court-ordered integration of the high school.

Chad Times 5/29/57

M'MINNVILLE BANNER

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

July 15, 1957

Mr. Cabell Phillips
Washington Bureau
New York Times
1701 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Phillips:

Enclosed are copies of our rough field reports on the two Georgia communities I mentioned in our telephone conversation. You will see that they are both candid and unpolished, which is why I would like you to clear with us any use of the material for purposes other than your own information.

If neither of these suits your purposes, feel free to call on us for further suggestions and background. Since I wanted to get this off to you at once, I haven't taken the time that would be necessary to wade through our other state reports.

With good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures - 1 copy each of two Georgia communities prepared by B. R. Brazeal - dated August 31, 1956.

September 30, 1957

Mr. John N. Popham
New York Times Bureau
c/o Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Pop:

Our research assistant was out on sick call today, so I haven't been able to get the complete rundown ready. But I am sending you this first installment, consisting mostly of the statistical book I mentioned plus the following notes which cue you to the most useful data. You may find it helpful to read the brief texts accompaning the tables. I When you have finished with the book, please ship it on back.

We should be able to get off to you tomorrow the additional stuff on professional associations, voting, and the like.

It was mighty good getting together again. I was pleased to see what a good play the piece got in yesterday's Sunday section. You rang the bell that time. Incidentally, I got a letter only yesterday from Tartt Bell, head of the Friends Service Committee, Southeastern Office. He called my attention to your article on Kasperism of Sunday before last, hailing it as a classic and expressing the hope that we can give it wide reprint distribution. Naturally I agreed with him and we will see what we can do.

Following are the notes:

(1) Population of U. S., Non-South, and Southern States by Decades, 1900-1950. (Table 1, Swanson & Griffin, p. 15)

(2) Negro Population as a Percentage of the Total Population for U. S., Non-South, South, and Southern States by Decades, 1900-1950. (Table 3, S & G, p. 19)

(3) Increase or Decrease of Population for U. S., Non-South, South, and Southern States by Decades by Race, 1900-1950. (Table 4, S & G, p. 21) This shows how much greater the increase in white population has been in the South than the Negro.

(4) Percentage of Total Population Urban or Rural for U. S., South, and Southern States by Decades, 1900-1950. This shows the accelerating rate of urbanization in the South. (Table 5, S & G, p. 23)

(5) From another source: In 1900, 90 per cent of all American Negroes lived in the South; by 1940, 77 per cent; and by 1950, only 68 per cent. In 1900, only 18 per cent of Southern Negroes lived in urban areas; by 1950 almost half of Southern Negroes were urban.

(6) Migration--Nativies of South and Southern States Living in Non-Southern States by Race, 1950. (Table 9, S & G, p. 31) See text accompanying this table for number of in-migrants to South.

(7) From another source: Education--Of the older generation of Negroes (born 1905-1909), 49.2 per cent have completed less than five years of schooling; of a younger generation of Negroes (born 1931-32), only 19.4 per cent have completed less than five years of schooling. Of an older generation (born 1905-1909), 24.1 per cent of Southern whites completed high school, and only 5.4 per cent of Southern Negroes; of a younger generation (born 1926-30), 42 per cent of the whites and 14.7 per cent of the Negroes completed high school.

(8) Per Capita income--for South and Non-South in Current Dollars, 1929 through 1952. (Table 51, S & G, p. 99) See the text accompanying this table for the white and Negro figures for 1952.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

C.O. file

VIA AIR MAIL

October 1, 1957

Mr. John N. Popham
New York Times Bureau
c/o Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Pop:

Enclosed are some of the items we talked about as indicative of progress by Southern Negroes in recent years. Of course there are many other things, not subject to any statistical measure, that you can mention - for example, the department store's treatment of Negro customers, newspaper handling of news involving Negroes, the decline of the most flagrant types of violence, desegregation of interstate trains and waiting rooms, the integration of the armed forces, including Southern army military posts. These and a great many other sociological changes are old stuff to you. One thing we didn't discuss specifically, which sums it all up in a way, is the emergence of a solid Negro middle class, with appreciation of the values and status symbols that go along with this social stratum.

I am assuming that you will rely on the recent issue of Southern School News for the roundup of desegregation in the schools.

As you get into the writing of the article, call me if you find yourself needing other things that we may have.

As I dictate this, news of the meeting between Eisenhower and the governors hasn't yet come out. I was delighted to see

your story in yesterday's Time's interpreting the complex position of the "moderates." If the ball is fumbled in this meeting - as is all too likely - it won't be for want of cueing by Popham.

Best as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Indices to Progress of the Negro in the South)

Indices to Progress of the Negro in the South:

1. Voting: SRC surveys found the following estimated Negro registration in the South in the years indicated: 1947 -- 595,000; 1952 -- 1,008,514; 1956 -- 1,238,000.

2. Since 1935, some 144 private and public colleges in the 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia have opened their doors to Negroes. Of these, 105 have newly desegregated at some level since May 17, 1954. Only Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina still enforce complete segregation in state-supported institutions of higher learning -- and even in these states a few private colleges are desegregated.

3. Employment of Negro policemen has increased from 29 Southern cities using 134 Negro policemen in 1945 to more than 150 cities and 32 counties employing nearly 1,000.

4. As of 1956, Negroes were serving on city councils in at least 21 Southern cities (mostly in N. C. and Va.) and held at least [illegible] appointive posts in more than 20 other communities. Of the latter, approximately 15 -- including such deep-South cities as Atlanta and Nashville -- had Negro members of their boards of education. Negroes have been nearly elected or re-elected to these posts in several Southern cities since [illegible].

5. In the last [illegible] years, at least [illegible] Southern cities have ended segregation [illegible] local buses without dissension. Montgomery, which was heavily disputed, makes 25.

6. Medical associations in eight Southern states accept Negro doctors, and [illegible] Southern states accept them as non-voting members. Between [illegible] and May 1956 alone, Negroes were newly admitted to [illegible] local medical associations. Nurses associations are desegregated in every state but one -- Georgia. [illegible] Parker, librarians, lawyers, and other professional [illegible] groups have opened their membership to Negroes in recent years.

7. An SRC survey recently found 88 public libraries in the former Confederate states offer services to Negroes on the same basis as whites. In 1941 there were only three.

8. The National Opinion Research Center has released some significant findings of a long-range survey of Southern attitudes. It found that the per cent of white Southerners who believe Negroes are as intelligent as whites rose from 21 per cent in 1942 to 58 per cent in 1956; 14 per cent approve of school integration, as compared with 2 per cent in 1942; 27 per cent approve of integrated transportation, as compared with 4 per cent 1942. Favorable attitudes were found to coincide with better education and the younger age groups.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

March 4,1958.

Dear Hal:

The enclosed clipping appeared in Sunday's Louisville Courier-Journal. It is obviously the "first" version which went out on the wire service and reached Louisville in time to make the early Sunday paper. Atlanta and Chattanooga got the same version. I am certain the "second" version did not go out as a substitute. The paper here did not use the story. Anyway, I wanted you to see it and in all likelihood a few of the other wire clients around the country may have used it that Sunday. Meanwhile, hope to see you soon on the economic story. My best to all in your bailiwick.

Regards

Johnny Popham

Enclosures: Wall St. Journal Article: "Sports Segregation..." dtd. 3/18/58
Wall St. Journal Reprint: "Segregation Costs..." dtd. 12/17/57
Wall St. Journal Reprint: "Religion & Race..." dtd. 2/14/58
14 copies: N.Y.T. Reprint: "The Southern Negro..." By John Popham, dtd. 12/1/57

March 20, 1958

Mr. John Popham
The New York Times Bureau
c/o The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Pop:

Here are a few things I wanted you to have - notably some reprints of your article and three of the Wall Street Journal's recent pieces on race.

I thought you would also be interested in the story about a tangle between Blossom and Miss Samuels, representing the New York Times Magazine. It looks as though these Yankee Times representatives are just doomed to squabble with the Little Rock authorities.

I'll be watching for your piece on the county unit system in the Sunday Times.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

The Chattanooga Times

August 8, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Many thanks for your note.

We front-paged Sitton's piece. Editorially, I'm going to let the situation rest for about a week, particularly in the face of a pathetically extreme editorial in the other paper here.

Then, I hope to make additional use of your good release.

The Kefauver victory was one of those truly heartening things.

Regards,

Martin Ochs

Martin S. Ochs
Editor

MSO:emh

June 19, 1959

Circulation Department
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Sir:

Please send us a paper for June 16 and 17, and bill us for cost.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to the Director
of Information

/c

CATHS

BY LEONARD BUDER

(C) 1960 NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

ST. LOUIS, AUG. 26--REGARDLESS OF WHETHER SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY OR VICE PRESIDENT NIXON WIN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, THE NEXT NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION WILL BE MORE VIGOROUS IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS FIELD, A CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL CONFERENCE WAS TOLD HERE TODAY.

THE PREDICTION WAS MADE BY DR. HAROLD FLEMING OF ATLANTA, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, IN AN ADDRESS TO THE FIRST NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE. THE SOUTHERN COUNCIL, WHICH WAS FOUNDED IN 1944, IS A NON-PARTISAN, INTERRACIAL ORGANIZATION WORKING TO PROMOTE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL CITIZENS OF THE AREA.

DR. FLEMING SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE "LITTLE COMFORT FOR THE TRADITIONAL SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP" IN EITHER A VICTORY OF SENATOR KENNEDY, THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE, OR VICE PRESIDENT NIXON, THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE. BOTH CANDIDATES, HE ADDED, HAVE SHOWN A DISPOSITION TO MOVE MUCH MORE FORCEFULLY ON CIVIL RIGHTS THAN THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

ABOUT 250 PERSONS, MOST OF WHOM ARE REPRESENTATIVES FROM LOCAL CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCILS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, ARE ATTENDING THE FOUR-DAY MEETING AT ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY. THE CONFERENCE, WHICH ENDS SUNDAY, REPRESENTS AN EFFORT TO MOBILIZE THE NATION'S 40,000,000 ROMAN CATHOLICS IN AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN TO WIPE OUT RACIAL PREJUDICE.

DURING TODAY'S WORKSHOP DISCUSSIONS, THE DELEGATES FOCUSED ATTENTION ON VARIOUS HUMAN RELATIONS PROBLEMS AFFECTING THE PARISH, THE COMMUNITY, HOUSING, EDUCATION AND OTHER AREAS OF CONCERN.

THE PARTICIPANTS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WERE CONCERNED ABOUT RACIAL PREJUDICE WHEREVER IT EXISTED, WHETHER IN THE OUTSIDE COMMUNITY OR WITHIN THE PARISH. CRITICISM WAS EXPRESSED OF SOME PRIESTS IN THE SOUTH WHO ARE RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT NEGROES INTO THEIR PARISHES, OR WHO DO NOT TAKE STRONG MORAL STANDS IN FAVOR OF INTEGRATION. THE SAME CRITICISM, IT WAS BROUGHT OUT, APPLIED TO CLERGYMEN OF OTHER FAITHS WHO ARE GUILTY OF PERSONAL PREJUDICE.

(MORE)LM1005P

1ST ADD CATHS-ST. LOUIS (TIMES) XXX PREJUDICE.

PRIESTS WHO TAKE AN EASY-GOING ATTITUDE TOWARD ARTIFICIAL BIRTH CONTROL, ONE PRIEST OBSERVED, WOULD BE SUBJECT TO ACTION BY HIS BISHOP. BUT, HE ADDED, DIOCESAN AUTHORITIES SOMETIMES FAIL TO ACT AGAINST THOSE FEW PRIESTS WHO MANIFEST RACIAL PREJUDICE.

CHANGING NEIGHBORHOOD CONDITIONS POSE A GREAT CHALLENGE TO THE PARISH PRIEST, THE REV. JOHN LAFARGE OF NEW YORK CITY, NOTED. FATHER LAFARGE, A FOUNDER OF THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL MOVEMENT, OBSERVED THAT SOME WHITE RESIDENTS OF A PARISH MISTAKENLY FEEL "THAT THE FINE OLD PARISH IS BEING DESTROYED" WHEN NEGROES MOVE IN. ACTUALLY, HE SAID, THIS INFLUX GIVES THE PARISH AN IDEAL OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IS TRULY CATHOLIC AND COMMITTED TO A BELIEF IN THE NATURAL UNITY OF MAN.

DURING THE DISCUSSIONS, SEVERAL SPEAKERS ASSERTED THAT THE RACE ISSUE WAS NOT A COLORED PROBLEM OR A WHITE PROBLEM, BUT RATHER MORAL, SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THERE WAS WIDE AGREEMENT THAT THERE WAS "NO EASY ANSWER" OR PANACEA AVAILABLE TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS. A SOLUTION, THE PARTICIPANTS SAID, WOULD HAVE TO COME FROM THE CONCERTED AND COOPERATIVE EFFORTS OF ALL AMERICANS.

IN HIS ADDRESS, DR. FLEMING ASSERTED THAT ALL MAJOR RELIGIOUS BODIES IN THE SOUTH HAVE TAKEN STANDS IN FAVOR OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND AGAINST SEGREGATION "AT THE TOP LEVELS, THE DENOMINATIONAL LEVELS, AND THIS APPLIES EVEN TO THE SOUTHERN DENOMINATIONS."

HOWEVER, HE SAID, AT THE LOCAL LEVEL THE CHURCH IS OFTEN CONFRONTED WITH THE PROBLEM OF WHAT TO DO ABOUT RACIAL ISSUES BECAUSE ITS MEMBERS MAY BE OPPOSED TO DESEGREGATION.

AS A GROUP, DR. FLEMING SAID, CLERGYMEN WERE MORE LIBERAL ON THIS ISSUE THAN LAY PEOPLE. HE ADDED THAT AMONG RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN THE SOUTH, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WAS NOT AS WIDE-SPREAD IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AS IN SOME PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS.

(END)LM1010P

Dear Doctor Hal:

Thought you might be interested in having this N.Y.Times wire copy. You sure snowed the troops out there,buddy, and that reporter apparently fell completely under the spell of language and wisdom imparted by the Old Master. We didn't use it here for two reasons:1.Saturday paper,no space; 2.we ran it in fill thematically on the front page last Sunday.

Give my love to the family and let me hear from you.

Pop

LWD
HCF

Dear Hal:

Get your memo to Ashmore.....I had sent along a note hewing roughly to the same theme.

The enclosed article was based on the Conway speech copy you sent me in today's mail. I took the material and arranged it as a topical report, thus getting across to the local power structure another item of their responsibility, the price tags and the steps being taken by their counterparts in more enlightened areas as regards the vital preparation programs. We have the court suit on hand now and I feel that a good newspaper should spotlight everything it can to promote orderly transition possibilities. So, I was glad to get the material. (2)

Hope I do get the chance to see you soon.

Always

Pop

P.S. You might send me another copy of the Conway speech for my files...I had to cut up the one I had to get it in the paper.

MF - P/s send this + return ltr for reply.
H.

2 copies sent 12/8/60 MT

January 9, 1962

Mr. John Popham
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear John:

This is a very rough copy but I believe it can be read. I wouldn't want you or Springer Gibson to try to check out any of the facts: just let me know if you see anything which obviously is wrong or which you would be suspicious of and think we should check into before releasing.

I would appreciate your calling me - collect - or Jim Moss, if I am not here, after you have had a chance to look the copy over.

Many thanks, and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.
Chattanooga mms.

November 7, 1962

Mr. Johnny Popham
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Pop:

Many thanks for handling the Ochs matter. I am sorry but, without knowing the particulars, do understand of course.

Happy to know you're back in stride and again, many thanks.

Come see us.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

The Chattanooga Times

Oct.23,1962

Dear Paul:

I should have answered you before this on the Ochs matter, but a virus pneumonia shackled me at home for some time, and even in recent days I have been coming in for only a limited number of hours. But I am very much on the mend and mainly pacing myself for the fall and winter weather ahead.

Martin has had to turn down the council membership proposal. It is a judgement I respect on the basis of his problems here. I will outline them to you in person and I feel sure you will understand...it is a very difficult matter, believe me. Some measure of the problem is understood by Fleming(not Ochs' particular case, but the condition) and I know he would approve this development. I'll get a chance to spin it out with you soon.

Flem made the talk, afterward we sat up in his room until 3:30 A.M. His plane left at 7:30 A.M. I haven't heard from him since. I recovered, but I'm not sure about him. I'm afraid to call and ask---but it was a lovely visit.

Best regards

Johnny Popham

File
Newspapers, et. al.
"Chattanooga Times"

January 6, 1964

Mr. John Popham
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear John:

Thank you.

It means a lot to me that you found our statement interesting. I mean just that. If, after all that has been said, we were able to say something which had some value for you, I feel mighty good.

The Atlanta Journal, incidentally, not only did a pretty full story on the statement when it came out, but last Saturday reproduced about half of it on its editorial page.

Don't you ever travel any more? We miss having you drop in.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Dear Leslie:

Thought you might like to have this for your files. It appeared in today's Monday paper.

I came down Sunday night and found the attached AP dispatch on the desk. The same old flub of the wire service...find some harsh phrases, pick out a few quotes that will capture "attention", maybe even get some of the fringe people infuriated and provide you with a follow-up that is even more fiery the next day. I thought your statement was very good, that the setting of the need for public leadership, for joining hands to get it at the ballot and otherwise in community action, that, indeed, this is ~~xxx~~ now taking place in many hopeful ways..but still touching all bases and reminding of the thoroughly bad past we have yet to atone for, etc. It seemed to me it was the kind of statement for this week that would help spur the emerging good and sound leadership that we do have some of grip on right now in many places, and therefore it was very constructive for newspaper immediacy. I had your release in the mail, fortunately, so I tried to knock out something that would get the high flavorof your report...I only had a few minutes to write, and I do think I could have done better with more time..but at least you have one recording that is superior to this wire service item.

Best regards

Johnny Popham

G69AX

G69AX

(200)

(ADVANCE FOR AMS OF MONDAY, DEC. 30)

ATLANTA, DEC. 30 (AP)-BOMBINGS AND KILLINGS CAUSED BY RACIAL HATRED ONLY OCCUR IN AREAS WHERE OFFICIAL AND COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOLERATE SUCH VIOLENCE, THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL SAID IN A STATEMENT TODAY.

THE COUNCIL, MADE UP OF WHITE AND NEGRO LEADERS WORKING FOR CLOSER RACIAL RELATIONS, SAID THERE WAS A NEED FOR STRENGTHENING THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOUTH.

"DEMONSTRATIONS ARE A DIRECT REACTION TO THE FAILURE OR THE LAGGARDNESS OF WHITE LEADERSHIP," THE COUNCIL SAID. "THE PUBLIC LEADERS OF THE SOUTH HAVE IT IN THEIR POWER AT ANY TIME TO STOP DEMONSTRATIONS BY SATISFYING THE DEMANDS OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, OF JUSTICE AND OF RELIGION."

THE REPORT ADDED:

"WE ARE LITTLE IMPRESSED BY PUBLIC OPINION POLLS WHICH REVEAL NEGRO BITTERNESS OR WHITE PREJUDICE. NO INFORMED AND INTELLIGENT OBSERVER HAS EVER DOUBTED THE EXISTENCE OF EITHER."

THE COUNCIL SAID BITTERNESS AND PREJUDICE WERE FACTORS THAT RESPONSIBLE INSTITUTIONS MUST CONTEND WITH AND RECTIFY.

"WHITE SOUTHERNERS," THE STATEMENT SAID, "HAVE A MUCH INFERIOR RECORD OF LOYALTY TO THE PRINCIPLES OF AMERICA AND OF THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN RELIGION."

THE COUNCIL DECLARED THEY HAD BEEN SUBVERTED BY SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS THE KU KLUX KLAN AND WHITE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS.

THE STATEMENT WAS ISSUED BY THE COUNCIL'S ATLANTA-BASED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

(END ADVANCE FOR AMS OF MONDAY, DEC. 30).

EP915PES NM

COUNCIL APPEALS TO DIXIE LEADERS

Says South Must Bolster Those Responsible for Attitudes

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — A South in which Negro and white citizens together exercise the ballot responsibly to bring about the democratization of the region's public life would be the greatest contribution to the national welfare at this stage in history, the Southern Regional Council declared Sunday.

For the overriding need is still to strengthen the leadership of the South, the council added, and to channel the two races' commonly held qualities of patience, forbearance, faith in human decency, intellectual and moral power into politics, schools, churches, business and other vital areas of the social fabric.

It is in this context, the council continued, that it would ask for national understanding and compassion for "those white Southerners who, because of the teaching and example of their civic leaders, perpetuate violence and spread malice.

"We would remind our fellow Southerners," the council stressed, "that as the record clearly shows, the bombers, the killers, the haters never act except in areas where they are tolerated by official and community attitudes. We come back, therefore, to the need for strengthening the leadership of the South.

Reaction to Failure

"Demonstrations are a direct reaction to the failure or the laggardness of white leadership.

"The public leaders of the South have it in their power at any time to stop demonstrations by satisfying the demands of the federal Constitution, of justice and of religion."

In recognition of the importance of leadership in this setting, the council said that it commended "those Negro and white citizens who, through lawful assembly, peaceful picketing and other forms of orderly demonstrations have used the methods of democracy to advance human rights."

"We commend their leaders, who have constantly taught that demonstrations must be nonviolent, in spirit as well as in form," the council said.

The council also noted that street demonstrations carry no virtue in themselves, but warned that "only the self-blinded fail to see the grandeur of the protest movement which since early 1960 has surged through the South.

"Through this movement," the council said, "Negroes seek no rights or privileges for themselves alone. They seek only those belonging to all American citizens.

"A wise society would encourage this discontent with inferior status, especially as its end result is to make more secure the rights of all."

The council also commended those Southern cities which in recent months have established effective biracial commissions and committees. It added its conviction that the "essence of good human relations lies in the search within each community for law and practices mutually satisfying to all its residents."

The council said it believed the increased concern of the federal government in civil rights matters and the leadership of President Kennedy and the announced resolve of President Johnson to continue this leadership "has done much good."

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Problem Is Local

It added, however, that the federal government does not satisfy the public well when it treats symptoms and not the problems, "when it merely palliates disorders and leaves them to fester and nag at the nerves of the people."

Consequently, the council said, the vital problems of race relations "can be well settled by state and local communities" when the leadership is strong and dedicated to democratic ideals.

"Under our system of federalism," the council noted, "most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action of local and state governments. Only their failure to do so has caused the federal government to intervene and continues to make strong federal action necessary, because the condition of our constitutional rights and of our race relations is a national burden and disgrace."

In this sense, the council added, Negroes in this country overridingly have rejected the voices of those who urge them to get behind a wall of hate toward whites or to the blandishments of the world-wide Communist conspiracy.

Rather, the council said, the Negro segment has held to its faith in American institutions, while many white Southerners have had "an inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and the Judeo-Christian religion," allowing themselves to be "subverted" by the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacy groups who blunt the moral sensitivity of men and women toward their neighbors.

Even so, the council declared, white Southerners are now showing "a quickened understanding" of the political, economic and moral interdependence of all of the peoples of the region, and with good leadership the South can make a positive contribution to the nation and to mankind.

The council is widely recognized as the region's foremost interracial organization working for equal opportunity and improvements.

Members of the council's executive committee who signed the statement are:

James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, S.C., president; John H. Wheeler, Durham, N.C., chairman of the executive committee; Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville; Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta; Albert W. Dent, New Orleans; John A. Griffin, Tallahassee; Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Atlanta; Joseph F. Haas, Atlanta; John P. Nelson Jr., New Orleans; Raymond Wheeler, Charlotte; Miss Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Ga.; H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Fla.; Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N.C.; Stephen J. Wright, Nashville; and Thomas W. Young, Norfolk.

File - Newspapers - et al
Chattanooga Times

September 27, 1965

Mr. John Popham
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear John:

Thank you so much for your letter to Paul and me. In typical Popham style you did the story of our change-over better than anybody. I have always meant to get by to see you in Chattanooga, but I never made it. I wish you would call me whenever you are in New York; maybe we can go bend an elbow with Claude or some of your other friends.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

WA
return to LD

Dear Leslie and Paul:

I put this together from your release material. My best wishes for success and warmest congratulations to both of you.

Regards

Johnny Popham

file - ~~Biography~~ Personal

SRC - gen

SOUTHERN PANEL NAMES DIRECTOR

Anthony New Leader of Interracial Unit Asking Equal Opportunities

Chattanooga Times
Aug 9, 1965

(Original Clip - Chat. Times Newspapers, et al)

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — The Southern Regional Council announced Sunday that Paul Anthony has been named executive director to succeed Leslie W. Dunbar. The staff change will take place Sept. 30.

Anthony is presently director of field activities for the council. Dunbar has resigned to become executive director of the Field Foundation in New York City, a philanthropic agency with projects widely supported throughout the country.

The council is a nonprofit organization composed of Southerners of both races representing business, labor, civic organizations and professional groups throughout the region. Its headquarters are in Atlanta.

The council is widely regarded as the foremost interracial organization in the South for fostering programs in support of equal opportunity for all Southerners without regard to race. For many years it has conducted research of discriminatory practices and has distributed tens of thousands of pamphlets as guidelines for public and private groups faced with the challenge of improving race relations in such areas as voting rights, police work, employment, education and community relations.

West Virginia Native

Dunbar, 44, a native of Lewisburg, W. Va., became executive director in March 1961. He was previously director of research.

Under his direction, the council staff developed an expanded publications program on problems and developments in southern race relations, and administered the voter education project, a Southwide effort to register Negro voters and study Negro enfranchisement.

Anthony, 37, a native Virginian, has been with the council since 1956. He has worked in its research department and as an administrator, and since December 1962 has coordinated activities with the state councils on human relations and other field concerns of the council.

He is a graduate of the University of Miami and worked previously as a school teacher in Virginia, and on the staff of the Wall Street Journal.

John H. Wheeler of Durham, N.C., president of the council, warmly commended Dunbar for his leadership of the council's activities. He added:

"I believe that Paul Anthony will give distinguished leadership to our work in this crucial period of continuing change and great challenge in the South. He is widely known and esteemed all over the country by other workers and leaders in civil rights and human relations work.

"Anthony also has the respect of government offices and officials. Best of all, he knows the South and its people, and he has friendships among our supporters throughout the region."

The council's officers include Marion A. Wright, former president and now vice president; Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta human relations specialist, vice president; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, vice president; Dr. Stephen J. Wright, president of Fisk University, vice president, and Margaret Long, Southern author, literary figure, and editor of the council's monthly publication "New South."

that occurred when Mr. Johnson

File — Newspapers, et al — "Chatt Times"

November 1, 1965

Mr. Johnny Popham
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Pop:

It was a damn fine article that could only have been written by a man who lived it. We are using a reprint of your story as the means of informing Members and friends of the particulars of the grant.

We'll do our best by you and the money.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Dear Paul:

Thought you might like to have this one for your files...I prepared it from the Ford Foundation release...and added the words on the Southern Regional Council, along with the names of the directors and the "tribute" to the long years of work with meager funds, so that the readers would get some idea of the SRC's real meaning...the release didn't do that. Congratulations to all of you...and when I think of the days when Mitchell and Fleming, and I, would sit over coffee and prepare articles to draw funds, or exchange contacts for touches, including my special set of Irish bomb-throwers in New York--the shoestring world we lived in --I can hardly catch my ~~xxxxxx~~ breath on this amount of money. Lord bless you all, and do a great job for all of us....

Best

Johnny Popham

The Chattanooga Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER, 27, 1965.

Ford Fund Gives Millions In Support of Pluralism

Special to The Chattanooga Times

NEW YORK — The Ford Foundation announced Tuesday a multimillion-dollar support program to help strengthen American pluralism through wide use of independent and private institutions to augment the expanding role of government concern in social welfare.

Foundation officials noted that pluralistic practices are essential to the free society because they involve the whole range of actions and decisions taken at countless points of community interaction. This in turn challenges the private sector to share in social progress through experiment and innovation.

"The way to preserve pluralism," the officials noted, "lies not in rolling back government, but in maintaining and strengthening independent, private institutions capable of contributing to the well-being of American society with energy and originality."

Tuesday's action concerned nine separate grants, totaling $5,028,750, and including two major awards to Southern projects —$972,000 for the Southern Regional Council to study and evaluate a broad range of human welfare programs, and $800,000 to the University of North Carolina for comprehensive research on population problems.

Henry T. Heald, foundation president, noting that the nine grants represent a cross section of several areas in which the foundation is active—urban poverty, population, human relations preservation of great national landmarks, labor relations, and effectiveness of state government —said they were announced simultaneously "as a tangible reminder of the important role private effort can and must play even as government expands its concern for social welfare."

The other grant-supported projects were:

1. $600,000 to the Urban Training Center for Christian Mission (Chicago), sponsored by 13 Protestant denominations, to help urban churches play a more active part in antipoverty efforts.

2. $80,000 to the National Council of Churches to arrange a series of conferences to acquaint church leaders with significant urban work by church groups.

3. $366,000 to the National Urban League to initiate a nationwide program to assist Negro entrance into selected labor unions, primarily in special-skill trades.

4. $1.2 million to the City of Oakland, Calif., for further support of its community-development program to mobilize local resources to combat human problems in the community "gray areas."

5. $130,750 to the U.S. Conference of Mayors for a study of government assistance in preserving architectural and historical landmarks.

6. $130,000 to Brown University for analyses of federal legislation relating to labor-management relations.

7. $750,000 to the recently formed Citizens Conference on State Legislature for a national program to stimulate citizen action for the improvement of state government.

The award to the Southern Regional Council, the foremost interracial organization working for human relations improvements in the South, was viewed by Southern moderate leaders as a major endorsement and tribute to the council's long years of service on meager funds in the interests of human betterment throughout the region.

Numerous Successes

Under the executive directorship, in order, of George Mitchell, Harold C. Fleming, Leslie Dunbar and Paul Anthony, the council, composed of white and Negro leaders from all walks of life in the South, has attained numerous successes in human betterment projects through education, persuasion and research studies.

The foundation grant is designed to help the council, with headquarters in Atlanta, study federal programs in city planning, fair employment, antipoverty, housing and school integration, along with a second group of studies dealing with state welfare programs, rehabilitation of criminals, penal administration, and unemployment resulting from technological change.

The council will also use the funds to provide technical assistance and training to Negro and other groups trying to help themselves through community organizations, credit unions and agricultural cooperatives. The council also will support training in human relations within Southern labor unions, and will help carry out a program of voter registration.

Heald noted that as the federal government greatly expands its role in education and social welfare, the responsilities of private effort increase in the pluralistic society. He added:

"The grants illustrate some of the reasons. For example, private agencies must continue to pioneer in important affairs from which the government is absent or inadequately involved—the population problem is such a field.

"In fields where government is very active, efforts supported heavily or in part by private funds—such as Oakland's antipoverty activities—can play a valuable part as models, demonstrations of parallel approaches, or as supplements for activities federal programs do not cover.

"Moreover, government programs tend to amplify the status quo approaches, and private agencies with proven ability to innovate, experiment, and sometimes to challenge — as the churches are increasingly doing on urban social problems—are important sources of social progress.

"Government itself is not always the best judge of its own performance, and independent agencies—as in the case of the grants to Brown University, the Conference of Mayors, and the Southern Regional Council—can often evaluate and monitor government efforts more effectively.

"The private sector can also organize itself—as in the case of the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures—to work toward the improvement of the machinery of government itself."

NAME OR SUBJECT:

CHATTANOOGA TIMES

COMMENDATIONS 1966

DATE:

xxxxxxxx28xxx 2/8/66

REGARDING:

Ford Grants Co For Race Study
Chattanooga Times

SEE:

Name or Subject:

SRC COMMENDATIONS

file
Newspapers

March 4, 1966

Mr. Johnny Popham
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Johnny:

Thanks for the clippings about our new Voter Project. I only wish we had all over the South the kind of coverage and the quality of coverage that we had in the Chattanooga Times.

We were sorry you couldn't get down for the Attorney General's speech on Monday. It was an interesting occasion. Fleming flew down with the Attorney General. It is not quite like it used to be!

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Dear Paul:

These are for your files. Best regards.

Johnny Popham

File
Newspapers -
Chatt. Times

May 5, 1966

Mr. John Popham
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Pop:

Thank you, as usual, for your quality coverage of our release concerning Alabama registration.

How I wish the Chattanooga Times had a news service that was used by the regional and national press. You do the best job going, and I only wish it was not limited to Chattanooga.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Newspapers, Et. Al
"Chattanooga Times"

REGARDING

Press coverage on THE CONTINUING CRISIS

DATE

5-13-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

SRC COMMENDATIONS

Education Office Is Defended By Southern Regional Council

By ROY REED

© New York Times News Service

ATLANTA — The Southern Regional Council Sunday issued a sharply worded report defending the federal Office of Education against criticism that it has pushed southern school desegregation too fast this year.

"Far from having been overzealous," the council said, "this agency has—if the law has any meaning at all—so far failed to achieve what the law demanded."

The council, an influential private agency devoted to racial equality, called for tougher school guidelines by the education office.

The organization said "low-grade terror" was continuing against Negro students and their parents who insist on desegregating schools in recalcitrant areas of the deep South. The council said the terror was enough "to suggest a new national scandal brewing out of the South."

The report made public Sunday is a 46-page study of the federal education office's school desegregation efforts this year. The office has taken on the major enforcement of school desegregation since the 1964 Civil

See Page Ten, Column Four

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES, MONDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1966.

COUNCIL DEFENDS FEDERAL OFFICE

From Page One

Rights act prohibited discrimination in any program receiving federal aid.

The education office announced last week that the number of Negroes in school with whites in the South had doubled since last year.

The council said its own figurs showed slightly smaller gains in Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana than the education office reported. Over-all, the council did not challenge the federal agency's Southwide figures.

The education office's guidelines, which southerners have so roundly condemned this year, actually have contributed to this gradualism, the council said.

"The guidelines still presuppose a dual system of schools, drawn as they are from the prevailing notion of allowing Negro children to attend white schools," it said.

The guidelines have been nullified in some areas by harassment of Negro students and parents, the council said.

"In one rural Alabama county," the council related, "Negro children, beaten by whites on the first day of school, refused to get off a schoolbus until school authorities granted them protection. Denied this protection, they remained on the bus and were suspended for staging a sit-in demonstration."

In another rural district, it said, whites have used this scheme: The school has a rule that any person involved in a fight, regardless of who starts it, is suspended. Four suspensions constitute expulsion. Four white students agreed to start fights with one Negro, taking their three-day suspensions in rotation. After the fourth fight, the Negro is expelled.

The council suggested tighter enforcement and tighter guidelines: "Perhaps a single guideline—the abolishment of dual systems."

The United States' supply of surplus dairy products has been nearly depleted in the last two or three years.

Let me
clip this
Cannon Dawson

Dear Paul:

Thought you might like to have this for your files----the front page play for the southern liberal voice speaking out in defense of the Office of Education....you may want to send a photo copy along to Howe's office to show them that once the political campaign was past, then organizations of SRC calibre can help "educate" the public, which doesn't yet know what a guideline is, but gathered from the heat of the political oratory that it sure was something terrible against the South.

Best

Pop

See Newspapers / Chatt Times

March 22, 1967

Mr. Johnny Popham
Managing Editor
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Pop:

Thanks so much for your thoughtful note about NEW SOUTH. I agree that Pat Watters and his staff are doing a great job and we all appreciate praise from such quarters. I agree, too, that a publication of quality is a particular tribute to George Mitchell and Harold Fleming and we think of it as such.

I thought Gene Patterson's piece was particularly good and was happy to see how he analyzed your pioneer role in reporting on the South. Because of this angle we would like to reprint it in NEW SOUTH with proper permission, of course. Do you have any objection (you understand of course we aren't trying to "butter" up an editor or even a good friend but its news!)

Incidentally, you might enjoy the recent article from the Courier-Journal Magazine about SRC, particularly its reference to Harold.

Do come to see us sometime.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km
Enc.

PW
PA

The Chattanooga Times

File Newspapers - Pat

March 26,1967

Dear Paul:

Thanks for the lovely letter and the kind thoughts about reprinting the Patterson article in your NEW SOUTH publication. Of course, you have my permission, and I'd be most flattered at any such step, but I can hardly agree that it's news, even though I am most thankful to Gene and all the rest of you for having such nice recollections of Old Pop's labors in the vineyard some years ago. No matter how the years pile up, it's still a wonderfully warming thing to find old friends remember you. I read the SRC article in the Courier-Journal magazine when it appeared and made a note at the time to write you a line of congratulations, but I just forgot about it under press of problems locally. Meanwhile, give my warmest regards to all in your office and keep up the good work.

Always

Johnny Popham

GUIDELINE ISSUED BY SRC ON RACE

Says Goal Should Not Be Just an 'Absence' of Rioting

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA—The Southern Regional Council, in a formal statement titled "On the National Crisis," has declared its opposition to racism and separatism as being "antithetical to everything America stands for."

The council, an interracial organization of community leaders from the Southern states and widely regarded as the most effective group of its kind in the region for many years, issued its statement as a sort of philosophical guideline for viewing the riots that have occurred in American cities this summer.

The council stresses that in its judgment the good will between the two races in the South has not deteriorated in recent years of tension and sometimes total change in legal frameworks, but rather it has even improved where Negroes have gained self-respect and status in the society and where they have been able to function on an equal footing in day-to-day and face-to-face associations.

"It is our belief," the statement observes, "that Southerners, white and Negro, have moved and are resolved to move toward the kind of society, one of equal opportunity and human dignity, made possible by the Constitution of the United States.

Move Toward Higher Goal

"It is toward this high goal rather than the absence of riots that we must look."

The statement, in part, follows:

"As an organization of Southerners of both races dedicated to equal opportunity for all, the Southern Regional Council has watched with profound grief and alarm the riots that have occurred during this first half of the summer of 1967.

"But far more destructive than riots would be the failure of the nation to recognize riots as a symptom of profound failure — social and economic — of American society to provide a chance for a decent and constructive life for vast numbers of its people, North and South, white and Negro.

"Fully aware of the need for fact and sympathy in doing so, we are compelled as Southerners, out of a knowledge of our own region's tragic history of racial antagonism, to speak to the nation, urging that it act against the causes of the riots and not merely with repressive force to end them.

Urges Conformity to Laws

"We would also urge the South, as it continues to strive to restructure its society to conform to laws of equality and racial justice, to look upon these riots which have occurred in Northern cities as a severe object lesson in the tragic consequences of not achieving these objectives fully for all citizens.

"We are grieved about the damage, destruction, injury and death attendant on riots. But we are even more concerned about the damage physically, mentally and spiritually that has been done to far more human beings over many years by the social conditions out of which the riots have risen.

"The grave national emergency of the riots at essence involves the conditions that Southern organizations like ours have struggled against for years — poverty and discrimination against Negroes.

"As so often we have had in the past to point out that only a minority of white Southerners have engaged in racial violence, so it should be noted that only a minority of Negroes have succumbed to the destructive fury expressed in the riots.

"But the suffering and injustice which have stirred their fury are borne by many millions more, whites as well as Negroes.

"Particularly is this true in the South. However, we can take neither comfort nor any degree of self-satisfaction out of the fact that until this moment, most of the riots and the worst of them have occurred outside the South.

"We can only acknowledge that historically, the South has exported people of both races not properly prepared for life in a complex modern nation, and with them have developed new variants of the deprivation and racial antagonisms that have so long crippled the South.

"And we can only look about our own region and know that the same conditions which have exploded into riots also exist in many places in the South. The starvation-level poverty in many parts of the rural South is a particularized problem of ours, more severe and punishing probably than any other poverty in the nation.

Progress, But Not Enough

"Progress in race relations and against poverty in the South has been great in recent years. But it has not been enough. While these states have made efforts toward compliance with federal civil rights laws, perhaps to a great degree than the rest of the nation is aware of, there has been achieved in no area of desegregation the goals of national law and commitment.

"In the basics of making a living, the South's per capita income has increased at a greater rate than that of the nation since 1950. But in terms of actual dollars, the gap between the South's per capita income and that of the rest of the nation has widened.

"in these and other endeavors, the South has been gaining, but not enough.

"In 1960, when white violence was the problem, a Southern Regional Council publication, "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement," stated: "Law enforcement is . . . an essential factor in the progress of race relations. In the continuing racial crises of the South, the police have two basic responsibilities: To enforce the laws with absolute impartiality, and, secondly, to maintain a climate of public order in which constitutional liberties can be freely exercised, by white men or Negroes, by integrationists, or segregationists." These responsibilities remain.

"There should be no confusion of rioting with either the tradition of nonviolent Negro protest demonstrations or with the honorable philosophical principles of civil disobedience.

"Unlawful violence by a mob has none of the moral defense or force of these traditions, and such violence must be quelled, just as white mob violence against constitutional peaceful protest has to be.

"But in both instances, we must be alert to the dangers of excessive, unconstitutional use of police force; we must look with apprehension on any tendency to be satisfied merely with the momentary ending of the system of violence without following through with treatment of the social and economic malfunctionings that are the underlying causes of such violence.

"We, the South, can still avoid in most cities the development of ghettoes. We can utilize intelligent planning to make people rather than things the central factor in industrialization, urbanization, the transformation of agriculture, and the utilization of natural resources and the South's as yet largely unspoiled beauty of landscape."

Air Force Now Using New Glue To Repair Bullet Holes in Planes

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ANDREWS AFB, Md. — Air Force planes hit by small arms fire in Vietnam are being repaired quickly and permanently with a "patch and glue 'em" system devised by materials engineers of Air Force Systems Command.

The "glue" is a super-strength epoxy adhesive that is mixed by troops in the field, applied to patches large enough to cover bullet holes, and affixed to exterior surfaces.

Aircraft currently wearing the metal or fiberglass patches on wings, helicopter rotor blades and fuel storage tanks include HH43 and UH1 helicopters and low-flying F4Cs and RF101s.

According to T. J. Reinhart, project engineer of Systems Command's Air Force Materials Laboratory at Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio, Air Force engineers worked about a month to find the best combination of base materials after pilots and aircraft repairmen in Vietnam recognize the need for such an adhesive.

The putty-like adhesive also remains stable in contact with salt and lubricants and in temperatures from minus 65 degrees Fahrenheit to 165 degrees Fahrenheit.

Seals which require no follow-on maintenance are so strong that 6,000 pounds of pressure, or the weight of a heavy automobile, would be needed to break a one-inch patch.

Convenient to use, the "glue" comes in ready-to-mix kits of two packages, an epoxy resin and the curing agent. Ingredients combine easily and are properly mixed when the correct shade of gray coloring appears. Unmixed packages can be stored indefinitely.

Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co., currently is producing eight-ounce kits under an Air Force contract. Each kit costs about $1.

Army, Marine Corps Get 150 New General Officers

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Senate confirmed Friday promotions of 150 generals in the Army and Marine Corps.

Francis Leon Sampson was confirmed as a major general and Chief of Army Chaplains.

Thirty-two other Army officers were confirmed as temporary major generals and 100 as brigadier generals.

Six Marine Corps officers were confirmed as temporary major generals and 11 as brigadiers.

Long promotion lists in the rank of colonel and below in the Army and Air Force also were approved.

Fishing Fleet Grows

WASHINGTON — The U.S. commercial fishing industry added more new vessels, 816, last year than in any other year since 1949, when 1,002 additions were made. Nearly half the new vessels list home ports in the Gulf Coast states.

See ~~Pol~~
Chatt. Times
Cr. ref policy statements
S.C.

file

Dear Paul:

These clips are ~~from~~ for your files---I put it together from the booklet you sent a few days ago. Best to all in your organization.

Johnny Popham

See Newspapers, et al
Chatt. Times

October 18, 1967

Mr. John Popham
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Johnny:

While I was very sorry to miss you last Wednesday, I can more than understand not doing so. In fact, I came early for a TV taping which blessedly didn't come off! I called your office about 11:00 a.m. and learned of your schedule. I did have an opportunity to run by and meet Mrs. Golden very briefly. Charming lady.

One of these days, somewhere, I still look forward very much to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

October 3, 1967

Mr. John Popham
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Pop:

Next Wednesday, October 11, I am speaking to something called the Community Services Club at noon. William Galbraith, Director of the Family Service Agency is handling arrangements. I will be driving up that morning and returning shortly after the luncheon but if you are available I would like to at least run by and say "Hello".

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

December 10, 1968

Mr. John N. Popham
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Johnny:

Thanks, as always, for your considerable attention to our affairs. We would like so much to have you come to the conference if you found it possible to do so. I think it will be quite an occasion.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SEE BELOW

The Chattanooga Times

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., 37401, MONDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1968.

BLACK OFFICIALS TO HOLD MEETING

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — The first "Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials" will be held here December 11-14 by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Main speakers for the conference will include U.S. Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York, State Rep. Julian Bond of Atlanta, and newly elected Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm of Brooklyn, N.Y.

In addition to the general sessions, the black elected officials will attend a number of workshops and panel discussions arranged by the Voter Education Project to enable them to fill their offices more effectively.

Between 200 and 300 of the 380

See Page Six, Column One

BLACK OFFICIALS TO HOLD MEETING

From Page One

black elected officials in the South are expected to attend.

Rep. Bond will deliver the opening address at a dinner Dec. 11.

Last summer Rep. Bond gathered case histories for a soon-to-be-published VEP booklet on how black candidates in the South conduct their campaigns.

Clark will speak at a banquet Friday. John Wheeler of Durham, president of the Southern Regional Council, will preside and VEP Director Vernon E. Jordan Jr. will introduce the speaker.

Mayor Hatcher will speak at a public forum Thursday at Clark College. Students from the Atlanta University complex and the public will be invited to attend and pose questions for Mayor Hatcher and a panel of four other black officeholders.

Dr. Clark, noted New York psychologist and president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, will speak at a luncheon Thursday.

Dr. Samuel D. Cook of Duke University, chairman of the VEP advisory committee, will trace the history of Negro political participation in the South.

Mrs. Chisholm, who won election Nov. 5 in New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant area, is the first Negro woman to be sent to Congress. She will address the conference's concluding luncheon Saturday.

With the exception of the forum at Clark College and the Friday banquet at which Clark will speak, all sessions will be held at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel, which will be conference headquarters. The Friday banquet will be held at the American Motor Hotel.

A luncheon panel Friday will feature five Negro candidates who recently mounted major campaigns in the South and lost. The five and the offices they sought are Maynard Jackson, U. S. Senate in Georgia; Reginald A. Hawkins, governor in North Carolina; Charles Evers, U. S. House in Mississippi; George A. Payton, U. S. House in South Carolina; and A. W. Willis, mayor in Memphis.

Three black experts on finance and taxation will appear on a panel on Friday morning. They are Gerald Lamb Connecticut state treasurer; Theodore Jones, Illinois director of revenue; and Alfred Pelham, chairman of Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company, Detroit.

Appearing on the panel with Mayor Hatcher will be State Rep. Robert Clark of Holmes County, Miss.; City Councilman Henry Marsh of Richmond, Va.; State Rep. J. C. Daugherty of Atlanta; and John McCown, newly elected commissioner from Hancock County, Ga.

A panel discussion will follow Dr. Cook's address. Members of the panel will be State Sen. Barbara Jordan of Houston; Lawrence T. Guyot Jr., chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Dr. C. G. Gomillion, school board member from Tuskegee, Ala.; and Joseph A. Jordan Jr., city councilman from Norfolk.

Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen will greet the officeholders at the Thursday morning session.

The officials will divide into five groups for workshops.

Purpose of the four-day meeting, which is wholly sponsored by VEP, is to bring the elected officials together to discuss mutual problems, to share experiences, and to receive information designed to help them serve more effectively.

Only those officials holding elected public offices are being invited. The list includes 151 city officials, 78 law enforcement and judicial officials, 72 school board members, 55 county officials, and 30 state legislators, all from the 11 states of the Old South.

Rev. John Morris, former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, will handle planning and arrangements for the conference. VEP has held somewhat similar conferences for newly elected Negro officials in Mississippi and Louisiana during the past year.

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., supports projects of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in the 11 Southern states.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit nonpartisan organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Dear Paul:

Thought you might like to have this for your files and to show the participants that they at least started with a front-page story in the South. My best to all at your shop.

Johnny Popham

NEGRO EXPULSION AT LITTLE ROCK HIT

Southern Interracial Group Calls Step a Danger for Control of Education

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, March 1 — A Southern interracial organization warned today that expulsion of a Negro student from Little Rock's Central High School had "dangerous implications for basic control of public education in the region."

The Southern Regional Council, composed of leaders of both races in the fields of education, labor, religion and business in thirteen states, declared that the subsequent expulsion of a white student "may have lessened but did not eliminate the danger."

"The fact remains," the council said, "that the ground on which the Negro student was expelled encouraged a fanatical minority in its attempt to destroy moderate progress of compliance with court-ordered desegregation."

The case cited by the council concerned Minnijean Brown, 16-year-old Negro, who was expelled from the Little Rock school in mid-February after a closed hearing with school officials.

Distributed Bias Cards

Yesterday the Little Rock school board also ousted Sammie Dean Parker, 16-year-old white girl, who had figured in several racial incidents at Central High School. No reason for Miss Parker's expulsion was given. But she has been under suspension since Feb. 17 for distributing anti-integration cards at the school.

Miss Brown was charged with reportedly violating a pledge not to respond to provocation by antagonistic white students. It was specified that she had used the term "white trash" in reply to an epithet from a white girl student who subsequently struck Miss Brown with a handbag.

The Negro student was one of nine who entered Central High School last September under Federal Court orders later upheld by the use of Federal troops at the direction of President Eisenhower. Since her expulsion, Miss Brown has enrolled in a private interracial school in New York City.

"To require a 16-year-old girl to suffer in silence a highly organized campaign of abuse and provocation is neither fair nor reasonable," the council asserted.

"Moreover," it continued, "the American people must never forget that these situations involve not just abstract legal issues, but also young and sensitive human personalities who find themselves cast as pioneers of contested social change.

"The decent impulses of the majority of the students have been suppressed by fear of the aggressive pro-segregation element, prodded by their parents. The hand of this obstructive minority has been strengthened by their success in picking off one of the nine Negro pupils.

"This was graphically illustrated, following the expulsion, by the immediate appearance of printed cards on the school grounds whcih bore the meaningful legend, 'One down and eight to go.'"

It was in connection with the distribution of these cards that Miss Parker was suspended.

"The trend in Little Rock carried to its ultimate conclusion," the council declared, "could well mean the control of our public schools by rabid, regressive elements that would lower standards through restrictions on academic freedom."

Dear Hal:

xTkx Take sheet A for the news story to be given with the release material. Then take the "Fleming statment", tack it on to the front of the TV report, making it all of one piece, so that the TV report actually supports and supplements the executive director's report in behalf of the council. How would that work as a move to get the story across? Remember, I'm just thinking and writing this off the tope of my head tonight and rushing it to you for the refinement. I do believe somewhere in here xx is where the story rests. I do believe that once this cue-ing theme is presented in the "elite" spots it would give great help all around.

Love

Pop

A

Atlanta---- Negro teachers' acceptance of the challenge to improve their classroom skills promises to emerge as "one of the more significant responses to the realities of public school desegregation," the Southern Regional Council reported today.

"Scientific testing on one hand and a regional jingoism on the other has tended to obscure the very human and profoundly democratic story which Negro teachers are beginning to write in terms of what might be called 'bootstrap freedom to know and to act'", the council added.

Harold C.Fleming, executive director of the council, and interracial improvement organization with chapters in 13 states sponsored by educators, clergymen, business, labor and professional leaders of both races, released the report from council headquarters here.

Mr.Fleming noted that in general the testing of pupils by qualified experts showed "no provable differences" among the races in native capacity or intelligence, but that against the "heritage factor of southern bi-racial community structure" there were "spreads in achievement that showed the average Negro child running behind the average white child of the same grade."

Significantly, Mr.Fleming added, such testing often showed a "large spread between low-achiever and high-achiever in a white pupils group of whatever grade". And in placing Negro and white children in the same classroom, grade for grade, there tended to be an even wider achievement spread, he added.

"At the same time such testing has been carried out," Mr. Fleming wrote, "the racial extremists have played upon emtoions, stereotype thinking and appeals to bigotry that overlook the vital difference between one's innate capacoty or intelligence and the ability to achieve or upgrade.

"These voices by sheer incantation have equated for their followers the scientific interpretations of innate capacity and individual achievement. But they constantly ignore the effect on achievement of generations of slum living, inadequate teaching tools and group apathy stemming from social, political and economic shackles."

Mr.Fleming then pointed to a recent documented study of the Louisville(Ky.) elementary school system involving some 30,000 children, after two years in the process of desegregation, that showed Negro pupils in all grades making substantial improvement and white pupils recording a slight improvement.

Significantly, Mr.Fleming noted, the Louisville study not only concerned children in desegregated schools, but all children in all elementary grades, segregated and unsegregated, with the average showing of basic improvement in achievement for all of them.

The council report then called attention to a recent public statement on this matter by Omer Carmichael, superintendent of the Louisville public schools, during a television panel discussion in Atlanta. Asked to account for the improvement of Negro children in all-Negro schools, he replied:

"That's a long story. When the question has been asked, I have said that the average Negro teacher is not as good as the average white teacher. This has disturbed our Negro teachers a great deal.

"I have sat down with the four hundred ofthem at one stage and for two hours answered questions that they asked about my public statements to that effect. They know that I am not unkind about it. I am simple being realistic. It's true.

"There are excellent Negro teachers and there are excellent white teachers. But if you take the average, the average Negro teacher is not as good as the average white teacher.

"Now, these Negro teachers, wherever they worked, said 'The superintendent is saying we aren't as good as the white teachers, so let's show him.' And they've worked as I've never seen teachers work.

"The result was that they've carried the Negro children, in the all-Negro schools, right up with all the other Negro children."

Mr.Fleming said that this "underscores a truly meaningful aspect of the real worth of the human personality that is so often lost to public view as the impersonal forces struggle to reach goals in the schod desegregation controversy."

"What we have here," he said, "is the good fruit that comes when people of goodwill face facts honestly. An able leader in a desegregation situation , resting solely and honestly on the evidence before him, has evaluated the role of the pupils involved and then found in some measure that an inhibiting factor for the low-achievement group of segregated pupils rests mainly with the classroom skills of the teachers.

"And these teachers as a group, because they were given facts and not incantation, set about correcting the weakness out of deep personal pride and through hard work. And the record shows they succeeded. ~~because these are the only meaningful yardsticks in a democracy."~~

B

Statement by Fleming

The attached report of the television panel discussion featuring Omar Carmichael is clearly a demonstration that Negro teachers' acceptance of the challenge to improve their classroom skills promises to emerge as one of the more significant responses to the realities of public school desegregation in the South.

Scientific testing on one hand and a regional jingoism on the other has tended to obscure the very human andprofoundly democratic story which Negro teachers are beginning to write in terms of what might be called 'bootstrap freedom to know and to act', for they have, in this instance, adapted the American challenge of lifting themselves by their own bootstraps to help solve a problem that fundamentally is a social one.

(pickup the rest of the Fleming quotes in the news story and weave them into this statement as apprpriate for the news extraction.)

(1)

File ~~Add warlin data~~ ?

Inter office (LWD)

Judge Hooper has decided that the plan submitted by the Atlanta Board of Education for desegregating the city's public schools represents a bona fide effort to satisfy the constitutional rights of Negro children in Atlanta. The judge has also made clear that the plan must be administered equitably if it is to continue to meet Constitutional requirements.

Among the numerous criteria which will, under the plan, govern the Board in acting on the applications of Negro students for transfers are two which can be applied, and should be applied, in the light of the experience of other desegregated school systems. These are the criteria which read:

- the effect of admission of the pupil upon the academic progress of other students in a particular school or facility thereof;
- the effect of admission upon prevailing academic standards at a particular school.

In regard to these two criteria, facts, and not mere supposition, can now guide the Board.

The unanimous testimony of administrators of desegregated school systems has been that the admission of Negro students to previously all-white schools neither drags down other students in the school, nor hurts academic standards. This has been true both in systems with only "token integration," and with systems of thorough desegregation.

The question of the effect of desegregation on academic progress and standards was, for example, raised repeatedly at the conference last March in Nashville before the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Superintendents or other officials from 17 districts, large and small, testified. Not one indicated any scholastic set-back resulting from desegregation.

Typical of the comments was the following by Dr. W. I. Miller, Superintendent of Schools, Wilmington, Delaware:

> They [Negro students] must compete with the white students on a much higher level and a very satisfactory number of them are recognizing that and are applying themselves... The accomplishment of the average white students is better than it was. The accomplishment of the above average and the advanced placement and honor classes is truly remarkable.

Dr. Miller went on to make clear that this improvement ~~is~~ in academic achievement resulted from superior teaching methods, and was not because of desegregation. But the point is, that desegregation did not adversely affect the white students's progress.

~~Virtually~~ Much the same thing was said by the superintendents of Logan County (Kentucky), Nashville (Tennessee), and nearly every superintendent who testified.

~~Many stories, some~~

In a televised interview in Atlanta last September, Superintendent Carmichael of Louisville dealt with this point. He reported that in Louisville's three years of desegregation, white achievement had risen slightly, while Negro achievement had risen substantially. Mr. Carmichael commented further on the remarkable increase in motivation and effort by Negro teachers in the more competitive situation of desegregation:

change from to a point as indicated

> When the question has been asked, I have said that the average Negro teacher is not as good as the average white teacher. This has disturbed our Negro teachers a great deal. I have sat down with the four hundred of them at one stage and for two hours answered questions that they asked about my public statements to that effect. They know that I am not unkind about it. I simply am being realistic. It's true. There isn't a shred of doubt in my mind about it. There are excellent Negro teachers, and there are excellent white teachers. But if you take the average, the average Negro teacher is not as good as the average white teacher. Now, these Negro teachers, wherever they worked, said, "The Superintendent is saying we aren't as good as the white teachers, so let's show him." And

they've worked as I've never seen teachers work. The result was ~~they~~ that they've carried the Negro children, in the all-Negro schools, right up with all the other Negro children.

What we have in this Louisville teacher experience is the good fruit that comes when people of good will face facts honestly. An able leader in a desegregation situation, resting solely and honestly on the evidence before him, has ~~xxx~~ evaluated the role of the pupils involved and then found in some measure that an inhibiting factor for the low-achievement group of segregated pupils rests mainly with the classroom skills of the teachers.

And these teachers as a group, because they were given facts and not incantation, set about correcting the weakness out of deep personal pride and through hard work. And the record shows they succeeded.

Similarly, if facts, and not fearful incantations are used, the two aforementioned criteria in the Atlanta plan will not exclude any Negro pupils from what are now white schools.

The facts are, that there are no provable differences among the races in native intelligence; that there are substantial differences between Negro and white average school achievement in the South; that these differences are all explainable by the social and economic disadvantages, the cultural deprivations, and the frustrated motivations (does any Negro child believe that he can be President someday?) of Negro children; that wherever desegregation has been adopted, Negro academic achievement has greatly improved and the progress of white students has not been slowed.

John Popham
NY Times

Dear Hal:

Ive been thinking a lot lately about our pet subject. The thing that s trikes me right now is the failure to hit a positive note as a psychological gimmick that will egg on the new "recruits" to cha llenging the die-hards to get moving. We've often talked about that theme before, the need to be flexible enough to shift around so that we could find methods for commend ing the faceless heroes who do the right thing just because it is right and who are not to be equated with the Talmadges,et al in any given area in the South. I have in mind the outbreak in Delaware and Baltim ore, and Times story that Sunday on front page and in several column length which made swiftly the point that while these two outbreaks were being spotlighted, scores of communities in West Virginia and Delaware and Missouri and so forth, many with Southern viewpoints stronger than Delaware and Baltimore, were going right ahead with successful school integration. I always was proud in feeling that that story had a lot to do with shifting the emphasis and getting some perspecti ve into the city desk actions around the country. I noted yesterday that St.Louis, a rough town, had gone ahead with integration. It is going on in s o many border areas that were bastions of bigotry only yesterda y in everyone's eyes. We need to compliment those people fast so that they will know their ser vi ces have not gone unnoticed and perhaps get across a psychological gimmick in which they will urge the foot-draggers to get up and join them, that i f they can do it so can most anyone else. Then there is the need to underscore this development with smash impact in the world propaganda line. For instance, we all know that prior to the court ruling, not only the 21 states and the District of Columbia had the segregation statutes but a helluva lot of other places aro und the country t hrough devio us routes and common consent gaave sup port to the southern customs as the best answer to the problem.

So what? You really had perhaps thirty-three states where the nasty procedures held sway in KEY areas. The decision meant that all were outside the law. That meant the twelve states, say, had to stop kidding around and get serious about it and they uniformly did so. Of the twenty-one with the statutes, about eight have knocked it off in a wonderful demonstration(such as Delaware, Kansas, Arizona, Maryland, West Virginia, etc.) amd the District of Columbia. That leaves thirteen traditional southern states that have done nothing so far. But that also means that before May 17 we really had about two-thirds of the country given to the practices in public education that spawn race bigotry, and after May 17 we have thirteen, or less than one-third, doing it. Now, we know that a wise implemntation decree by the court will help swiftly spell an end to it for practical purposes in nine of the thirteen states, leaving only four, or one-twelfth of the nation, that soon will be out OF step.

Consequently, I have fiddled around for fun with an idea on perhaps doing something constructive about this angle. I may be wrong, but I've had fun playing around with it. Thus I have tried a statemat to set forth the ideas. I realize that in some ways it is too kimd to the thirteen southern states, certainly, but I think that the gamble is worth it, that it would have the effect of shifting, of being fast-footed, to strike for an off-balance angle, setting up the good things the border areas have done, letting them know they are thanked, juicing the foot-draggers to join all the others in the country doing the right thing. I can't see that anything could be lost with the wording of the statement anyhow. It might just be the touch of optimism and thanks needed for the psychological lift, and if the thirteen states go real sour, there could always be shiftings to meet that situation. I don't feel anyone would be hamstrung by these quotes and at most they'd just be striking for a new level of climate that might do a lot of good

just because it is fresh. Also I feel it might help so many leaders at national levels to feel that they can carry the ball right now with more spirit than they are presently showing if they caught the underscoring in this different light.

So, I have written the statement and am sending it along to you. What I had in mind was having it put out by eight, say, race relations experts, Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Clements, some minister, some priest, some lawyer. Not as a council function, but eight recognized experts in race relations efforts, preferably all with top names. It could be released at the SRC headquarters though. I have also written you the first part of a newsstory to give an idea of what could appear in print along this line so as to better evaluate from your end the psychological climate that could result, the gimmick and overtones that might be used to advantage by so many people in so many areas. Anyway, you and George look it over and see what you think. As I say, I'm just killing some time tonight fooling around, and nothing is lost one way or another. I just feel like spinning away at it. I will call you in a few days to seek your reaction. If you can't see it, say so, and then burn this. If you think it clicks, then we can get together. I'd suggest we meet in Atlanta then on a Friday, say, and file the story on Sunday for Monday paper. I'd suggest also it be exclusive to get the impact. Under the circumstances, the wire services and Atlanta press would just foul it up, I do believe. Of course, you can refine this statement, but keep in mind it is a psychological gimmick I have in mind and I may be altogether wrong about its value.

Best regards

Johnny

Johnny Popham

P.S. do keep my appearance in this strictly under wraps with only you and George.

Special to.....

Atlanta,Ga.,Feb.----A group of Southern race relations experts ~~urged today~~ called today that this country underscore to the world that our racial segregation patterns are "provenly in the death-rattle stage."

They said that too little attention had been given to "striking advances" made in eliminating segregation in public schools in much of this country since the Supreme Court ruled last May 17 that educational separatism by race was unconstitutional.

They held that a "tremendous psychological shifting" had taken place and that it was time for this country to sketch in world propaganda the ultimate meaning of the change as it concerned the functioning of the democratic system.

"We are not taking any 'Babes in the Woods' atttitude," the group declared. "We are well aware of all the minor tragedies of race conflicts that inhere to any pluralistic society marked by fusing of cultural patterns.

"But we do maintain that there is ample evidence of democratic vigor and victory all about us today.

"And we insist that it is time for all Americans to commend with enthusiasm, pride and brotherly affection the heroic conduct of those torch-bearers in Baltimore,Washington,St.Louis and countless small communities in West Virginia,Kansas,Arizona,Delaware ,Missouri and so forth."

more.

Too often, they warned, public information media has centered its attention on the "hot language" of the white supremacy political leaders, while overlooking the "muted tones" of those whohave successfully eased race tensions in areas that "only yesterday were regarded as bastions held by the bigots."

"There is no reason why this country should not now call world attention to the fact that out of forty-eight sovereign state units, thirty-five are rid of the educational practices that spawn race bigotry, and in a short while we will have only four states confronting us with race relations not in accord with democratic principles," the group declared.

"To put it another way," they continued, "just a few months ago at least two-thirds of this country was 'bad' on race relations, and today less than one-third is 'bad', with every indication that in short time only one-twelfth of our unique political federation will have a 'bad' rating."

The group also declared THAT to emphasize this "positive thinking" on the subject would result in valuable contribtions to the domestic scene because "it would bring many Americans to take pride in what really has been accomplished and challenge the doubtful to rise to the chance FOR full victory in racial accord."

The group's statement was released at the headquarters here of the Southern Regional Council, the area's most effective interracial organization. The council is composed of leaders of both races in thirteen southern states.

Those signing the statement were Dr. George Mitchell, director of the council ; Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University,....etc.

(follow with quotations from statement.)

The Race Relations Outlook

On May 17,1954, the United States Supreme Court handed down its historic decision tha t public school racial segregat ion laws are unconstitution al.

Since that time a tremendous psychological shifting has taken place in many areas of the country.Too often our public information media has centered its a t tention on the "hot language" of t he white supremacy political leaders and spokesmen, while overlooking the "muted tones" of those who have successfully eased racial tensions in areas that only yesterday were regarded as bastions held by the bigoted.

Too little attention thus far has been given to the striking advances made in this country in recent months in eliminating public school segregation following the Supreme Court's dramatic ruling.

Let us review the broad terms of this situat ion before the court ruling and afterwards.

A reasonable perusal of historical facts would clearly demonstrate t hat prior to May 17,1954,twent y-one states and the District of Columbia had statutes supporting dual public school systems.We all know that in addition, perhaps a dozen other states in the country had large areas that were gaited psychologically and p urposel y to attain similar segregation through devious means and a broad common consent. We all know as an empirical fact that in key areas in a dozen states there was a nasty and covert line of talk in which it was generally held that the traditional Southern views on race segregation were the "best answer" to the problem.

more.

Today that condition no longer mars our democratic structure. With the Supreme Court decision, these areas that covertly subscribed to the "Southern way of Life" moved vigorously and sincerely to clean up the stables and fall in step with the true moral dynamic of our country's constitution.

Within a few months after the Supreme Court decision, such border areas as Arizona, Delaware, Maryland, Kansas, Missouri, West Virginia and such metropolitan centers as Baltimore, St. Louis and Washington, also picked up the chord of responsibility and proudly added their part to the symphony of freedom.

Thus, we have thirteen states, making up the traditional Southland, that are not yet in step. These states are Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Texas, Arkansas and Oklahoma.

But these are the only thirteen now out of step. So where a few months ago we had perhaps thirty-three states with "bad" racial practices at the vital point of public democratic education, we now have less than one third of the states in that category and some eight others of southern border status are already showcases of democratic success.

There is every indication that a wise and thoughtful implementation decree by the Supreme Court to enforce its historic ruling of May 17, last, will enable nine of the thirteen southern states to work out sound accomodations leading to racial accord in the public school field.

There are scores of items on which to base a sound belief that the political leadership in these nine states is ready to move toward democratic public education systems once they can find the vehicle that answers the many conflicts within each state, conflicts that are usually exaggerated by the irresponsible demagogues.

more.

Thus, i n short time we would have only four states, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi and perhaps Alabama, where the racial ratio of population at this stage gives many advantages to the caterwauling of the white supremacy political leaders.

However, reasonable solutions and plans designed to promote progress are not in any sense impossible of early attainment in even these four states if the voices of goodwill and right reason can be spotlighted rather than those of the demagogues.

But at this time let us pause and take stock of just how great our country has been in this democratic test. Within a few months to have forty-four out of forty-eight sovereignties practicing full educational democracy will be no little accomplishment.

We make the point now that this country can go before the bar of world opinion and emphasize what has taken place here. We c an show that America, for a little while, perhaps, can carry without too great embarrassment the burden of four states, one-twelfth of the whole, being out of step with the rest of the country.

No w is the time to t ell this amazing story of our democratic strength. Now is the time to give our thank s to those splendid countrymen who have done such yeoman work in recent months to prove that democracy here is vigorous and courageous.

Let us not back away from right principles in Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi and perhaps Alabama, but let us also stress to them and to the world that they are just a "bad" one-twelfth on the race relations subject and that these United States are going ahead with democracy's destiny with or without that one-twelfth that is foot-dragging its way into the twentieth century.

more.

When the matter is viewed in that light, with full allowances for the petty adjustments in any special instances, then we may well see that forty-four states can serve the interests of the enlightened people in the four intractable states and soon enough the end of racial segregation will be realized.

We are not taking any "Babes in the Woods" attitude. We are well aware of all the minor tragedies of race conflicts that inhere to any pluralistic society marked by fusing of cultural patterns.

But we do maintain that there is ample evidence of democratic vigor and victory all about us today.

And we insist that it is time for all Americans to commend with enthusiasm, pride and brotherly affection the heroic conduct of these torch-bearers in Baltimore, Washington, St. Louis and countless small communities in West Virginia, Kansas, Arizona, Delaware and other places.

Therefore, we urge that this country underscore to the world at this time that our racial segregation patterns are provenly in the death-rattle stage.

There is, therefore, no reason why this country should not now call world attention to the fact that out of forty-eight state units, thirty-five are rid of the practices that spawn race bigotry and in a short while we will have only four states confronting us with race relations not in accord with democratic principles.

To put it another way, just a few months ago at least two-thirds of this country was "bad" on race relations, and today less than one-third is "bad", with every indication that in short time only one-twelfth of our unique political federation will have a "bad" rating.

######

June 15, 1956

Miss Helen E. Groninger
The Christian Education Press
1505 Race Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Groninger:

Love of This Land is well done! Thanks for the copy.

We are adding the book to our bibliography of suggested reading and resource material. Also, we will advise the directors of our twelve state affiliates that the book is available. In turn, the affiliate directors usually list new material in the field in their newsletters which go to individual members.

If you could send us twelve or fifteen additional promotion pamphlets, it would be easier for our directors to get an idea of what the book contains.

With best wishes for the success of this new book.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The Christian Education Press

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PHILADELPHIA 2 :: PA.

FRED D. WENTZEL
Director of Publications

June 6, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED JUN 8 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Our new book, Love of This Land, is a book about the progress of the Negro in the United States, and is one that should be of special interest to you and your council. It was edited by James H. Robinson, and written by eight Negroes of outstanding achievement in their several fields of endeavor. We are taking the liberty of sending you a copy of this book with our compliments.

The book grew out of a spontaneous demand at a national conference on Christian education several years ago. It was there that Doctor Robinson spoke so effectively about the necessity of getting the truth about the American Negro and what he himself thinks about his life in this country before people in foreign countries, as well as our own people.

We believe the book can be an effective instrument for throwing new light on the desegration issue in this country, as well as an important tool in the orienting of Americans going abroad.

We invite your attention to this book, and your comments. We believe your organization is in a peculiar position to give the book publicity, and possibly to use some of the books in special projects. It is not a pretentious book--it reads easily; it is paper-covered, consisting of 96 pages; and it sells at the low price of $1.00 per copy. It can be bought in book stores, or directly from us.

Cordially yours,

Helen E. Groninger

Helen E. Groninger
for The Christian Education Press

HEG:ch

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER

Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One, Norway St., Boston 15, Mass.

CENTRAL NEWS BUREAU
Telephone: RAndolph 6-7641

333 North Michigan Avenue
CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS

July 28, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Associate Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Now that I am finishing up my series on the South's reaction to the Supreme Court decision, I find myself needing some kind of documentary material, such as the Southern Regional Council prepared in the booklets you gave me, most of which are out of date.

I have been tempted constantly to dip into the information you provided during my trip, but I was always hesitant because I felt there had been some changes since the booklets were put out that would make the material out of date. I have been meaning to ask you if you do not have any more recent summary material of the type you prepared for the booklets, on anything pertaining to white-Negro relationships in the South.

As I have told many en route, I found my conversations with you to be among the most profitable I had, and will say in writing that I was tremendously impressed with you as a person as well as with your fund of information and articulateness in expressing your ideas and with your fair approach.

Here is a comment I received from Governor Byrnes which might interest you, since he is a key figure among the pro-segregationists.

"After reading your letter with its frank expression of your personal views on the segregation problem, I read the two articles in the Monitor which you kindly sent me. Now I have an even higher opinion of your intellectual integrity. Certainly you have correctly and fairly stated the situation in South Carolina regardless of your personal views. Because of your fair presentation of things with which I am familiar, I have read with much interest your report of the attitude of Negroes as to this problem."

You probably saw this article, in which I used a quote from you, taken actually from John Popham's story in the New York Times.

Mr. Harold Fleming

I am also including the story I did on Governor Byrnes.

Sincerely,

Max

Max K. Gilstrap
Chief, Central News Bureau

MKG:KLM

P.S. Hope you received the fresh copy of the Ashmore book I picked up at the State Capitol in Arkansas. Thanks for the loan.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER

Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One, Norway St., Boston 15, Mass.

CENTRAL NEWS BUREAU
Telephone: RAndolph 6-7641

333 North Michigan Avenue
CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS

September 16, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I will be looking forward to receiving the packet of your up-to-date summary material on desegregation.

As you can see by the attached, we gave good publicity to the copy of the "New South" which you sent me.

Also enclosed is a page summary of some of my observations made on tour.

Again thanks for your help and regards to George Mitchell.

Sincerely,

Max

Max K. Gilstrap
Chief, Central News Bureau

MKG:KLM
Enclosures

October 12, 1954

Mr. Max K. Gilstrap
Chief, Central News Bureau
Christian Science Monitor
333 North Michigan Ave.
Chicago 1, Ill.

Dear Mr. Gilstrap:

When I recently returned from a three-months' leave of absence Mr. Fleming asked me to prepare a packet of material on recent developments in race relations in the South for your use. I hope that the enclosed issues of New South and the typewritten appendages will be helpful. Should there be any particular gap you would like filled in, I willdo my best to run down the information.

There is no material in the packet on de-segregation at the public school level since I assume that you are on the mailing list of the Southern Education Reporting Service. If you are not, the second issue of Southern School News, summarizing activity on the public school front, state by state, is just out. Their address: P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tenn.

I am sorry that you had to wait so long for this information.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encls

Sent the following items to Gilstrap:

Parks--roundup done for NAIRO, state park issue of New South

Libraries--survey in Jan. 1954 New South, plus supplementary list of libraries giving full service to Negroes

Higher education--"New Trends" plus up-tpedate list of open colleges

Office-holding--Roundup of school board members, city councilmen, msc. office holders; New South roundup of 1951; editorial fron Constitution commending Clement's election

Professional associations--New South article of July 1951 plus supplementary roundup on state associations

Negro police--New list, old summary of comments

Negro firemen--1952 survey, plus summary of additions since then, integration in Louisville and Washington fire depts.

Various New South issues, including "Answers for Action," the new "Chruches Speak," "Race and Law Enforcement," "Safety, Security and the South," "Negro Income," "Race and Suffrage, 1953", "Changing Patterns in a Border State," "Law vs. Practice in Interstate Travel"

March 17, 1955

Mr. Bicknell Eubanks
Staff Correspondent
Christian Science Monitor
3036 Rosedale Avenue
Dallas 5, Texas

Dear Mr. Eubanks:

We like all the articles you do for the Monitor, but I wanted to say a word of special appreciation for your article of March 2nd on our publication, Changing Patterns in the New South. Naturally, we are glad to have one of the Council's efforts written up so well and so favorably. But, beyond, that, the piece in a very limited space presents a remarkably complete analysis of the trend documented by the booklet.

While I'm writing, I might mention that I read your frequent reports to The New Leader with great interest.

Again thanks and all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:rnf

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

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March 5th, 1956.

ERWIN D. CANHAM. CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR. BOSTON. MASSACHUSETTS.

There is nothing in the South's plight that cannot be resolved by responsible white and Negro citizens sitting down together in mutual respect. For each Southern community there is a wise, workable program, neither rebellious nor precipitate, which sensible local people can agree upon, given the chance. The Supreme Court's ruling recognized the need for this local process and provided time and flexibility for it. Speed of integration is not the heart of the controversy, but acceptance of the need to change at a pace worked out by representative whites and Negroes, community by community. For the moment, however, reasonable leadership is stifled by demagogues seeking to exploit fear and anxiety, rather than encourage moderation and exchange of views. The cure lies in the re-emergence of sane opinion leaders - business men, industrialists, trade unionists, religious and other professional people - who are now virtually silent. The nation as a whole can assist by lending encouragement, support, and recognition to constructive spokesmen. First need; respect for human dignity. The places that muster it will come along nicely.

George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council.

New Release

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
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B LLS001 RX PD AR=WUX BOSTON MASS 5 NFT=U ATLANTA

DR GEORGE S MITCHELL=

:63 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA=

TO CLARIFY NATIONAL THINKING ON DESEGREGATION WE ASKING YOU AND FEW OTHER LEADERS TO WIRE US PRESS RATE COLLECT ABOUT 200 WORDS ON SOUTHERN STATE OF MIND AND SPECIFIC AMERICAN ATTITUDES YOU FEEL NECESSARY TO AVOID VIOLENCE AND BRING HEALING OF DETERIORATING SITUATION. WARM REGARDS AND THANKS=

ERWIN D CANHAM THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR WUX BOSTON=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Cy 2425

Call
Henry
re: Goodwin

Call Bill
re: Faulkner quote

cc: Hef.

October 22, 1956

Mr. Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer
The Christian Science Monitor
One Norway Street
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Orr:

Most kind of you!

The best time for me is November 18, 19, and 20. Please come then if you can.

On the Sunday, November 18th, turn up at my home when you are available in Atlanta. I live at 906 Lullwater Road, N. E. Here's a map. The telephone there, (unlisted, so keep the letter by you), is DEarborn 5961. Welcome for meals and for lodging too if you care. I have a mainly empty house. Two gals off at college.

Harold Fleming is most anxious to see you also, and he will be available then.

If your circumstances change and you have to come November 12th et. seq., still all right, come ahead.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

The Christian Science Monitor
AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER
Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society
One, Norway Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

October 19, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 22 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks for your prompt response. We do seem to be having a time getting together.

I am situated so I can give you the most convenient choice between two alternatives. I think I could get to Atlanta by mid-morning November 12. And I could give that afternoon and some of Tuesday the 13th to talking to others you think could help me.

Or I could get to Atlanta around noon Sunday, November 18, and would suit my time to yours at any hour thereafter through Tuesday, November 20. That suggest breaking into your weekend as my error in dates made you think I was proposing in my first letter. I certainly do not seek to do that but will leave the decision in your hands.

You are most kind to fit me into a very busy schedule. And I want to do everything I can to make myself as little of an inconvenience as possible.

I shall await your reply before firming up some other appointments I have been exploring.

Sincerely,

Edward B. Orr

Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer

EBO/w

October 12, 1956

AIR MAIL

Mr. Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer
The Christian Science Monitor
One Norway Street
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Orr:

We are not much better off on Monday and Tuesday, November 12 and 13. I have got a two-hour class for the chunk of the afternoon of Monday, November 12th, and I ought after the class to be heading out for Williamsburg and Washington.

But if you could reach Atlanta by noon on Monday, November 12, we could do considerable talking before the 1:45 class at Morehouse College. And, again, the others who know more than I know would be around on Tuesday, November 14th.

If November 19th would still suit you better, that is workable, but hardly superior to November 12th.

We welcome you warmly either time. Let me know which, if you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The Christian Science Monitor
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Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society
One Norway Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

October 11, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 12 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks for your prompt response of October 9. The problem of our getting together may not be as difficult as it first may seem.

Perhaps I should explain that I am hoping to work in the conference with you (and some other contacts) by way of side trips off my November vacation route. I can do this on my way South or on my journey back to Boston. Therefore I could easily plan to arrive in Atlanta Monday afternoon, November 11, and I could remain there at least over Tuesday.

Would that fit in better with your commitments?

Sincerely,

Edward B. Orr

Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer

EBO/w

October 9, 1956

Mr. Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer
The Christian Science Monitor
One Norway Street
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Orr:

That makes it tougher! I have promised to be at St. Paul, Minnesota, November 20, but I am to be in Atlanta all day November 19th, which is one of the two days you will be coming. But that Monday, November 19th, is a most crowded day: a South African man hereabouts, and teaching in the afternoon, etc.

But we could get in half an hour, and you could have longer with various of the others here who know more than I know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The Christian Science Monitor
AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER
Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society
One Norway Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

October 4, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 6 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Your letter of September 28 reached me Monday. I am delighted you can see me. However I find that I am getting away from here earlier than I first expected and should be in Atlanta around November 19 and 20. (The 24 and 25 dates were in error anyway. I read the wrong page of the calendar. And I have no need to break into your weekend.) Will you be available on these earlier dates?

Sincerely,

Edward B. Orr

Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer

EBO/w

St. Paul, Minnesota
St Paul Urban League

September 28, 1956

(Dictated September 27)

Mr. Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer
The Christian Science Monitor
One Norway Street
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Orr:

We are honored, and would enjoy the chance to talk with you. I expect to be in Atlanta the 24th and 25th of November.

Meanwhile, hitch is that SRC is ordinarily not in running order on the weekends, so you should catch me at home. I live at 906 Lullwater Road, N. E. in a suburban area called Druid Hills, and the telephone number (unlisted, so make a note of it) is DEarborn 5961. If for any reason you have trouble getting hold of me, you will be in good hands with Harold Fleming at SYcamore 4-8491.

But I much look forward to your showing up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The Christian Science Monitor
AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER
Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society
One, Norway Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

September 25, 1956

RECEIVED SEP 27 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

For the past dozen years it has fallen to me to voice this newspaper's comment on racial problems and lately on the segregation issue. I have been hoping for quite a time to get the considered and off-the-record judgment on the present and the prospects from some of you people in the South who have been working for a long time with Negro-white relationships and building cooperative approaches to problems stemming from racial differences.

I am expecting to be in the neighborhood of Atlanta around the 24th and 25th of November. Would it be possible to have some conversations with you and such others engaged in similar interests as you would like to bring in?

Sincerely,

Edward B. Orr

Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer

EBO/w

The Christian Science Monitor
AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER
Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society
One Norway Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

October 24, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 25 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

That's fine and wraps it up nicely. It would really suit us better to get our vacation behind us, then hold the conversations I have been planning and go back to the office fresh from them.

So we shall plan to arrive in Atlanta as early as possible Sunday afternoon, November 18. We will be driving, and Mrs. Orr will be with me. And much as we appreciate your generous offer of the hospitality of your home will shall not presume upon it. Mrs. Orr will be enjoying a glimpse of downtown Atlanta for most of the time I shall be talking to people.

Thanks again:

Sincerely,

Edward B. Orr

Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer

EBO/w

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(36).

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

195 NOV 7 1 PM 1 49

AA28 BB175

B LLG207 PD=WUX BOSTON MASS 1 128PME=

TO ATLANTA

:GEORGE S MITCHELL, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA:

=NEEDS HERE MAY FORCE CHANGE IN SCHEDULE. WOULD YOU BE AVAILABLE NOVEMBER 16 AND 17?=

=EDWARD B ORR:

Washington, D.C.
Hall Conrad & Negotiator

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	X
NIGHT LETTER	

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E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
	PAID		THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	11/1/56

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR. EDWARD B. ORR
EDITORIAL STAFF
THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
ONE NORWAY STREET
BOSTON 15 MASSACHUSETTS

THAT SINKS ME BECAUSE I AM IN WASHINGTON NOVEMBER 16 AND DRIVING HOME NOVEMBER 17. BUT FLEMING AND OTHERS HERE IN GOOD ORDER EAGER TO SEE YOU 16 and 17. COME

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

File

November 2, 1956

Mr. Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer
The Christian Science Monitor
One Norway Street
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Orr:

Many thanks. Got your new wire. Expect you in November 18th. Come early and stay to supper.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 31, 1956

Mr. Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer
The Christian Science Monitor
One Norway Street
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Orr:

All wrapped up. You and Mrs. Orr will be coming in Sunday afternoon, November 18th. Stay as long as you can.

And in particular spend the rest of Sunday afternoon at suppertime at our house.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(07)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

=International Letter Telegram

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2 PM 2 27

AA35 BA388

TO ATLANTA

B LLM181 PD=WUX BOSTON MASS 2 202PME=

:GEORGE S MITCHELL, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

:63 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA=

:SITUATION CLEARING. EXPECT NOW ARRIVE ATLANTA NOVEMBER 18 AS PLANNED:

=EDWARD B ORR=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

December 7, 1956

Mr. Edward B. Orr
The Christian Science Monitor
One Norway Street
Boston 15, Mass.

Dear Mr. Orr:

It was a great pleasure to have you visit us and to have the chance to tell you personally how much we appreciate the Monitor's constructive treatment of the segregation problem.

You will be hearing from me from time to time. Meanwhile, any time we can furnish information or opinion that will be helpful to you, be sure to let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

The Christian Science Monitor
AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER
Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society
One Norway Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

November 28, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Asst. Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you again for devoting practically an entire morning to a discussion of the questions I brought with me from Boston. You have been of enormous help.

I want to repeat my assurance that if I can properly be of help to the S.R.C. in any specific situation please let me know.

Sincerely,

Edward B. Orr

Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer

EBO/w

February 11, 1957

The Christian Science Monitor
One Norway Street
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

Please send us a copy of the January,19th issue of the Christian Science Monitor. Enclosed is 10¢ in stamps to cover cost.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:fc
Encl.

March 1, 1957

Mr. Max K. Gilstrap
Central News Bureau
Christian Science Monitor
333 N. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Max:

The February 25th article in the Christian Science Monitor was excellent. I have not seen any subsequent articles, but I plan to go by one of the reading rooms and see if any additional ones have come out. As yet, we are not receiving the Monitor.

Since the article was published on Monday we have received several requests for the publication you mentioned, which of course is pleasing.

Harold is out of town and has not yet seen your article but I have put a copy on his desk.

Again, thanks.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:fc

April 22, 1957

Mr. Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer
The Christian Science Monitor
One Norway Street
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Orr:

It's good to hear from you again and to have an occasion, at this late date, to tell you how much I enjoyed your articles on the South.

Your question is provocative and, I find, surprisingly difficult. Most of the names that occur to me are pretty obvious, but I list them below for what they are worth.

The late Dr. Charles Johnson deserves mention, even posthumously, as an outstanding example.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University, member of the Atlanta Board of Education and many national boards and services.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College and internationally recognized churchman.

Dr. F. D. Patterson, former President of Tuskegee Institute, now head of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and a leader of the United Negro College Fund.

Ralph Bunche, of course.

Lester Granger, Executive Director of the National Urban League.

Horace Mann Bond, President of Lincoln University, Pa.

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., of Montgomery. (Several of us here held differing views on whether or not he fits your specifications. In some respects he does, in others clearly not.)

Judge William H. Hastie, third district U. S. Court.

I have purposely omitted such entertainment and sports figures as Marian Anderson and Jackie Robinson, feeling that you could best decide whether they should be included.

A number of other names have occurred to me, but I have not been able to settle on any others that clearly would belong in such a select list.

I'm sorry to give so incomplete an answer. Perhaps the next time you call on me, I can do better.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

The Christian Science Monitor
AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER
Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society
One Norway Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

April 11, 1957

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED APR 15 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Greetings! We have been asked to name "ten or twelve outstanding leaders among our Negro citizens who are unusual in their accomplishments toward a better understanding of our mutual problems as concerns the two races."

We could name a few. But this sounds "right down your alley." Whom would you name?

We take it that the specifications rule out such men as Roy Wilkins and Thurgood Marshall. They doubtless have a broader grasp of the mutual problems than their functions permit them to display. They are prosecutors in behalf of the rights of but one of the races.

Your help will be appreciated and your reply anticipated with keen interest.

Cordially,

Edward B. Orr

Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer

EBO/w

Late Chas. Johnson
Rufus E. Clement
Benj. Mays
Ralph Bunche
C. H. Parrish
A. W. Dent
Dr. Frank Snowden, Jr., Formerly Howard Cultural Attache, USIA, Rome
Wm H. Hastie, US Ct Appeals 3d Dist
Ambrose Caliver, US Dept Educ
Frank S. Horne, Commission of Race Rels & Housing, NYC
Fred D. Patterson
Robert Weaver,
M. L. King, Jr.
Lester Granger
Horace Mann Bond, Lincoln U, Pa.

The Christian Science Monitor
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One Norway Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

May 7, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED MAY 9 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of April 22 awaited my return from a three week's vacation and personal business trip. Thank you for your list of outstanding Negroes who have contributed to inter-racial understanding. From this more detached observation point we would second your nominations.

I got fairly near Atlanta on this trip - Asheville - but couldn't work in a call at your office this time.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Edward B. Orr

Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer

EBO/w

May 28, 1957

Mr. Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer
The Christian Science Monitor
One Norway Street
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Orr:

You may indeed be sure that other people, notably SRC, drop fly balls. We are deeply embarrassed and apologetic about the erroneous credit line on Dr. Mays' article in the March New South.

John Constable, our Director of Information, was in left field when this one went by, but he proposes to run a correction in the next issue. We don't agree that the Christian Century is a more reputable source and would like to salve our consciences by setting it straight.

Incidentally, we operate on the bold assumption that we are free to reprint material from the Christian Science Monitor - with proper credit of course! I hope we aren't off base on that.

I have not yet seen your editorial comment on the third anniversary of the school decision, but I am looking forward to seeing it as soon as our reference department brings it up.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Christian Science Monitor
AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER
Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society
One Norway Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

RECEIVED MAY 24 1957

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

May 21, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In rescanning recent issues of The New South preparatory to writing our editorial comment on the first three years since the Supreme Court desegregation decision I came across Dr. Benjamin Mays' "Full Implementation of Democracy" in the March issue. This you credited to the Christian Century. Imagine my surprise when I discovered it was, word for word, the same article which appeared on our editorial page January 19, 1957, under the title "A Negro Educator Gives His Views."

I cannot think that Dr. Mays was so unsophisticated as to send the identical article to two different publications. And a search of our back files of the Christian Century fails to reveal the original of the article you reprinted. Could it be the result of an editing error in your office?

All we want is to have the matter cleared up for our record. In any case we aren't "mad." As a matter of fact, Dr. Mays' article under the Christian Century banner will get an open-minded reading from some that it might not get under our banner. So such an error may be letting us have the best of two worlds.

Also - if the credit line was in error - we cannot resist taking some comfort from learning that other good people drop fly balls too.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Edward B. Orr

Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer

EBO/w

October 3, 1958

Mr. Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer
The Christian Science Monitor
1 Norway Street
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Orr:

The prospect of resuming our conversation of two years ago is most welcome. Except for a hasty trip on Friday and Saturday, the 7th and 8th, I expect to be in Atlanta in early November.

I should also mention that our board will be meeting from noon on November 10 through November 11. While this means I will be out of action for that period, it might also mean a possibility of your meeting Mr. Dabbs in Atlanta, your schedule permitting. He might well be able to come over half-a-day early or stay over after the meeting to see you. Otherwise, I know of nothing that will bring him to Atlanta in early November, but I'm sure he would be happy to have you visit him at home.

Do make a special effort to pay us a visit on whatever day you can. I shall look forward to further word.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Christian Science Monitor
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One Norway Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

October 1, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE, Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

My unhurried conversation with you two years ago has been of enormous help to us here in editorializing on the desegregation problem at this distance.

There is a possibility that at the tail end of my vacation trip I may be in southern North Carolina. And there is also a possibility - no more - that I could take some additional time and drive over for another conference and review with you the intervening two years and the current situation.

It is yet too uncertain to ask for a specific day and hour. But if I should have the opportunity it would be the first few days in November. Are you going to be around your office during those days and does it look now as if a conversation of an hour or so might be possible and convenient?

If so, and should the opportunity materialize I might telephone you from somewhere a day or two away and drive over if you say yes.

I leave here October 18. I would most appreciate word from you before then.

By chance is Mr. Dabbs going to be at Council headquarters during the days mentioned? If not, do you think a brief call on him would be feasible if I drove north via Sumter?

Sincerely,

Edward B. Orr

Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer

EBO/w

The Christian Science Monitor
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One Norway Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

November 10, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

May I thank you again for the profitable conversation of November 3. With the foundation we laid two years ago, it is especially valuable to see the ensuing developments in the South through your eyes.

When next you come to Boston I hope you will pay me the compliment of a visit to my office.

Most sincerely,

Edward B. Orr

Edward B. Orr
Editorial Writer

EBO:mjp

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

NIGHT PRESS RATE COLLECT

FEBRUARY 4, 1959

MR. ROBERT R. BRUNN
THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
ONE NORWAY STREET
BOSTON, MASS.

VIRGINIA HAS BEEN CALLED AN "UPPER-SOUTH STATE WITH A DEEP-SOUTH POSTURE." ITS RETREAT FROM THIS UNTENABLE POSITION DEPRIVES THE DIE-HARD STATES OF A HIGHLY PRIZED LEADER. MOREOVER, THE LEGAL BATTLE IN VIRGINIA HAS REDUCED THE SEGREGATIONISTS' CHOICE TO TWO BITTER ALTERNATIVES: PERMIT SOME DESEGREGATION OR ABOLISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

AS THE CHOICES HAVE SHRUNK, SO HAS THE SOUTH OF ABSOLUTE SEGREGATION. ONLY FOUR STATES -- ALABAMA, GEORGIA, MISSISSIPPI, AND SOUTH CAROLINA -- STILL HAVE COMPLETE SEGREGATION AT ALL EDUCATIONAL LEVELS. IN ONLY TWO OTHERS -- FLORIDA AND LOUISIANA -- IS EDUCATION STILL ENTIRELY SEGREGATED BELOW THE COLLEGE LEVEL.

MORE ON PAGE 2

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

NIGHT PRESS RATE COLLECT

FEBRUARY 4, 1959

MR. ROBERT R. BRUNN - PAGE 2

AT LEAST IN LEGAL TERMS, THE "HARD CORE" OF THE SOUTH FINALLY STANDS ALONE, UNBUFFERED BY SISTER STATES. THE "MODERATES" CAN NOW INVOKE THE ULTIMATE ARGUMENT -- SELF-DESTRUCTION IS TOO HIGH A PRICE TO PAY FOR UNYIELDING TRADITION.

THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE TREND TOWARD REALISM AND COMPROMISE WILL PREVAIL SOON IN THE DEEP SOUTH. POLITICIANS THERE HAVE SPENT YEARS APPEALING TO THE DEEPEST PASSIONS OF THEIR PEOPLE. IT WILL TAKE TIME -- AND PROBABLY MORE CLOSED SCHOOLS AND ECONOMIC DAMAGE -- BEFORE PUBLIC OPINION SOBERS ENOUGH TO INSIST THAT POLITICAL LEADERS PERMIT AT LEAST TOKEN DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS UNDER COURT ORDER.

HAROLD C. FLEMING

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

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FEB 2 PM 5 56

(35)

AC573 BA519 SSD106

B LLT384 PD=WUX BOSTON MASS 2 408PME=
HAROLD FLEMING,SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
ATLA= 2892 Redgemore Rd

1959 FEB 2 PM 5 37

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONE

Ack
Ltr 128P mailed

=APPRECIATE 200 200 WORDS YOUR REACTION VIRGINIA
INTEGRATION. IS THIS DEFEAT OR SHADOW OF DEFEAT
FOR SEGREGATION ALL SOUTH? WILL SCHOOLS CLOSE
ANYHOW IN DEEP SOUTH? DOES IT HELP MODERATE THOUGHT?
MOST GRATEFUL TO YOU. FOR SOUTHERNWIDE ROUNDUP. PLEASE
OVERNIGHT THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR ONE NORWAY
BOSTON DEADLINE THURSDAZ MORNING. MOST GRATEFUL=
ROBERT R BRUNN THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

542 8491

Changed on "friends list" 11/4/59 mf

Would you please correct your mailing list for the material you send to us to read as follows:

Godfrey Sperling, Jr.
Chief, Central News Bureau
The Christian Science Monitor
333 North Michigan Avenue, Suite 2900
Chicago 1, Illinois

Thank you very much.

Information now is being sent to Mary F. Gilstrap.

Symbol. Upper So - Dp So Posture -
Modulates ("inevitability") strengthened.
So really hard core - they won't cave
in - handwriting on wall!

1959 FEB 2 PM 5 49
DL: ALLAN.A UA

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

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AA53 RC045

(10) 1959 OCT 30 AM 11 27

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HAROLD C FLEMING=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST

ATLA=

ARRIVE ATLANTA SUNDAY AFTERNOON WILL PHONE YOUR OFFICE

MONDAY MORNING=

EDWARD B ORR=

Ch. Sec Senator

JA 4-4539

for Chairman

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Via Air Mail Special

March 8, 1960

Mr. Robert Brunn
Christian Science Monitor
1 Norway Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Brunn:

Enclosed is a brief statement on the student demonstrations which I hope will be suitable for your round-up.

The statement may be a bit long for your space allocation. But, since time permits mailing rather than wiring, I am sending it as is. You have my permission to cut it, if necessary.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

(Submitted to Rbt. Brunn - Christian Science Monitor)

STATEMENT

By

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

March 8, 1960

The student demonstrations, now a month old, show no signs of abating. Though still mainly student efforts, they are no longer purely economic or limited to "sit-downs." And as the movement has spread from moderate North Carolina into the Deep South, tension and violence have mounted. Increasingly, state and local authorities are intervening, not merely to keep the peace, but to quell the demonstrations.

The Negro students' adherence to non-violent methods has been impressive; but provocation by belligerent whites puts a severe strain on the commitment to non-violence. The trend toward repressive police actions, mass arrests, and student expulsions are ill omens. Such measures are likely only to deepen the Negro protest and encourage white vigilantism, as has already happened in Montgomery.

Most Southern whites still cling to the belief that Negroes don't really want desegregation. The demonstrations, which have strong backing in the adult Negro community, are dramatic evidence to the contrary. Through them, Negro youth are expressing their dissatisfaction with segregation and the slow pace of change through the courts. Only in a few cities has the white leadership showed signs of heeding this deeper significance of the

protests. There, the mayors have appointed committees to try to negotiate settlements. A few successes would go far to point the way to solution for the whole region.

Whatever the outcome, there will be no going back. Non-violent protest and economic pressure are here to stay. One more strand in the old social fabric of the South is broken, and Southerners have one more warning that they must learn to live peaceably with change.

- END -

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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1960 MAR 7 PM 4 39

B LLY062 NPR PD=WUX BOSTON MASS 7 NFT=

HAROLD C FLEMING, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL= 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

MUCH APPRECIATE 200 PLUS WORDS YOUR ASSESSMENT-ANALYSIS OF SOUTHERN "SITDOWN" SITUATION. LATEST ARRIVAL HERE PRESSRATE OVERNIGHT WEDNESDAY FOR THURSDAY. WOULD BE PART OF ALL-SOUTHERN ROUNDUP OF EDITORS. WANT TO BE SURE OUR READERS GET TRUE SOUTHRN PICTURE IN BALANCE.

THANK YOU=

ROBERT BRUNN AMERICAN EDITOR CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR WUX BOSTON.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

HCF

The Christian Science Monitor

An International Daily Newspaper

Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One, Norway St., Boston 15, Mass.

CENTRAL NEWS BUREAU
Telephone: RAndolph 6-7641

333 North Michigan Avenue
CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Thanks for the generous comment on my February 25th piece in the Monitor. You fellows practically wrote it for me. I am glad you have already had requests for your pamphlet. You will undoubtedly have more and probably from remote regions, since our distribution extends about everywhere.

I will check Boston in regard to sending you the Monitor. Warmest regards to you and Harold.

Sincerely,

Max

Max K. Gilstrap
Chief, Central News Bureau

MKG:m

October 15, 1956

Mr. Robert W. Brown
Columbus Ledger
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Bob:

I followed your exposé of the "Roosevelt Williams" propaganda with great interest and admiration, and I have also heard about the treatment you gave the spurious Wac pictures.

We have collected a lot of the racist material that is being circulated and have also been gathering general background about the groups that are circulating ~~them~~ it. In any case, I would welcome a chance to talk with you about this whole matter and to give you more details on exactly what we have.

I'm to be at a meeting at Tuskegee Institute from mid-day October 24th to mid-day October 25th. Maybe I could stop over briefly in Columbus on my way back, probably the middle of Thursday afternoon. Let me know whether this would be a convenient time for you.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

The LEDGER-ENQUIRER
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA
SUNDAY — EVENING — MORNING — WEEKLY FOR FT. BENNING PERSONNEL

October 8, 1956

Dear Harold:

You might have noticed (through the Atlanta Constitution) that a few weeks ago I reproduced excerpts from the so-called "Roosevelt Williams" anti-race propaganda, showed that it was spurious in that it was attributed to a non-existent professor at Howard University, and severely criticized Eugene Cook for distributing the material. Subsequently, I re-exposed the Fort McClelland Negro-Wac propaganda sheet, and drew from the distributing agency, the "American Nationalists," the admission that it was spurious.

I wrote to Ping Ferry about these two cases and suggested that someday we might have to organize an independent investigative agency with the time and manpower and wherewithal to track down every bit of race-hate propaganda and expose it, else we might have bloodshed. He said you had a file on such material and suggested I get with you. But, although I've been to Atlanta a couple of times since, they were hurried trips and without the opportunity of contacting you. If you plan to get down this way any time soon, I surely would like to see something from your files on the subject and to chat with you about the problem.

Cordially,

BWB

Robert W. Brown

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Ledger—Pulitzer Prize 1955, Public Service. The Enquirer—Headliner Award 1955, Public Service.
WRBL-TV CHANNEL 4 C.B.S.-A.B.C. AFFILIATE — WRBL RADIO 1420 AM 93.3 FM C.B.S. AFFILIATE

October 26, 1956

Mr. Robert Brown
Columbus Ledger
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Bob:

This is letter #2 for the day. Here are our figures on voter registration in those counties where it exceeds the white people of voting age according to the 1950 census. Our researcher checked these counties for population increases since 1950. Although the age breakdown is not available, the increases in total white population were not great enough to account for these large discrepancies. Theoretically, population increases might account for them in Catoosa, Clayton, Coffee, and Walker. (Even there you would have to believe that 100%, or almost 100%, of the voting age whites were actually registered - a rather unlikely circumstance.)

You might be interested in one further generalization. Our researcher computed a median white registration for the whole state at 95%. (The Negro median was 25%.) Then, taking those counties which evidently have probably purged their lists, he got a white median of 64%. This gives a pretty good idea of how bad the lists are state-wide.

If one of your reporters takes this story on in a big way, he might want to look at the book "Voter Registration in Georgia", published in 1955 by the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Georgia. This is a good report on registration procedures and the maintenance of registration lists.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

October 26, 1956

Mr. Robert Brown
Columbus Ledger
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Bob:

Enjoyed our talk yesterday. In view of the Klan's local emergence, I thought you might want to have this general background on the movement.

I'm also enclosing a copy of the Fund's release on the "integration" book.

More soon. Meanwhile, best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Encs.

November 26, 1956

Mr. Robert W. Brown
The Ledger-Enquirer
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Bob:

Ping may have something else in mind, but when I was in New York recently I mentioned your tentative hope that the SNPA might take on some clearinghouse function with respect to racist propagandists and their material. He was impressed by the idea and said the Fund would no doubt be willing to give financial assistance to such a project, if desirable and feasible from the SNPA viewpoint.

Can we get together when you are in Atlanta December 1 and 2? Drop me a note about time, and I'll be available.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

P. S. I didn't overlook your query about Kasper, but found that Art Levin had sent you his information, which included everything we had and more.

The LEDGER-ENQUIRER
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA
SUNDAY — EVENING — MORNING — WEEKLY FOR FT. BENNING PERSONNEL

November 19, 1956

Dear Harold:

What are you and Ping cooking up? He said he might come South to talk something over with me. I probably will be up your way Dec. 1-2 for another travel fellowship meeting--at the Dinkler Plaza.

Cordially,

Robert W. Brown

Mr. Harold Fleming
Information Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 436
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

The Ledger—Pulitzer Prize 1955, Public Service. The Enquirer—Headliner Award 1955, Public Service.
WRBL-TV CHANNEL 4 C.B.S.-A.B.C. AFFILIATE — WRBL RADIO 1420 AM 93.3 FM C.B.S. AFFILIATE

File

RECEIVED NOV 8 1956

The LEDGER-ENQUIRER

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

SUNDAY — EVENING — MORNING — WEEKLY FOR FT. BENNING PERSONNEL

November 7, 1956

Dear Harold:

I now have a pretty good file on John Hamilton if ever you feel the need of further information. I obtained it from a staffer on the Post-Dispatch who formerly worked here, and through him from the ADL there. Do you have anything on John Kasper? Winchell reported a few days back in his column that Kasper formerly had a Negro girl friend in New York City, which would be a devastating discredit among his audience if this could be verified and used at some propitious time as needed.

Cordially,

Robert W. Brown

Mr. Harold Fleming
Information Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 436
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

The Ledger—Pulitzer Prize 1955, Public Service.

The Enquirer—Headliner Award 1955, Public Service.

WRBL-TV CHANNEL 4 C.B.S.-A.B.C. AFFILIATE — WRBL RADIO 1420 AM 93.3 FM C.B.S. AFFILIATE

December 7, 1956

Mr. Robert W. Brown
The Ledger-Enquirer
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Bob:

Sorry I missed seeing you last weekend. I take it you either didn't come or were too hard pressed to get in touch.

If the latter is true I can well understand it since I saw the story on your impending change in jobs. Congratulations on the new unannounced post.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

The LEDGER-ENQUIRER
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA
SUNDAY — EVENING — MORNING — WEEKLY FOR FT. BENNING PERSONNEL

November 27, 1956

Dear Harold:

Hadn't thought any more about the SNPA angle. It would be, of course, the "natural" organization for such a project. But, then, what about the extremists who are members?

Some school of journalism might be willing to undertake such work. But the trouble with this is that a state school might get a kick-back from some elements of the legislature involved. In Georgia, for example, both members of the legislature and the board of regents conceivably would object.

It is one of those things that needs to be done but also requires a lot of thought, with haste being made slowly.

If I get up to Atlanta this week end I will call you. As of today, although the time is short, the meeting has not been called definitely as to Saturday, but we are meeting on Dec. 2 to talk with Louis Harris on his return from Japan and most likely will be at the Dinkler Plaza.

Cordially,

RWB

Robert W. Brown

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
The Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

The Ledger—Pulitzer Prize 1955, Public Service. The Enquirer—Headliner Award 1955, Public Service.
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December 14, 1956

Mr. Robert W. Brown
The Ledger-Enquirer
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your nice note.

My congratulations equally to you on the two inviting alternatives. My only regret is that either one of them will take you out of Georgia and the South. We need a guy like you in these parts.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

The LEDGER-ENQUIRER
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA
SUNDAY — EVENING — MORNING — WEEKLY FOR FT. BENNING PERSONNEL

December 13, 1956

Dear Harold:

Congratulations, Mr. Executive Director! That really is fine, pleasant news.

Cordially,

RW

Robert W. Brown

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

The Ledger—Pulitzer Prize 1955, Public Service. The Enquirer—Headliner Award 1955, Public Service.
WRBL-TV CHANNEL 4 C.B.S.-A.B.C. AFFILIATE — WRBL RADIO 1420 AM 93.3 FM C.B.S. AFFILIATE

The LEDGER-ENQUIRER
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA
SUNDAY — EVENING — MORNING — WEEKLY FOR FT. BENNING PERSONNEL

December 10, 1956

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your note, and let me apologize for not filling you in on my plans ere now. The fact is, I haven't yet decided. Two attractive propositions came to a head almost simultaneously, and I had to get my three-month notice under the wire to free my hands for a choice.

I have gone through the preliminaries for a Foreign Service post, USIA, probably in Indonesia. This had been in the works ever since I went to India in 1954. It is a type of work from which I would draw considerable satisfaction, and with allowances, hardship bonus, etc., would upgrade me financially.

Just as we had decided to take this, an offer from The Sun-Times was renewed at a higher figure and so we are now back where we started--trying to make up our minds. There is no firm commitment to either at this time, therefore nothing to publicly disclose. But a decision will have to be made shortly and I will let you know.

Cordially,

BW

Robert W. Brown

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

The Ledger—Pulitzer Prize 1955. Public Service. The Enquirer—Headliner Award 1955. Public Service.
WRBL-TV CHANNEL 4 C.B.S.-A.B.C. AFFILIATE — WRBL RADIO 1420 AM 93.3 FM C.B.S. AFFILIATE

January 7, 1957

Mr. Bob Brown, Editor
Columbus Ledger
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Bob:

In looking through our files last week for copies of your editorials concerning the distribution of the fake recording and WAC pictures distributed by the White Citizens' Council, I find that we have either not had the editorials or have misplaced them. I am wondering if you could send us copies by return mail. We are interested in the possibility of submitting the editorials for possible awards for editorials on the segregation controversy. Will appreciate receiving the editorials if copies are still available.

Thanks in advance.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Managing Editor, New South

JC:fc

January 31, 1956

Miss Delores Price, Circulation Manager
Community
4233 S. Indiana Avenue,
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Price:

Thank you for your letter of January 24 and congratulations on the lovely new form of the maggie. I can't help on the mailing list because of the queer position we are in hereabouts we have a firm rule that people who join our State organizations won't get mail from any body at all except our State organizations and New South.

But I would like for my twelve new State groups to get the paper. So I will subscribe for them. Here is the twelve dollars and here are the names and addresses of the State directors.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl. (2)

HCF
JC

January 24, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 28 1956

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

We are in the midst of a circulation drive for COMMUNITY, the Friendship House publication, since this is the fifteenth year we have put out a paper. I know that you are familiar with the work of the House, but if you have not seen a copy of the paper lately you might care to look over the one enclosed.

To be brief--we would like to know if there would be any possibility of exchanging an equal number of names from the mailing list of the Southern Regional Council or THE NEW SOUTH with our COMMUNITY list? We would like to send a circulation letter similar to the one enclosed to as many people as possible.

I don't know what your usual policy on the matter is, but we would certainly appreciate your considering it.

From clippings and reprints received from some of our friends in Louisiana (and from one of the articles I glanced at in THE NEW SOUTH) I would gather that a measure of good things are really being worked out regarding the school situation. You'll be glad to know, no doubt, that a 'measure' of good things are happening in Trumbull Park too.

We will be hoping to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Delores Price

Delores Price, Circulation Manager

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 31, 1956

To Each State Director:

We had a request from friends of old standing in Chicago who get out a now much enlarged publication called Community that used to be called the Catholic Interracialist. They wanted us to exchange mailing lists in whole or in part with them. That we don't do. But the maggie is an excellent summary of interracial news as it concerns Catholics. We would like our State organizations to see it. I have therefore subscribed to it for a year for each State organization. We paid for it and they will send it to you directly.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

February 7, 1956

Miss Betty Schneider, Assistant Editor
Community
4233 S. Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Schneider:

Harold Fleming, who runs New South, tells me that we consider newspaper articles, including letters, as in the public domain. We ourselves when we reprint such a letter do not ask permission.

Here is the full text of the letter.

I know David Carroll slightly. He is a white man about 40 and lives near McBee, South Carolina. He has some links with cotton manufacturing and is presently trying to promote a specialty textile product on the New York market.

I was pleased with the letter from Carroll because only a few weeks before I had some evidence that he was wobbling off in the other direction.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

7-2-56

GSM —

Re attached, we consider uncopyrighted newspaper stuff (including ltrs to editor) in public domain. Hence, no permission asked or secured.

We cut for New South. Attached is "picture" of full text if they want it.

Thought you might want to answer the lady yourself. If not, will do.

HCF

COMMUNITY
4233 S. INDIANA AVE.
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

RECEIVED FEB 2 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
New South
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3 Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We read the New South month by month and find it very interesting and helpful in getting ideas and facts for Community.

We would like to reprint the letter by David Carroll "Hear the Negroes' Case" which was presented in your October 1955 issue. I note that it was originally presented in the New York Times but felt you might be able to give us that permission without having to go to them.

We're keeping busy up here in Chicago. I hope and trust everything goes well with the Southern Regional Council and that the recent difficulties trying to implement desegregation aren't too frustrating.

W ill hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Betty Schneider

Betty Schneider,
Assistant Editor

BS/gb

COMMUNITY
4233 S. INDIANA AVE.
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Journal Com Cu

Feb. 7, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

RECEIVED FEB 9 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your recent letter enclosing therein twelve subscriptions for various state Councils on Human Relations. I understand about the mailing list quite perfectly. Thank you for answering our letter so soon.

We're glad you like our new format. We hope it will attract lots of new subscribers.

Thanking you sincerely for your interest and your help, I remain

Sincerely,

Delores Price

Delores Price,
Circulation Manager

DP:js

February 25, 1956

Miss Betty Schneider, Asst. Editor
Community
4233 S. Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Schneider:

The Texas Observer very readily granted us permission to reprint their cartoons, and I have no doubt they would be equally glad to have you do so. However, it would be good policy to write them. The address is 504 West 24th Street, Austin, Texas.

With best wishes to you and your fine publication,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/mef

COMMUNITY
4233 S. INDIANA AVE.
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

February 17,1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
The New South
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We would like permission to reprint the cartoon on page 9 of your November issue. It is the one by Etta Hulme from the Texas Observer. In the event that you can not give us this, would you send us the address of the Texas Observer. Our local public library doesn't seem able to find it.

Thank you for the reprint privileges on the letter to the Times, which you gave us recently. With all good wishes to the fine work of the Southern Regional Council, I am

Sincerely yours,
Betty Schneider
Betty Schneider
Asst. Editor

504 W 24th St
Austin, Tex.

Dennis Loth
Provided

September 27, 1957

Miss Mary Dolan, Editor
COMMUNITY
Friendship House
4233 South Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Miss Dolan:

Thanks for your recent letter. We hold Community in high regard and would welcome a chance to be helpful.

I am afraid I can't give a clear cut answer to your inquiry about "The Southerner". I don't know Don West personally and therefore am in no position to make any judgment. I do think you ought to know that he is "controversial" in a somewhat broader sense than most such Southern dissenters. By this, I mean that there are people in these parts of genuinely liberal persuasion who question his judgment, his motivation, or both. Ralph McGill, for example, has publicly criticized West as a man who operates with something less than complete candor and good faith. I hasten to add that there are others who feel that West is a dedicated and courageous idealist who has suffered greatly for his principles. I go into this unpleasant business of personalities only because I feel you should know that the liberal group down here is more of one mind about West.

As for The Southerner itself, I did see a number of issues of it. Its main purpose was to promote the cause of organized labor in a very simple and folksy way. It carried one or two articles (by Don West), having to do with the fact that several anti-union mill owners in North Georgia were Jewish, which I thought were in rather bad taste.

Of course, that too is a matter of opinion and others might take a different view.

If you decide to go ahead with an article, we will exert ourselves to round up some of the material that may be helpful.

Turing to more comfortable matters, George Mitchell's address is: Glencoe, Argyll, Scotland. He writes pleasantly of his house building venture and am sure would warmly welcome a word from you.

We would be delighted to have some account of SRC appear in Community. I am passing your generous suggestion along to John Constable, our director of information, in the hope that he can prepare (or get prepared) something that would be suitable.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Call Art re: this

FRIENDSHIP HOUSE
4233 South Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois
KEnwood 6-9039

Established in Chicago in 1942

September 16, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Could you give me any information about a publication, "The Southerner"? My understanding is it was published around 1955 by a Don West of Dalton, Georgia...and that it was a periodical. I believe they moved to Montgomery, Alabama, the following year, but with the Bus Boycott things were too hot for a pro-integration paper, and it folded.

I thought there might be a story for our paper COMMUNITY in this. If you can give me any material about "The Southerner" or Mr. West, or if you can suggest where I might find such information, I would be grateful.

Would you also give me George Mitchell's present address?

Speaking of stories for COMMUNITY reminds me that we have never had a comprehensive story on the Southern Regional Council. Would there be someone on your staff, or perhaps among the members, who could--and would--do an article forus? (I suppose you realize that we do not pay for articles.) Perhaps you would be good enough to give the matter some thought, and let me know your suggestions.

Sincerely,

Mary Dolan

Mary Dolan
COMMUNITY Editor

October 16, 1959

Mr. James E. Burns, Co-editor
COMMUNITY
Friendship House
4233 South Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mr. Burns:

Thank you for your letter of October 14. Of course, you may reprint the Chronology; and you may reprint any other material in NEW SOUTH which is original with NEW SOUTH. That is, if we are reprinting something from another publication, you will, of course, have to ask their permission yourself for reprint privileges.

Yes we do see your publication and enjoy it.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

COMMUNITY
published by

FRIENDSHIP HOUSE

October 14, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

I would like permission to reprint the Chronology of Principal Cases on Segregation that appeared in the October issue of NEW SOUTH.

From time to time I have noticed other articles that I thought our readers would find profitable. Would it be possible for you to give permission for us to reprint without contacting you in each specific instance? We would of course give credit and would send marked copies.

COMMUNITY is a Catholic monthly with a circulation of about 6500. It is almost entirely about race relations. If you do not receive it, perhaps we can arrange for an exchange.

God bless you and your work.

Sincerely,

James E. Burns, Co-editor

4233 SOUTH INDIANA AVENUE · CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS · KENWOOD 6-9039

THE COURIER-JOURNAL & TIMES MAGAZINE
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1967 21

Louisville, Ky.

Georgia's Apprehensive Liberals

Groups concerned with race relations, such as the Southern Regional Council, feel uneasy with Lester Maddox in the governor's chair

By F. W. WOOLSEY, Magazine Staff Writer

WHATEVER it was that put segregationist Lester Maddox in the governor's chair in Georgia—white backlash; fear of "Black Power" or a kind of late-blooming Populism—the subsequent change in political climate has brought some cold shivers to liberals in the Peach State.

There's an uneasy feeling that Governor Maddox is going to be unpredictable about a number of issues, including the future of Georgia-based organizations fostering interracial cooperation.

In liberal circles, one of the most respected of these is the Southern Regional Council (SRC), which for years has been publishing sober appraisals of the South's economic, moral, sociological and educational recognition of the Negro.

The SRC hopes that the governor doesn't do to its fact-finding office what he did to his fried-chicken restaurant: Get rid of it. Maddox closed his restaurant in Atlanta rather than serve Negro customers, as was required by the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The day after the election last November, some wags in the SRC office were saying that maybe the staff ought to move to Birmingham, Ala., for a more favorable working climate.

In the new governor's simplistic philosophy, the Scriptures uphold segregation. "I believe it to be Christian," he once said.

From selling fried-chicken dinners Maddox went into the furniture business, and the right-wing Let Freedom Ring organization—which espouses the John Birch Society line—has been sending out its telephone messages from the Maddox store. In his inaugural address, the elevated tone of which sounded good even to liberal ears, Maddox disclaimed extremists. But the fact that he said on inauguration day he had no plans to divorce his business from those phone spiels cast doubt on whether the governor knows what extremism is.

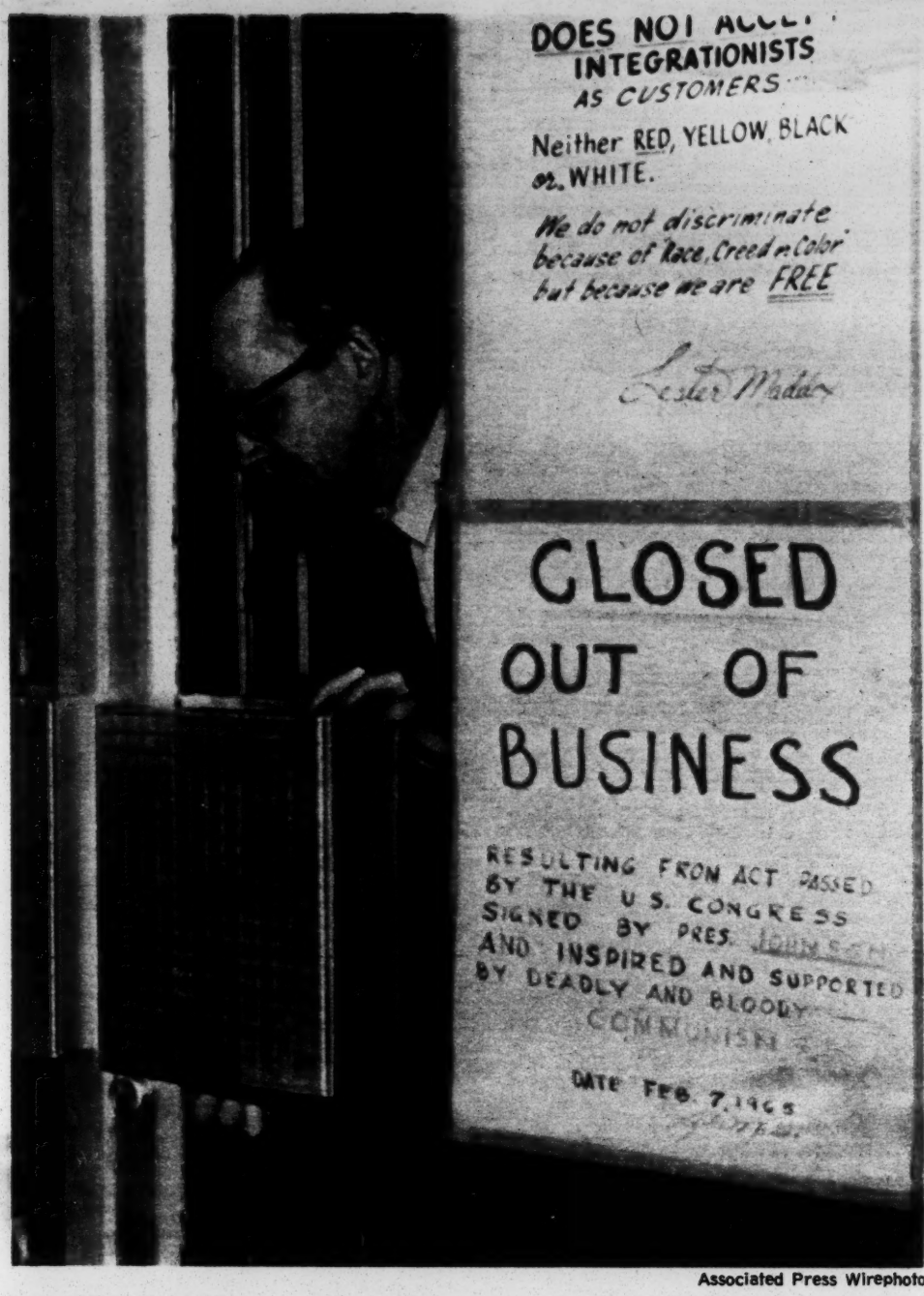
To his own satisfaction, however, the governor has ascertained the forces behind the integration movement. It was some time ago that Maddox said he thought the big-money people — "Maybe the Carnegies and the Mellons and the Fords"—are behind the civil-rights movement in order to curry favor with African nations "where there would be almost a virgin market for heavy industry, for appliances for homes, for furnishings, for clothing. . . ."

The capitalists' instrument, he said, is "the Southern Regional Council. Various foundations have contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to that particular organization, and in turn it is a kind of forefather over many other organizations—helps to finance various interracial movements—and Atlanta has turned into a headquarters for such organizations."

The part about the financing is fact. The interracial board of SRC couldn't have put it better than Maddox did. The council receives foundation funds and uses the money for information and research, supports state human-relations councils, and encourages registration by Negroes qualified to vote.

The council contends that it is a charitable organization. But last year the Georgia Department of Labor called it a propaganda outfit attempting to influence legislation. The state agency presented a bill for $17,993 it claimed SRC owed for unemployment-compensation assessments, penalties and interest. SRC had never joined the compensation system, and contended in court that it was exempt. A Superior Court found for SRC, but the Labor Department took the case to the State Supreme Court, where it awaits a review.

On the fifth floor of the old Journal building in the heart of down-



Associated Press Wirephoto

BEFORE TURNING POLITICIAN, Lester Maddox closed his restaurant rather than serve Negroes. Now that he is governor, liberals fear that he would like to close down organizations fostering racial cooperation.

town Atlanta, SRC's paid staff members go about their business with the optimism of people who know their outfit has been in deep trouble before and has come through with flying colors. There are SRC alumni who recall the era of vicious telephone calls to their homes, anonymous letters of scurrilous and even obscene content, and the ever-recurrent investigations by legislatures in the Deep South states where never-proved charges of Communist leanings were leveled at the then-young Southern Regional Council.

Space in desirable office buildings in downtown Atlanta was denied the organization. (Today it is lodged in the midst of smart shops and restaurants; its neighbors across the street are The Atlanta Journal and The Constitution.) It made do in an old, out-of-the-way building owned by The Methodist Church. The volume of "hate" mail increased

Continued

Georgia's Liberals *Continued*

every time an individual on the SRC staff or board was quoted in newspapers.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, now 83 and active every day with SRC's "Fellowship of the Concerned," a church-related project, found a satisfactory means of retaliation against abusive, anonymous telephone callers. As a member of President Truman's Civil Rights Commission, she was a target. She had a recording of a tenor singing "The Lord's Prayer" on a player near the telephone. When callers became hateful, she flipped on the record player. "I don't know about them," she said recently, "but it sure helped me."

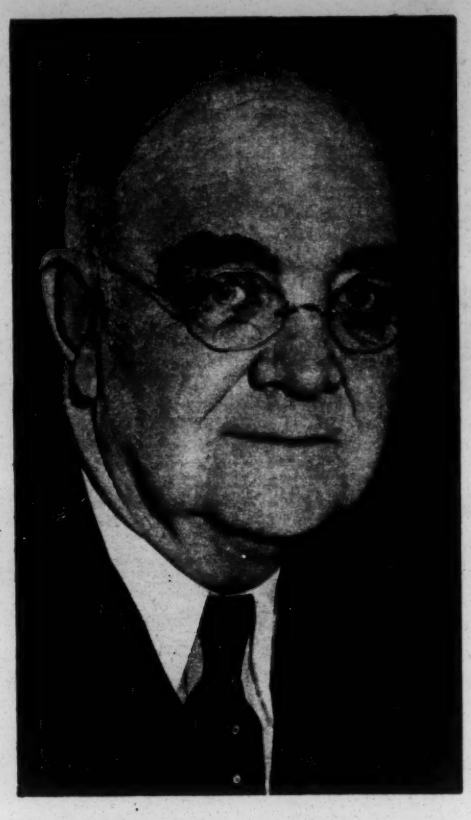
In a variety of ways—some too subtle for statistics and others as evident as the 11 Negroes who sit in the Georgia State Legislature—the South has changed very much since SRC was born.

It was 25 years ago that some Southern Negroes—mostly educators and ministers—broke the silence from below the Mason-Dixon Line with an appeal to whites of the South to join an interracial campagin against segregation. The appeal was heard and acted upon by a group of whites, many of them nationally known, who agreed that "understanding, cooperation and a mutual respect" were badly needed.

One of the outcomes of the so-called "Durham Conference Statement" by the Negroes and the answer to it from whites who gathered at Atlanta in April, 1943, was the creation of the Southern Regional Council, a source of information and statistics about the segregated South for a generation. It began operating under a charter from the State of Georgia in 1944. Dr. Rufus Clement, a native of Louisville and son of a bishop in the A.M.E. Zion Church, was one of the charter applicants. Another was Ralph McGill, the Atlanta newspaper man and columnist.

A concern for racial justice and democracy has always been present in the Southern tradition. The Council thinks it has been the embodiment of this element. In the words of one of its past leaders, "It can never exceed—though of course it can fall short of—its environment of men and ideals and intelligence."

Dr. Robert Coles of the psychiatric staff of Harvard University Health



A PIONEER was Will W. Alexander who started an interracial mission in the years after World War I.

Service, who spent two years on SRC studies of Southern schools and migrant farmers, believes "the Southerner exists psychologically . . . across the barriers of race and class." Negro or white, says Dr. Coles, the Southerner "is the one American . . . whose ancestors, generation after generation, lived at cross-purposes to every political principle of this nation."

The two races, he theorizes, share a sense of shame. In the white, it manifests itself in nostalgia or in angry self-pity. In the Negro, it has produced acquiescence or numb rage.

This grim generalization seems to downgrade an outgrowth of the sense of shame: A determination to bring about change. Every once in a while, the South was swept by a liberal wind; and in those brief bursts of benign climate, a few seeds of racial cooperation sprouted.

After World War I, a Methodist preacher named Will W. Alexander began an interracial mission. He went ahead despite the fact that public opinion as yet wasn't even mobilized against lynching. His mission turned into the Commission of Interracial Cooperation. Recently, a noted Negro educator recalled the gravity of that mission:

"Negro soldiers coming back to the South were lynched because they dared to wear the uniforn and the insignia of rank they had worn in France."

The speaker is the president of Atlanta University, Rufus Clement. Dr. Clement was dean of the old Louisville Municipal College for Negroes from 1931 to 1937. His father was Bishop George Clement of the A.M.E. Zion Church. Dr. Clement's picture of the Rev. Mr. Alexander is of "a liberal Southerner—outspoken and evangelistic. He and my father were contemporaries and served on the commission together."

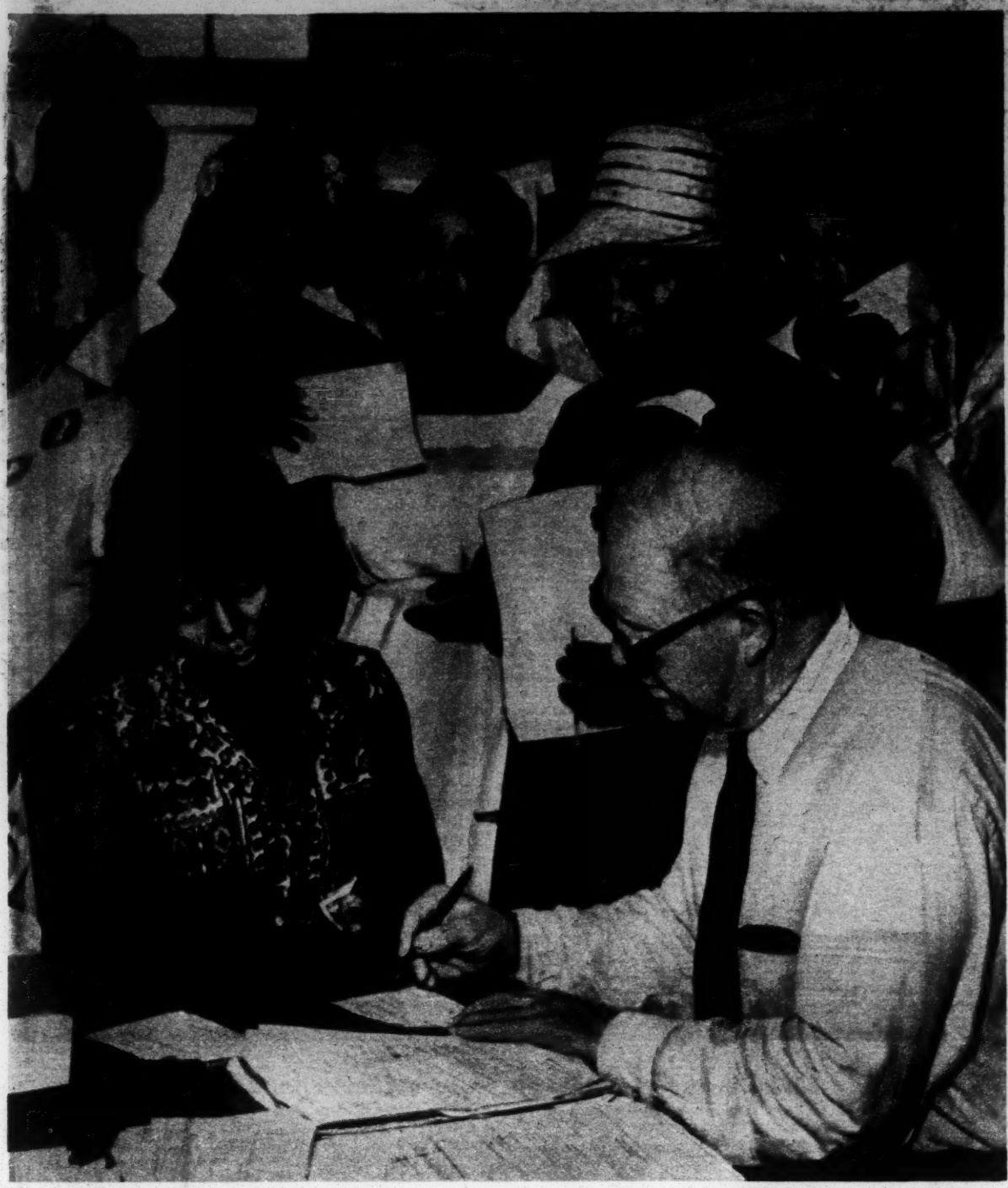
In the 25 years of its existence, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation spent $2.5 million in foundation funds, mostly Rosenwald, Rockefeller and Carnegie. One of the most important adjuncts of the commission was the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, which grew to 40,000 members. Except for this manifestation of outrage against terrorism, the commission and its affiliates never approached a mass movement. Many local units (they once numbered 604) of the commission met once and never again.

Gunnar Myrdal, in the United States preparing his landmark volume, "An American Dilemma," noted a decline in support for the commission in the late 1930s and criticism of it among young Negroes for its paternalism. "We never treated them (the Negroes it set out to help) as equals," said a white commission member.

Ironically, the Durham Manifesto that came out of the 1942 meeting of Negro ministers and educators seemed to accept the separate-but-equal concept. But Lillian Smith, white and from an old Georgia family, would have none of this philosophy. From the moment she became nationally famous for her novel "Strange Fruit," there was no mistaking her as anything but an implacable foe of segregation by law or by custom. When the Southern Regional Council was in the making, she refused a place on the board of directors in the belief that the new organization was not prepared to call segregation evil and to attack it directly.

SRC was criticized by others, too,

Continued



United Press International Photograph

ENCOURAGING NEGROES to register to vote is an example of the Southern Regional Council activities frowned on by segregationists.

for allegedly acquiescing to "gradualism." Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director from 1947 to 1957, once felt pressured enough to respond sharply: "We have never made it a point to be so far in advance of surrounding custom that our people lose effectiveness in pushing for a change."

By 1951, SRC was ready, as its then-president said, to make "the frontal attack, without evasion, without apology" on segregation and to take the stand that segregation must go. In the next two years, 1,600 members quit. By 1954, membership was under 1,000 and SRC was in terrible financial shape.

The cherished dream of Dr. Mitchell was that state human-relations councils would rise up in strength. Eventually, he predicted, the central SRC office could fold up.

A hefty grant from the Fund for the Republic (Ford Foundation money) materialized in 1954 and grants-in-aid were made to groups in various states. These groups never became strong enough to cut adrift, however, let alone dictate to the central office. The concept of strong state-level organization was crippled by deteriorating race relations in the late 1950s, especially in the hard-core segregationist states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and Georgia.

By 1957, the Fund for the Republic money had run out. SRC was broke. Dr. Mitchell—who on an earlier occasion had come to the rescue of SRC by borrowing on his life insurance—wanted to retire to the academic life he had left years before.

The end of an era of pioneer ideal-

Continued

Georgia's Apprehensive Liberals

ism was at hand. Now a new school of young pragmatists took over, with a new grant from the Fund for the Republic to support the research, inquiry, public relations and administrative service which became the hallmark of SRC.

The earlier era to which Dr. Mitchell belonged had been one in which the liberal movement in the South coalesced around a few personalities, white men and women mostly with backgrounds in social service and with wide acquaintance on the fringes of the power structure.

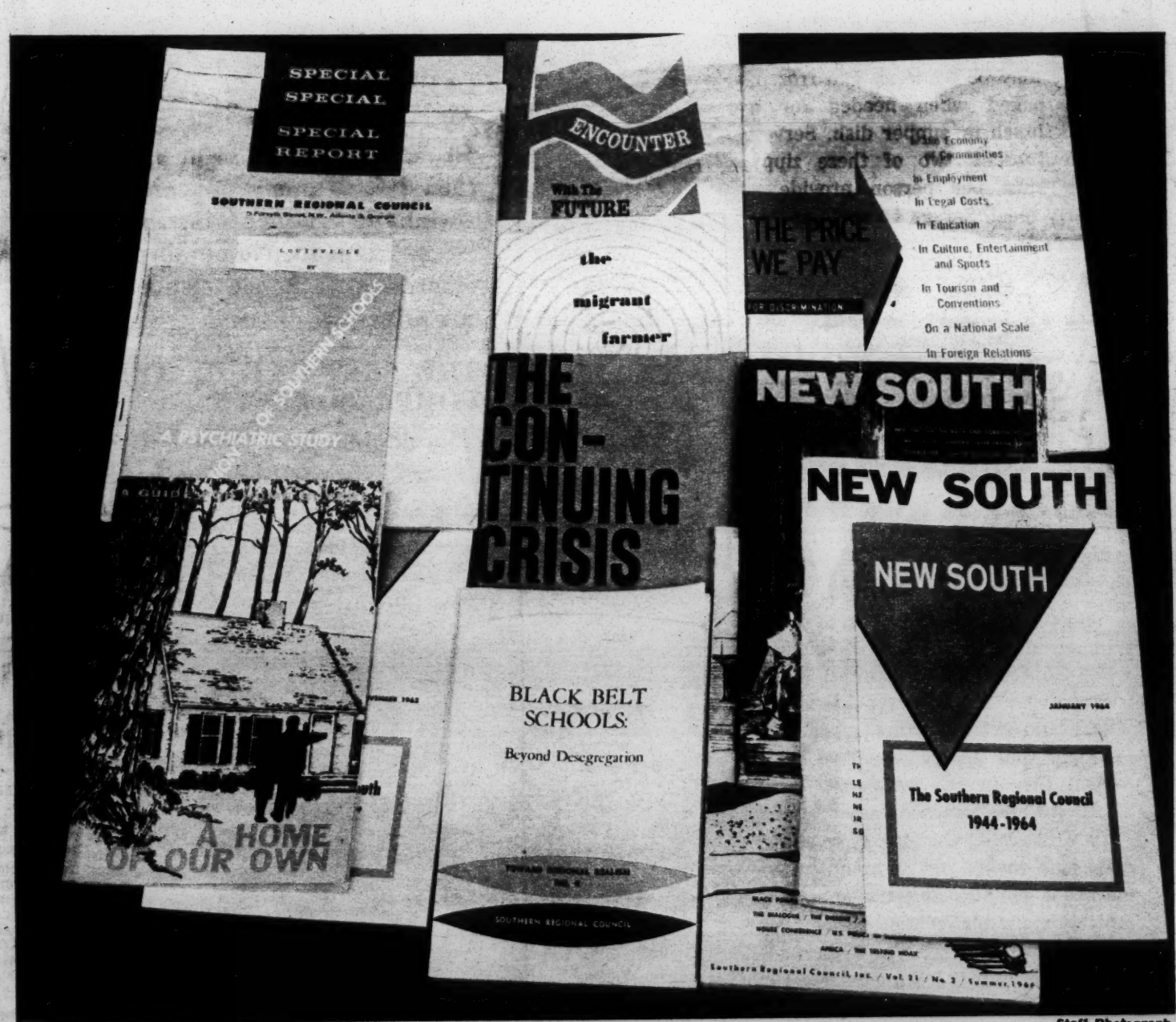
Typical of this era was the way in which Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, field secretary for the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, stage-managed the events that led up to the formation of the Southern Regional Council. Mrs. Ames, called by a contemporary "a splendid tactician and a good organizer," wrote to a leading Negro educator suggesting the all-Negro meeting that later materialized at Durham, N.C. "The initiative should be taken by Southern Negroes. I can promise you cooperation from Southern white people."

She made good the promise. There were 292 signers of the statement issued by prominent white Southerners at Atlanta in April, 1943, agreeing with the prominent Negroes at the Durham Conference that "it is a wicked notion that the struggle by the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation. . . ."

Dr. Mitchell went into public service from the faculty of Columbia University. He was the son of a university president and grandson of a president of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville. Education was in his bones. He had been a professor of economics at Columbia; he believed that support for changes in the South would come from the grass roots. In this, he shared a concept of the great Southern sociologist, Howard Washington Odum of the University of North Carolina, who has been called "the intellectual midwife of the Southern Regional Council."

Odum wanted SRC to be "an immense catalyst furthering his dream of regional development." Leslie Dunbar, SRC executive director from 1961 to 1965, made this assessment of what Odum, a charter board member of SRC, gave to the organization:

"True to Odum's view that the racial relations of the South could not be changed and perfected by a frontal assault, but only by encountering and solving them in the context of the other political, social, educational, and economic problems of the region, the council set out in its early days with all these interests.



Staff Photograph

THE COUNCIL issues many publications, and the Georgia Department of Labor calls it a propaganda outfit.

Very soon, however, its program focused on race, and has stayed there. Odum's great strategy was artificial; race so undercuts and overhangs every Southern problem that none can be rationally treated without first wresting it from enslavement to a debilitating system of race relations."

In the 1940s, when the burgeoning membership of the SRC was called by one writer "a 3,000-member network for the prevention of race riots and lynchings," there were many persons on the roster who thought of race relations in terms of the absence of violence rather than of the presence of justice. In was inevitable they would quit one day. Dunbar's evaluation was: ". . . The liberal moment (of the Atlanta Statement by whites in 1943) passed and prestigious names deserted the infant (SRC) they had helped birth. . . . Negroes turned to the more immediately productive leadership of the NAACP lawyers to advance their cause. . . ."

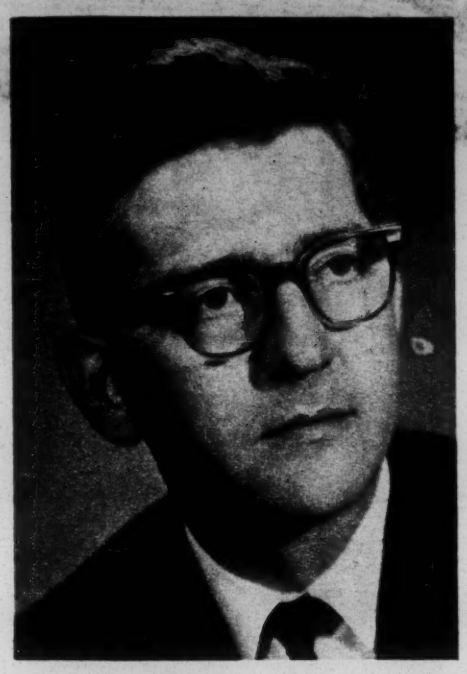
SRC was forced by circumstances to look inward, to become pragmatic and to embark on a highly centralized program of fact-finding and synthesizing. It went to work on the decision-makers, North and South: Big businessmen, top political leaders, editors, educators.

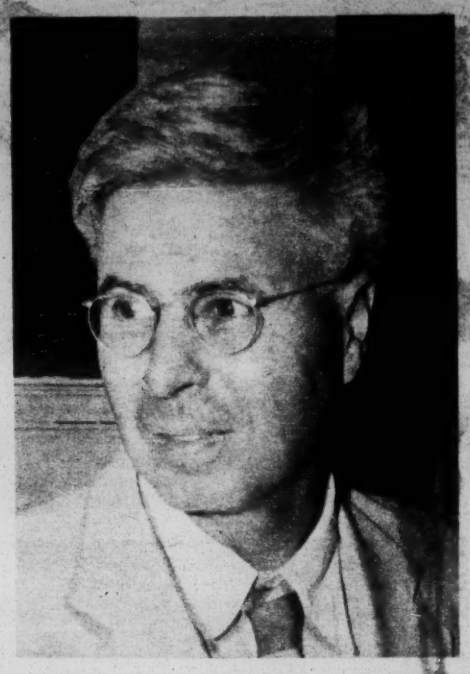
THE OLD "network" was gone. In its place was a board of lay members, about 100 of them, comprising a very large chunk of the progressive leadership of the South, and from SRC headquarters a growing array of publications.

Pat Watters, a former Atlanta newspaperman who is director of information for SRC, says that the publications fall somewhere between day-by-day reporting and the footnoted theses of scholarship.

Watters can check facts and interpretations in manuscripts he reads with board members all over the South, in many walks of life. He does, often.

Unless present plans change, the diversity of SRC endeavors will intensify, not diminish, with the years. The current executive director, slim, amiable, bespectacled young Paul Anthony, who has been on the scene since 1956, presides over a staff that grew by 60 per cent in a single year, 1965-66, and over a budget that tops $1 million. More than half that sum





PAUL ANTHONY, the present executive director, came on the staff in the late 1950s with a group of young pragmatists. George Mitchell, right, executive director from 1947 to 1957, typified the pioneer idealists.

was used for grants to support the work of other groups and agencies.

The voter-education project, budgeted for $325,000, is a cooperative, nonpartisan effort. Grants to national and local organizations and even some individuals are contingent upon their actually being in the field, working to educate Negroes about registration and getting them actually signed up to vote.

Some of the organizations in the field are of the boldly militant stripe. However, SRC isn't a civil-rights body in the classical sense of the word. As a former executive director, Harold C. Fleming, now of the Potomac Institute in Washington, D.C., says: "The council has been a middle ground, and that has been important. The council has avoided being just one more 'polarized' civil-rights group."

He might have added that SRC doesn't fling money around indiscriminately. When it does make a grant, SRC's bookkeepers take careful account of where the money goes. So does the auditing firm which SRC keeps on a retainer basis. Undoubtedly this sense of financial responsibility has encouraged the foundations—Ford, Field, Taconic, Rockefeller Brothers Fund and others—to support SRC projects.

But Anthony worries lest his organization develop the image of a rich uncle to be tapped for occasional, sizable advances by its "family." Nor does he want SRC's good reputation for handling foundation money to turn it into simply the "banker" for civil-rights projects. "We should be doing pilot research," he says. "We're not a program agency; we ought to concentrate on showing what can be done—then let others use our ideas as springboard for their particular needs."

On SRC's staff are people with specialized backgrounds, and they are looking into the South's penal system and studying urban planning and urban renewal in Southern metropolitan centers. The judicial system has been under scrutiny. The voter-education project has been renewed to provide citizenship and leadership training. Ways and means of stimulating poor people—both urban and rural—to help themselves are being tried in actual situations. Support of the state human relations councils continues, although the hostility of racist groups in some states is still so strong that councils there have never been able to get off the defensive long enough to work creatively in race relations.

Paul Anthony sees this conspicuous alteration in the situation: There is resistance to Negro demands on the part of many "defiant and confused whites" who thought the Negro had achieved equal opportunity. Now many Negroes are questioning whether integration can be achieved within our democratic society.

In this atmosphere of—tension and distrust—epitomized by the presence of Lester Maddox in Georgia's governor's office—the council has its work cut out. "It isn't that our audience backslid," Anthony said a trifle ruefully. "It's rather that we overestimated their understanding." □

VERMONT AMERICAN CORPORATION

Post Office Box 1475
Louisville, Kentucky 40201
Telephone 502/587-0501

To: Paul Anthony

file

SUBJECT:

Date 2/20/67

Thought you would like to see
the attached.

Lee

From the desk of

Lee B. Thomas Jr.

File
Newspapers, etc.
For
Courier-Journal

March 7, 1967

Mr. Lee B. Thomas, Jr.
President
Vermont American Corporation
500 E. Main Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Dear Lee:

Please forgive me this delay in thanking you for sending the article from the Courier-Journal Magazine. We are reprinting it and sending it to all the members of the Council.

Every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
Newspapers, et al
Courier-Journal

March 7, 1967

Mr. F. W. Woolsey
Magazine Staff Writer
Louisville-Courier Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Bill:

Please forgive me this inexcusable delay in responding to your article. You have done an excellent job of capturing the sensory organization and its changes during the years, and we very much appreciate it.

I only hope Lester Maddox never sees it!

Do come back and visit us again sometime.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

March 7, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Members of the Council

FROM: Paul Anthony

We thought you might be interested in the copy of the enclosed article which appeared in the Courier-Journal Magazine on Sunday, February 19, 1967.

PA/km

Enc.

August 9, 1961

Mr. Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Neier:

Mrs. Miller sent you a copy of the Clay speech. I have no objections to your offering it to your Readers Service, but for whatever it may mean to you, I think I had better tell you that we reproduced it without the General's permission. There is really no necessity on us to ask for permission to reproduce speeches given in public places and widely written up in the newspapers. It has, however, been our practice to secure permission, and we wrote to the General asking for it. As a result, we apparently got investigated by the local office of Continental Can, and after many weeks received a terse reply from General Clay which was to the effect that as he had given the speech before the Governor's Conference, he thought he no longer had the privilege of giving the manuscript to others for distribution. The implication was that we should get permission from Governor Vandiver, which we are not about to try. I honestly thought we had satisfied all requirements of courtesy, and we went ahead and reproduced it, sending copies to the General. If you want to use it, you are free to do so, but I thought you would want to have this background.

I greatly enjoyed meeting you, Messrs. Pratt and Norman when I was in New York. Please give them my regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH [illegible], GEORGIA

July 28, 1961

Mr. Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Neier:

Mr. Dunbar is out of town until August 7, but asked that I send you a copy of General Clay's speech and let you know that he will write you soon after he returns.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Miller

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Leslie

Enclosure

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

SM
please send
with letter acknowledging
I'll write after reading

July 25, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

On your visit to New York in June, you mentioned that the Southern Regional Council was planning to publish a speech by Lucius Clay which might be suitable for our Readers Service.

Your description of the speech leads me to believe that it would be ideal for our September Readers Service listings. Could you let me know whether copies of the speech would be available by early September, when we would send out the publications in response to September requests, and further, if we could see a copy of the speech by August 8. I have to make up the September listings by that date.

Yours sincerely,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:lu

ML ✓
~~SAT~~
MMB - file

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

December 29, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

We are very pleased to send you a copy of the January issue of Current. You will find your publication, "The Case for Integration," listed in the Readers Service section on the back cover.

Again, with sincere thanks for permission to list your publication, I am

Yours very truly,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:pm
enclosure

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

June 15, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The tapes of the New South subscribers , for which we are most grateful, have arrived. We certainly appreciate your interest and feel that the New South subscribers will be valuable contacts for us.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Jane E. Perry

Jane E. Perry
for Current

June 21, 1962

Mr. Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Neier:

Thank you for your letter of May 18 which we have held for an answer until the May New South, a copy of which is enclosed, was out. Let me hasten to say that we do not regard this as the "summary study" which your letter expressed an interest in.

The local employment studies have not measured up to our expectations, but whatever does? We had planned a fourth -- on Miami -- but when completed it did not seem adequate and we shall not bring it out except in the condensed form which you will find enclosed. Originally, we had intended to include in one of the local studies an overview, but this never came off; as a magazine editor you can understand how these things sometimes happen. Within the next couple of weeks we will be drawing up plans for a fourth study, this one of New Orleans. The local sponsorship and personnel encourage us to anticipate that this may be considerably the best of the series.

We have also in preparation, by Professor Vivian Henderson of Fisk, something which may be of interest to you, though not what you had in mind when you wrote. Briefly, it is an assembly of facts and trends intended to describe the present economic situation of Negroes in the South with some forecast of the short run future. If this comes off, as hoped, we shall issue it as a pamphlet.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

RECEIVED
MAY 21 1962

May 18, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I wonder if at some time the Southern Regional Council plans to issue a summary study of the series on Negro employment in southern cities.

I have of course been extremely interested in the studies on Houston, Chatanooga, and the study on Atlanta that just came across my desk. I have refrained from requesting these pamphlets for our Readers Service because 1, I am already conscious of taking great advantage of your cooperation, and 2, because it seems obvious that the distribution of these pamphlets should be concentrated in the cities they refer to.

However, a summary study would be of great interest to us, and I hope that if you decide to produce one you will take our distribution into account.

Best wishes,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:ms

40 copies
mailed - Aug 16
PB

August 2, 1962

Mr. Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Neier:

We have withheld a reply to your request concerning the employment issue of New South because of a possible reprinting which would have made it possible to supply them. Unfortunately, the extra printing will not be made and the copies are not available.

The July-August issue of New South, while not on employment, may be of interest to you. The issue concerns the Civil War Centennial with J. M. Dabbs, Paul Green, James Stokely, M. A. Wright, Frank P. Graham, and Benjamin E. Mays as contributors. A copy will be sent to you.

We regret not being able to supply the employment issue since we feel our material is put to especially good use when listed in the Current Readers Service.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

ML - please

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1962

July 2, 1962

RA

who should handle this? you or Maggie?

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of June 21. We would be interested in listing in our Readers Service the issue of New South on racial work and Negro waste in Southern employment. We haven't ever distributed an item which precisely covers this area and are anxious to fill the gap.

The pamphlet by Professor Henderson described in your letter also sounds of interest for Readers Service. I do hope you will keep our distribution in mind in placing a print order for this pamphlet. Thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Aryeh Neier as per M.S.

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:ms

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

PA-?
LD

August 1, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed, you will find a copy of the August issue of Current. You will find your publication "Racial Work and Negro Waste in Southern Employment" listed in the Readers Service section on the back cover.

Again, thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:ms
Enc.

P. S. We look forward to receiving copies of "Racial Work and Negro Waste in Southern Employment."

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1962
RECEIVED

October 10, 1962

Mr. Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Neier:

We are shipping 1,000 copies of One Hundred Years Later. Incidentally, if you don't use all of one of our publications which you list, I wonder if after a few months you might not like to clear your stock by returning them.

You asked about a statement on the Meredith case. We do not plan to have one. On the other hand, we have now at the printers a quite good report, we think, by Howard Zinn on Albany, this being a sequel to the Special Report he did for us last January. The subtitle of this new job will be "A Study in National Responsibility". We shall preface Zinn's report with a half dozen or so pages that will attempt to say something intelligent about the whole problem of disorder in the South, with reference both to the Albany type and the Oxford type situations. In the meantime, I recommend to you very strongly the piece by George McMillan in last Sunday's Washington Post, page E-1.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

October 5, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I just received your pamphlet "A Hundred Years Later." As you might guess, I am very anxious to list it in our Readers Service.

Could you let me know as soon as possible whether you can make available 1000 copies of this pamphlet?

I'd be very interested in seeing for Current's editorial purposes any statement from the Southern Regional Council commenting on President Kennedy's handling of the Meredith case or a statement analysing the possible long range significance of the case.

As always, I am grateful to you for your cooperation.

Best wishes,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:cm

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

October 30, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed, you will find a copy of the November issue of Current. You will find your publication "A Hundred Years Later" listed in the Readers Service section on the back cover.

As always, we are indebted to you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

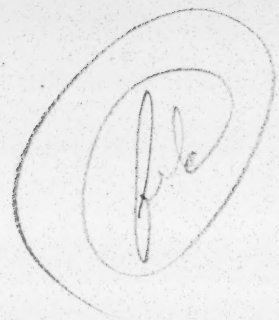
Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:cm
encl.

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900



November 1, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed, you will find a copy of the November issue of Current. You will find your publication "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study" listed in the Readers Service section on the back cover.

We are indeed grateful to you for making available copies of your publication for distribution through our Readers Service.

Sincerely yours,

Cecile Meltzer

Cecile Meltzer
For Current

CM:cmi
Enc.

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

SB
VJ
MJ - file
file "Newspapers, etc. a.d.t."

January 2, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the January issue of Current. You will find your publication "The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South" listed in the Readers Service section on the back cover.

We are continually grateful to you for making available copies of your publication for distribution through our Readers Service.

Sincerely,

Cecile Meltzer

Cecile Meltzer
Readers Service

CM:cmi

Free Newspapers et al "Current"

May 27, 1965

Miss Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager
CURRENT
905 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Garnett:

Your letter of May 18, 1965 to Mr. Jordan has been turned over to me for handling. We will be pleased to furnish Current with 800 copies of our report on "Racial Discrimination in the Southern Federal Courts." As it turns out, our supply is well below this figure at the present, but additional copies will be run off on the mimeograph machine within the next week. When this is done, you may expect a shipment from us.

Fwd 6-8-65

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

May 18, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

I'm pleased to let you know that the issue of "New South" on the "Book Explosion of 1964" will be listed in our June issue, and will be the first item on that Readers Service list. As soon as the June issue has been published, a copy will be sent to you.

Once again I am going to call upon you for assistance. The editors have seen a copy of your Special Report of April, 1965, "Racial Discrimination in the Southern Federal Courts," and would very much like to distribute copies of it through Readers Service.

Would it be at all possible for you to provide us with between 500 and 800 copies of this Report, as you have in the past?

Anything you can do to help will be greatly appreciated, and we look forward to hearing from you further.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

File — Newspapers et al.

PA

LWD

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

c/o Library Jdn
177 East 71st St.
N.Y. 10021,

July 23, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

A copy of the May 1965 issue of New South, "Encounter With the Future," has come to our attention, and the editors are very impressed with it and most anxious to distribute copies of to our readers through our Readers Service program.

Would it be at all possible for you to provide us with between 500 and 800 copies of this pamphlet, as you have so generously done with other publications of yours?

The editors would like very much to be able to list "Encounter With the Future," in our September issue. However, since we do work somewhat ahead of our publication date, it is necessary for us to complete the Readers Service listing for the September issue by Monday, August 2nd. Could you possibly let us know by that date whether or not you can make the copies available -- a collect phone call will be fine.

Thank you once again for all of your help, and we look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gbe

P.S. The editors have asked me to tell you that they feel that this pamphlet is the best thing that has been written on SNCC that they have seen so far.

PW
MS

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

File - Newspapers, et al - "Current"

September 1, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the September issue of Current. You will find your publication "Encounter With the Future" listed in the Readers Service section on the back cover.

We are indeed very grateful to you for providing us with copies of your publications for distribution through Current's Readers Service.

Sincerely yours,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:cm

File: Newspapers, et. al. "Current"

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

PA
SA
MLK
Rec'd 12/10/65

December 1, 1965

Miss Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Waters:

Enclosed is a copy of the December issue of Current. You will find your publication "Southern Justice: An Indictment" listed in the Readers Service section on the back cover.

We are indeed very grateful to you for providing us with copies of your publication for distribution through Current's Readers Service.

Sincerely yours,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:cm
Enclosure

File — Newspapers, et al. "Current"

Separate mailing: 600 copies "School Desegregation...."
December 3, 1965

December 3, 1965

Miss Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Miss Garnett:

Please forgive this long delay in responding to your request for copies of our school desegregation report.

Under separate cover we are sending 600 copies. We may have additional copies if you have need of them, since likely we will print more copies.

It is always a pleasure to have Current make use of our materials.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

Mailed 12/2/65

November 17, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am pleased to be able to tell you that "Southern Justice: An Indictment," which Pat Waters so generously let us have while you were away, will be the first item listed in the Readers Service section of our December issue. As soon as the December issue is published, a copy will be sent to you.

The editors have seen a copy of your September 1965 Special Report, "School Desegration: Old Problems Under a New Law," and they are most anxious to distribute copies of it through our Readers Service program. Would it be at all possible for you to provide us with between 500 and 800 copies of this Report? If you could see your way clear to providing us with 800, we would be very happy, since your material goes faster than almost anything else we distribute.

If this can be done, the copies should be shipped to my attention, at:

Current (c/o Library Foundation)
177 East 71 Street
New York, New York 10021

We do want to thank you again for all of the help you have given us in the past, and we look forward to hearing from you about this Special Report.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gbe

January 13, 1966

Miss Natalie Braverman
Permissions
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Miss Braverman:

We are pleased that Current wishes to make use of our publication, Black Belt Schools, and gladly give you permission to do so.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony

PA/km

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

January 11, 1966

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.,N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The editors of Current (an educational service magazine) would like permission to reprint approximately 1100 words from the report BLACK BELT SCHOOLS: BEYOND DESEGREGATION by Donald Ross Green, James A. Jordan, W. J. Bridgeman, and Clay V. Brittain for inclusion in the February issue of Current.

We are very enthusiastic about this material and feel it would receive wider circulation through our magazine which it deserves.

Our credit line will be listed on our source page and in the text as follows:

> Bridgeman, W. J., Brittain, Clay V., Green, Donald Ross, Jordan, James A., Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga. November 1965.

We look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience as we are approaching our deadline. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Natalie Braverman

Natalie Braverman
Permissions

March 22, 1966

Miss Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager
CURRENT
905 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

file

Dear Miss Garnett:

The demands for our migrant farmer study have been heave, and we will be able to send you only 500 copies of the pamphlet. This we are happy to do, and they are being sent to you under separate cover to the appropriate address.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MEMORA NDUM March 22, 1966

To: BCCook

From: MMJohnson

Bernice,

Please package up and have sent 500 copies of Bob Coles' MIGRANT FARMER... to CURRENT MAGAZINE (label attached).

thanx, mmj

Rec'd 3/21/66

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

March 18, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is to let you know that "School Desegregation: Old Problems Under a New Law," which you so generously made available to us for our Readers Service program, will be listed in our April 1966 issue. As soon as that issue has been published, a copy will be sent to you.

Also, the editors have seen a copy of "The Migrant Farmer," which they would very much like to distribute through our Readers Service. I see that this was originally published in September, 1965, but if your supply of copies is not too low, would it be at all possible for you to provide us with between 500 and 800 copies?

If this can be done, the copies should be sent to my attention at:

Current
c/o Library Foundation
177 East 71 Street
New York, New York 10021

We would like to take this opportunity to thank you again for all of the help you have given us in the past, and we look forward to hearing from you further.

Sincerely,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gbe

file

MS

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

April 1, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the April issue of Current. You will find your publication "School Desegregation: Old Problems Under a New Law" listed in the Readers Service section on the back cover.

We are indeed very grateful to you for providing us with copies of your publications for distribution through Current's Readers Service.

Sincerely yours,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:cm
Enclosure

File Newspapers, et al "Current"

April 28, 1967

Miss Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Miss Garnett:

Very regrettably the three (3) publications about which you wrote were reproduced in limited numbers and we do not have as many as 500 copies of any of them.

We will try to do better by Current with our future publications.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Current
905 madison avenue
new york 10021 · yu 8-7900

Eliot D. Pratt
Publisher

April 25, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I hope you received your copy of the February 1967 issue of CURRENT containing the Readers Service listing of your "School Desegregation 1966: The Slow Undoing."

The editors have now seen three more of your reports which they would also like to distribute through our Readers Service program, if possible. They are:

1. "Neighborhoods - Where Human Relations Begin"
2. "Ghettos In Your Town"
3. "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program"

Would it be at all possible for you to send us about 500 copies of any or all of these reports?

If all of them can be made available to us, it is doubtful that they would all be listed in a single issue, since we try to list only one item from an organization in each issue. However, if you wanted to ship the copies of all three reports at one time, that would be perfectly alright with us. In this case, the copies would be sent to my attention at:

Current
c/o Library Foundation
177 East 71 Street
New York, New York 10021

It would be very helpful to us if we could know which, if any, of the reports we can have, since we do prepare these listings some time in advance of publication.

Thank you again for all of the help you have already given us, and we look forward to hearing from you further.

Sincerely,

Blynn Garnett

(Miss) Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gbe

See Newspapers, etal. "Current"

August 30, 1967

Miss Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager
CURRENT
905 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Miss Garnett:

The 500 copies each of On the National Crisis... and Hungry Children will be sent to you within the next several days.

Delighted we can provide these reports.

Doesn't the Circulation Manager of Current ever have an opportunity to come South? If so, we would welcome a visit from you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MEMORANDUM August 30, 1967

To: Jim Wood

From: Paul Anthony

Please have sent 500 copies each of:

ON THE NATIONAL CRISIS...

and

HUNGRY CHILDREN

TO:

Current
c/o Library Foundation
177 East 71st Street
New York, New York 10021

Current
905 madison avenue
new york 10021 · yu 8-7900

Eliot D. Pratt
Publisher

August 28, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of August 25.

We are sorry that you are out of stock on "In Their Own Words," but we would very much like to accept your offer of 500 copies each of "On the National Crisis (August 1967)" and "Hungry Children."

In all probability we will list each of these reports in two separate issues of CURRENT, but if it will be easier for you to ship both of them simultaneously that will be fine with us. As in the past, can you have the copies sent to my attention at:

Current
c/o Library Foundation
177 East 71 Street
New York, New York 10021

Thank you again for your generosity, and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gbe

File / Newspapers, etc.

NY trip

Current
905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021, YUKON 8-7900

September 8, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 30, and for the copies of "On the National Crisis," and "Hungry Children," all of which arrived safely yesterday.

Both of these pamphlets will be listed in our October issue, and as soon as it has been published, copies will be sent to you.

Thanks also for your invitation to visit you should I ever get to Atlanta. So far, most of my circulating seems to have been restricted to the New York-New England area, but you can be sure that if I get a chance to go down to Atlanta, I will stop in to see you.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Blynn

Blynn Garnett
Circulation Manager

BG:gbe

May 14, 1956

Mr. Joseph R. Starobin
51 Charles Street
New York 14, New York

Dear Mr. Starobin:

Many thanks for your letter, for the subscription to New South, and for the book. I generally turn in and read books, and I am interested in your subject and expect to read it.

Pleasure to have you the other day.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Joseph R. Starobin
51 Charles Street
New York 14, New York

8 May, 1956

Dr. George S Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I'm one of those fellows who dropped in the other day, with whom you were kind enough to spend an hour explaining all about the South. It was most instructive, but I felt that I had not fully introduced myself, and even though none of your remarks ~~for~~ were for quotation, I would not want my own position mis-understood. I have arranged to have a copy of a recent book of mine, Paris to Peking, mailed to you under separate cover. It would be fine to have your comments for my own guidance.

Cordially,

Joseph Starobin

PS: I enclose a check for a year's subscription to New South.

$2.00 CR
rha
For New South - 0.15.
Receipt mailed 5/10/56

RECEIVED MAY 10 1956

Britain, Egypt okay trade, ties with China

Story on back page

DAILY PEOPLE'S WORLD

SAN FRANCISCO ★ ★ FINAL

VOL. 19, NO. 98 (In 2 sections: Section 1) FRIDAY, May 18, 1956

Entered as Second Class Matter January 19, 1938, at the Post-office at San Francisco, Calif., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Price Ten Cents

INSIDE FEATURES

Housewife's dilemma—a 100 hour work week

—Story in magazine

Disarmament—a new challenge

— Story on page 4

Labor maps $2 million campaign against bias

—Story on page 5

Senate unit kills pension hikes

Daily People's World Political Department

The Eisenhower administration was keeping a tight rein Thursday on Senate moves to increase social security and public assistance benefits.

A hot floor fight on the social security issue may erupt on the Senate floor next week, but the Administration won the first round of its battle to block rises in benefits in the Senate Finance Committee Wednesday.

GOP Senators, aided by Chairman Harry Byrd (D-Va.), beat down a series of amendments broadening coverage and increasing benefits.

The committee beat down 8 to 4 an amendment by Sen. Russell Long (D-La.) to increase assistance grants to the needy aged by raising Federal grants to the states for this purpose.

A 9 to 5 vote defeated a proposal by Sen. Robert Kerr (D-Okla.) to establish a food stamp plan under which $10 a month in government surplus foods would go to needy old persons and others on the assistance and unemployment compensation rolls.

By 11 to 3 votes the committee sustained its decisions of last week stripping from the House-passed bill two major provisions broadening social security.

These would establish a program of payments for persons totally disabled at 50 years of age or higher and lower the retirement age from 65 to 62 for single women and wives of retired husbands.

Chairman Byrd voted with a solid bloc of Republicans against the Long and Kerr amendments.

THE BATTLE OF MONTGOMERY

In the bus boycott, you meet the people heralding new South

By ADAM LAPIN

(The writer has just returned from a 17-day tour of the South)

Rev. W. J. Powell was down on the program of the mass meeting of the Montgomery, Alabama, Improvement Assn., for the "Pep Talk"—the inspirational speech of the evening.

His might be described as a traditional style of oratory—traditional to white ministers as well as Negro. There were many flights of rhetoric. There were many quotations—from historian Arnold Toynbee as well as from the scriptures. He would not be hurried into a short speech, although he had just been praised from the platform for his brevity and incisiveness.

But there was nothing traditional or hackneyed in what this black-skinned, conservatively-dressed, self-assured minister was saying. It was hot in Day Street Baptist church that evening. Thousands of Negro men an women were packed together. But they listened intently as Rev. Powell said:

"Don't be surprised if attempts are made to spread division and distrust among us."

I couldn't help thinking of the sneering crack I had heard earlier that day from Sam Engelhardt Jr., head of the White Citizens Councils of Alabama, that the Montgomery bus boycott would founder as a result of "quarrels over money" by the Negro leaders. Obviously, the Negro leaders were quite aware of Engelhardt's strategy.

"We will never be able to attain our goal unless we are united as a fist, our working class people, our ministers, our doctors, our youth," Rev. Powell continued.

Here was the miracle of Montgomery — that this unity had been achieved and sustained for five long months. All the age-old strategems used to divide and rule had failed. The meeting that night in the Day st. church was an embodiment of this unity.

First there was a singing of hymns and spirituals, "I Am Thine, O Lord," "We Shall Not Be Moved," "Climbing Jacob's Ladder." Then there was a reading of the 37th Psalm.

A minister read: "Fret not thyself because of evildoers, nei-

(Continued on Page 2)

WHEN THE GREAT BATTLES of American history are listed henceforth, the Battle of Montgomery might well rank among them. Here is part of the general staff, directing the bus boycott fight, risking threats of imprisonment and other forms of intimidation. They are, from left, Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Rev. Garner, Rufus Lewis, Rev. Leroy R. Bennett, Rev. W. F. Alford, Rev. J. H. Cherry, Rev. H. H. Herbert and Eli Judkins.

Cholera siege jams hospitals in Calcutta

CALCUTTA, India, May 17 (UP)—A cholera epidemic raging in this crowded Indian city struck one person every 10 minutes today.

Ambulances lined up outside emergency cholera wards as the rodent-borne disease spread into the industrial areas of Calcutta.

It was believed that total new cases today would exceed the 148 reported Wednesday. Six of Wednesday's cases died.

The municipal ambulance service was hampered by the fact that 10 of its 22 vehicles were under repairs. Police used radio cars to handle accident cases, freeing the available ambulances for victims of the epidemic.

Drivers were working 12 and 18 hours a day to handle the emergency calls from stricken families.

Postal hike okayed

WASHINGTON, May 17 (UP)—The House Post Office Committee tentatively agreed today to the Administration's request for a one cent increase in first class and air mail postage rates.

UCLA students elect Negro president

— Story on back page

The boycotters say, 'We had to do something for ourselves'

(Continued from Page 1)

ther be thou envious against the workers of iniquity."

The crowd responded: "For they shall soon be cut down like the grass, and wither as the herb."

Then there was a great burst of applause as the Negro ministers, the leaders of the bus boycott, the men subjected to arrest and finger-printing, came on the platform.

Here were Rev. M. L. King, slender, thoughtful, seeming a bit shy and withdrawn, and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, brawny and broad-shouldered, a man with an earthy humor and the popular touch.

The first is the pastor of the predominantly middle-class Dexter ave. Baptist churih, the other ministers to the Colored First Baptist church, attended mainly by working people.

A Negro physician, Dr. M. W. Jones, presides over the meeting. "We have been in this movement for 18 weeks, walking, singing, praying," he says.

But most of all there are the people themselves, the rank and file who have walked to work all these weeks thronging every seat in the church and then some.

Judging by their dress, there were some middle class people in the audience, merchants and professionals. Mostly there are working people, people like Mrs. Rosa Parks, the quiet, shy seamstress who sits at a little table below the platform and helps organize the collection and other details of the meeting.

There were hundreds and hundreds of working women, young and middle-aged, and the old, worn with decades of toil. These women, the servants of Montgomery white middle class at $10 to $15 a week, are the very heart of the boycott—walking to work every day with umbrellas against the hot sun.

WORKERS RESPOND

Then, of course there were the men workers who do so much of Montgomery's heavy and dirty work. I don't know if the attendant at the gas station where we stopped just before the meeting got to the Day st. church that night. But there were hundreds like him.

"You people have been making quite a stir," we couldn't help saying as he wiped off our windshield.

He stood up straight for a minute, looked right at us, said very seriously: "We had to do something for ourselves."

Montgomery is the high point of the Negro people's movement throughout the South. But it is not wholly unique.

A week later and 400 miles away we get a picture of the first organized boycott by the Negro people in the plantation town of Orangeburg, S.C., near Columbia. It started last September and is still going strong.

Trying hard for objectivity, one South Carolina NAACP leader says:

"We don't exactly say we started all this. But we did send material about our boycott to the regional office of NAACP in Birmingham."

It was early evening when we found Rev. Matthew McCollum playing ping pong with his assistant pastor in the biggest Negro church in Orangeburg.

A youthful man with a racy, colloquial quality to his speech, Reverend McCollum spoke with deep seriousness and occasional flashes of anger as he told us the story of what had happened in Orangeburg.

It all started last summer when about 50 Negroes signed a petition to the Orangeburg school board asking for desegregation — and suddenly found themselves sitting ducks for the Citizens Council.

"We've always had to petition when we wanted something, whether a sewer or a paved street," Reverend McCollum explains. "That is the only way we can express our views or needs."

But this time Negro teachers who signed were told they would be fired. Workers were told to get their names off the petition or lose their jobs. Negro merchants suddenly found they couldn't get milk or bread or Coca Cola. Newspapers printed a list of all the signers.

Some of the signers, especially teachers, were advised by NAACP members to quietly withdraw their names. Others less vulnerable, were urged to stick—and they did.

STUDENTS JOINED

Then the Negro people of Orangeburg showed that they had economic power too. They quietly organized a boycott of all the merchants and Citizens Council leaders behind the squeeze.

Students at South Carolina State and Claflin colleges, across the railroad tracks from Reverend McCollum's church, enthusiastically joined the boycott. Lists of products to be shunned were mimeographed.

As in Montgomery, ministers are the leaders of the boycott. One of them, Rev. Henry Parker, an intense and self-assured young man, was yanked out of his pulpit by his superiors in the Episcopal church.

As in Montgomery, the Orangeburg movement began as a movement to redress the most immediate and elementary grievances—but now aims far beyond its initial goal at ultimately ending the entire jimcrow system.

MORE THAN BUSES

"We are not in this movement just to get a seat on a bus," says Reverend Powell in Montgomery.

"Why don't we have a right to vote and have at least one representative on the city council?," asks Reverend McCollum in Orangeburg.

In both Orangeburg and Montgomery, the boycott movement has deep religious and spiritual overtones which fuse with its content as a movement for human dignity and the brotherhood of man.

Reverend McCollum is the head of the Orangeburg NAACP. A big mass meeting supporting the boycott, with Thurgood Marshall as the main speaker, was held on the Claflin college campus.

Reverend McCollum has some terrific pictures of the meeting, but says, "I wouldn't sell these pictures for a million dollars." The Citizens Council crowd would be too anxious to get hold of them, and go after those they could recognize.

All the Negro ministers leading the Montgomery boycott are active in NAACP. The ministers have been in the best position to furnish unity and leadership. But they regard NAACP as the main active organization of the Negro people.

LEADING STRUGGLES

The Orangeburg and Montgomery movements have been the most highly organized in the South, and different conditions may inspire different demands and forms of action elsewhere.

But conditions were not, on the face of it, particularly favorable in Orangeburg which is the center of a major plantation area or in Montgomery which had long been regarded as a rather passive and sleepy community by Negro leaders.

Reverend King underscores this when he is asked to explain why it was that Negro unity reached its peak thus far in Montgomery.

"I can't account for it," he says slowly. "Our community had been torn by rivalries. This would have been hard for me to imagine a year ago. There are similar and even worse conditions in other communities. The fact that the ministers got together may have helped. The masses were ready."

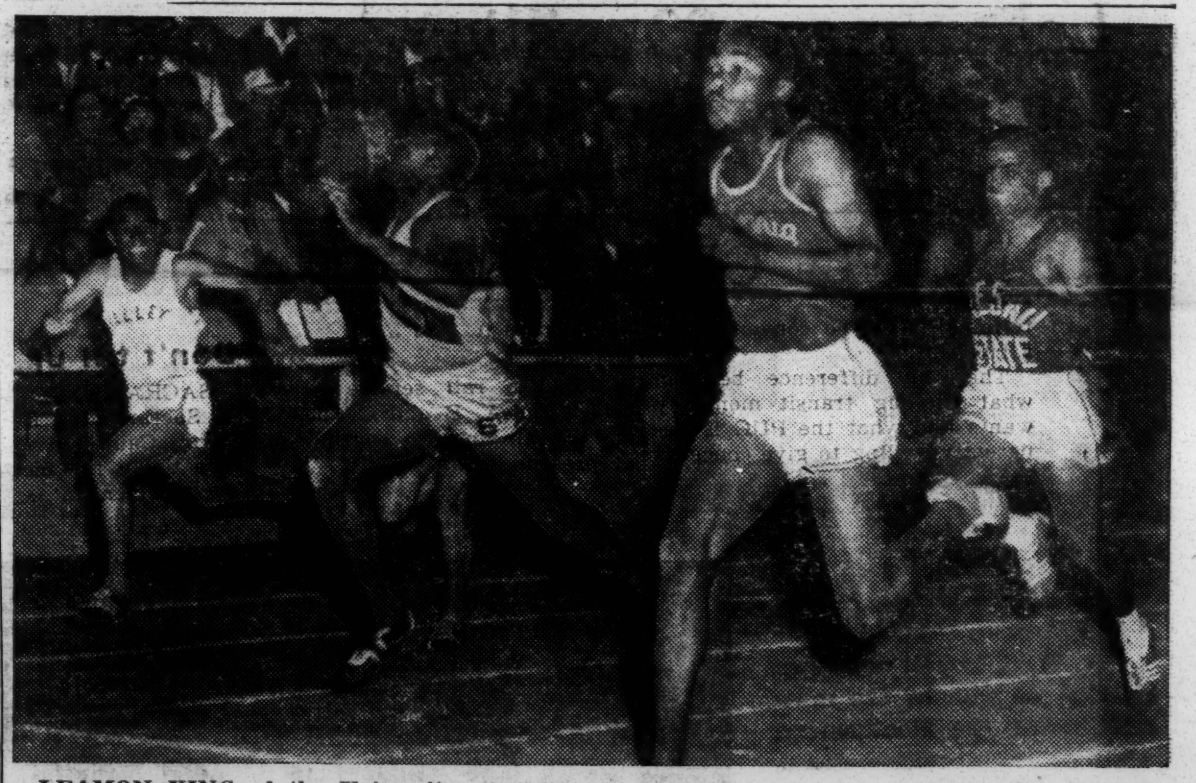
REV. ABERNATHY
. . .in the leadership

Orangeburg, and particularly Montgomery, served notice that the Negro people in the deep South were, in fact, ready to begin fighting for their most urgent demands.

That is why the eyes of Negro leaders everywhere in the South light up when they mention Montgomery.

That is why Montgomery is for the White Citizens Councils the handwriting on the wall — the dread warning of things to come, of a Negro people uniting beyond the possibility of intimidation or disruption or division.

(Another of Adam Lapin's dispatches on the South will appear in Monday's Daily People's World.)



LEAMON KING of the University of California indicates he'll be a contender for the U.S. Olympic team this year by equaling the world's record of 9.3 for the 100 yard dash at Fresno last Saturday. Behind him is Mike Agostini of Fresno State, who will represent Trinidad in the Olympics and has a world record application for the 220 yard dash pending.

U.S. grooms Olympic track stars

By STEVE MURDOCK

BERKELEY, May 17 — The U.S. is not going to want for track and field stars in the 1956 Olympic Games—at least not in the shorter races and the field events.

In men's competition, that is.

That much is clear right now in the midst of the still-young 1956 track season. It promises to be even clearer in weeks to come as California becomes the focal point of the vast culling process that will result in the selection of the U.S. men's track and field team to represent us at Melbourne in November.

I sat high in the stands at Fresno last Saturday night and watched a slim Negro sophomore from the University of California named Leamon King equal the world record of 9.3 seconds for the 100 yard dash.

I recalled how back in 1951 when this same King was just a freshman at Delano high school he won the high school division 100 yard dash at these same West Coast Relays.

Then I remembered how earlier last Saturday I had seen another high school Negro—a smooth-striding youngster from Corcoran named Jerry White run a quarter mile relay lap in 48.2 seconds. He is part of the new, unknown crop that's on the way up.

Earlier this year, on April 21 at the Kern Relays, this same White came within an eyelash of beating Jamaican Olympic Champion George Rhoden in a 47.3 second quarter mile.

White has run the 100 yard dash in 9.7, the 220 yard dash in 21.5 and the half mile in 1:55.6. Yet, because he ran with a weak team at Fresno, he was scarcely mentioned in the summaries.

You didn't see much about Willie Atterberry of Compton college either. He knocked over four out of 10 hurdles in the 400 meter hurdles but still ran the distance in a highly creditable 52.5 seconds. Later he ran a half mile leg for a Compton relay team in 1:51.9 seconds.

These performances are but samples of less publicized evidences of the great potential that was demonstrated at Fresno. Much has been written about some of the others.

But there is much more to come.

Saturday, here at Berkeley, Bobby Seaman of UCLA, who owns the second fastest mile time ever run by an American, duels with Jim Bailey of Australia, the conqueror of John Landy.

Later Dave Sime of Duke, the greatest sprinter, hurdler and broadjumper since Jesse Owens, comes West to duel with King. There will be Modesto Relays May 26, the Pacific Assn. meet in Stockton June 2, the National in Berkeley June 15-16, the National AAU championships in Bakersfield June 22-23, and, finally, the Olympic try-outs in Los Angeles June 29-30.

In addition, track coaches from all over the world—from 83 nations—have been invited to attend a track coaches clinic here at the University of California June 11-20. Coach Lloyd (Bud) Winter of San Jose State, who is staging the affair, has State Department permission to invite coaches from any country, regardless of its political persuasion.

By contrast, a small band of women athletes will gather in Petaluma this Sunday afternoon, almost without benefit of publicity, for the Pacific Assn. women's AAU track and field championships.

There were no women's events at Fresno.

No one is predicting at this point that the U.S. women's track and field team will do very well.

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The South—new ideas spark the old battle

By ADAM LAPIN

(Seventh of a series)

"The Negroes are the freest-thinking people in the South today," says Mrs. Modjeska Simkins.

Sitting in her living room in Columbia, S. C., surrounded by newspaper clippings and mimeographed statements she had brought out for our benefit, Mrs. Simkins explains that Negroes aren't prisoners of the myths and prejudices still confining the thinking of so many white Southerners.

Mrs. Simkins is executive secretary of the South Carolina NAACP, a Republican and a businesswoman—

Asked what she thinks about Rev. Martin Luther King's ideas about "passive resistance" as a course of action for the Negro people. Mrs. Simkins says thoughtfully:

"Down here it's been our custom to return a punch in the nose with a punch in the nose. Now I'm beginning to think there is something to Rev. King's ideas."

Rev. King, at 27 a graduate of Morehouse College and a Ph.D. from Boston University and a practicing minister, is one of many Negro leaders in the South who have been creatively exploring new ideas and

(Continued on Page 4)

CP asks rights action

Mozambique. that "no persons shall be con-

The South—new ideas help spark the old battle

(Continued from Page 1)

new approaches to the problems of their people.

More impressive and self-assured talking in his office than he seems on the platform at a public meeting, Rev. King readily answered questions about his "passive resistance" theory.

"I had read the writings of Gandhi in college," he explains. "I found that his writings were related to the ideas of Jesus. I also found that the way India liberated itself from British imperialism had a bearing on our problems here."

In the last couple of years in Montgomery, these opinions became reinforced. He explains that his ideas have "both a theoretical and a practical basis."

On the theoretical side, he justifies his emphasis on non-violence, on "the redeeming power of love," as "the right thing, morally and ethically."

THE PRACTICAL ANGLE

"If the necessary changes in the South were accomplished by violence," he says, "it would take 100 years to eradicate the residue of bitterness and hatred."

On the practical side, he puts it quite bluntly: "Even if we wanted to use violence—which we don't—we don't have any weapons and the other side does."

Rev. King is actually grappling with a very real problem—how to steel the Negro people with the ideas and the self-discipline to avoid sometimes unbearable provocation from the White Citizens Councils.

There is no doubt that many racist leaders would like nothing better than some incident of self-defense by an aggrieved Negro to set off bloody and far-flung riots. It is a real tribute to the Negro people that they haven't been provoked thus far.

What Rev. King seems to be trying to do is to prevent such a violent collision and at the same time seek out channels through which the Negro people can express and further their demands.

"Passive resistance" is perhaps a misnomer for Rev. King's ideas. The Montgomery boycott movement which he heads is hardly passive in the commonly accepted sense. It obviously represents an effective form of struggle.

'THE DUAL SOCIETY'

By fusing the ideas of Gandhi with the deeply religious traditions of the Negro people, Rev. King appears to be trying to find a body of ideas to help strengthen this struggle. But it should not be thought he ignores economic and political realities.

Like other Negro leaders in the South, he aims at ending all segregation, at eliminating what he calls "the dual society" of the segregated South.

"This dual society is as bad for whites as for Negroes," he says. "The lord and serf relationship of the old plantation system is holding back social and economic progress."

Emphasizing the importance of winning of the vote as the next step forward for the Negro people, he says:

"The economic structure determines the political structure of the South. But it is necessary to have political power to change it."

While Rev. King's "passive resistance" ideas are distinctive, his interest in the Asian liberation movement is not. Negro leaders throughout the South want to know more about Asia, China as well as India, express deep sympathy for the liberation movements and a conviction that they have something to learn from them.

The most important common denominator in the thinking of Negro leaders is their agreement that winning the right to vote holds the key to the future.

There was visible evidence of registration or get-out-the-vote campaigns in Negro communities in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina.

WOMEN ACTIVE

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeast regional director of the NAACP who guides the fight for integration in seven states, puts the right to vote at the head of her organization's priority list.

Mrs. Hurley is crisp and direct in her answers and questions at her Birmingham office. The high post she holds is symptomatic of the role Negro women are playing these days. She sees NAACP making big strides in the South—aiming, for example, and she thinks with success, at a goal of 10,000 members in Montgomery.

But she concedes a bit ruefully that NAACP and Negro leaders generally "have neglected the vote" this year. She says "we have been too preoccupied with the school integration issue," to make an all-out fight for Negro registration and voting.

POLITICAL CURRENTS

"We're a long ways off from the goal of 2 million Negro voters in the South in 1956 of which Walter White spoke," she says.

Mrs. Hurley is cool alike to President Eisenhower and to Democratic contenders, thinks Negroes should concentrate this year on the fight for a more liberal Congress.

Among other Negro leaders I found a distinct tendency to swing to President Eisenhower—as a protest against Democratic failure to act against Sen. James O. Eastland and the Dixiecrats.

But I also found a receptivity to liberal Southern Democrats who break even part of the way with the Dixiecrats. Particularly in Tennessee, Negro leaders spoke warmly of Sen. Estes Kefauver. In Georgia and Alabama, however, I heard comments that he is "a bit too Southern." For all his compromises, Gov. James Folsom of Alabama is well-thought of by many Negro leaders.

This is part of a broader and more fundamental understanding prevalent among Negro leaders everywhere in the South—that the Negro people will need white allies if they are to win through to full citizenship.

Clarence Laws, NAACP field representative in New Orleans, provided a striking example of how sympathetically Negro leaders view the problems confronting their white friends.

WHITES FACE PENALTIES

Laws was explaining why the NAACP in Louisiana risked the injunction outlawing the organization rather than furnish lists of its members and contributors to state officials.

"One reason," he said, "is that there were some white people among our contributors. It's tough enough for the Negroes whose names would become public. But it would be even worse for our white friends. They would have no protection from the community, no support."

The Negro leaders are realists. They don't exaggerate the public and avowed support their fight has among the white liberals and trade unionists and clergymen. It is all too slim.

But there is not a Negro leader who won't tell you of the fact that there is latent and secret opposition to the white supremacists among the Southern whites of all classes.

They want to encourage this still underground stream. They are willing to go more than half way to support any white leaders or groups differentiating themselves from the White Citizens Councils and ready to cooperate for the common good of the entire South.

This is a measure of their leadership. But it is also a measure of the challenge that still confronts the silent South of white liberals and trade unionists.

Labor views in South mixed on integration

By ADAM LAPIN

(Eighth of a series)

Earle Britton, president of the South Carolina AFL, was puttering around his garden cutting green onions when we drove up to get a picture of what was happening in the labor movement.

"Rough as a cob but a pretty good man," a South Carolina Negro leader had said of him. A gnarled elderly man with a salty sense of humor, Britton has been trying to retire to his small home outside Columbia. But he still gets around plenty for speeches and is widely regarded as the best known labor spokesman in the state.

"We're in a tough struggle here," he says. "New plants are coming in but they're hard to organize."

Britton explains that the big Northern firms moving to South Carolina pay somewhat higher wages than local companies, and manage to convince the workers they don't need unions.

Besides, he points out, the unions have been handicapped by the state right-to-work law. The labor movement lobbied hard against passage of the law, managed to stave it off for a while. But now it is a real problem—and its repeal is the number one legislative objective of unions in South Carolina as elsewhere in the South.

"Then," Britton continues, "the politicians are making a big ruckus on the race issue."

"What do you think about integration?" I asked.

(Continued on Page 4)

Dixie labor fights for life, lags on Negro rights

(Continued from Page 1)

"I'd put some of the politicians in jail," Britton says. "If I said I'd flout the right-to-work laws or injunctions they'd sure put me in jail. It would be a good thing to put some Senators and Congressmen in jail."

Then he adds, "That doesn't mean I'm for integration. But America is bigger than anything else, bigger than these politicians or the labor movement or any group."

While he is against the White Citizens Councils and their defiance of the Constitution, he makes it clear he has his own doubts about school integration.

CONTRADICTORY IDEAS

He emphasizes he's for organizing Negro workers. "I tell the plumbers if they don't organize their Negro helpers, they'll become private contractors, take your jobs away.

"I tell the printers they're hypocrites to pay Negroes 25 cents an hour to clean their machines but refuse to take them into the union and get them decent wages."

But he also tells us how at the last state AFL convention in Charleston he arranged to seat Negroes in one section of the hall, set off from the other delegates. And he indicates how his own attitudes are deeply influenced by the all-pervasive prejudice of the white South. "I go fishing with Negroes if I want to," he says. "We can eat our fish together if I want to. But they don't come into my home to eat."

Yet in some respects, Britton is more aggressive in his opposition to the white supremacists than many Southern labor leaders.

John R. Gorman, head of the big Laborer's local in Memphis, past president of the Central Labor Union and a member of the state legislature, asks:

"Why did Meany attack the Citizens Council? It does more harm than good. Outside influences only inflame the situation."

On the other hand, Gorman, an old wheel horse in the Tennessee labor movement, reports with apparent satisfaction that there is integration in all but five Memphis locals—the biggest jimcrow holdouts are the Carpenters and the Steamfitters.

'GET ALONG FINE'

"We get along fine in my union," he says. "About 85 percent of the members are Negroes. Two of them are on the executive committee. Negroes vote for me because they know I've helped improve their conditions and raise their wage rates."

Gorman is wearing a Kefauver button, backs the Tennessee Senator as do most unionists in the state. He indicates that Tennessee labor is deeply involved in political action. Gorman is one of five union men in the state legislature. Four of the five are AFL leaders, one a CIO steel union man from Memphis.

Gorman says the CIO rather than the AFL is having the biggest trouble with "the race issue."

A Memphis CIO leader, district representative William Crawford of the Steel Workers, concedes the racist elements are making trouble.

"Do you think George Meany and Walter Reuther have been making a mistake by attacking the Citizens Councils and speaking up on civil rights?"

"I support the CIO position on civil rights 100 percent," he says.

Crawford, a former mill worker, is known as "Young Bill" to distinguish him from his father, who headed the Georgia CIO Council and is a revered figure among Southern trade unionists. He was regarded as a tower of strength in opposing racism and jimcrow.

BULWARK OF UNIONISM

"Young Bill" says Negroes are officers of many of the 20 local unions under his jurisdiction. He also sees the Negro members as a bulwark of unionism in the current situation.

He cites the case of the United Auto Workers International Harvester local in Memphis where there is a strong secession movement, but believes the 900 Negro members, out of about 2,100, can keep the local together with the aid of just a few hundred staunch white unionists.

Crawford believes the Citizens Councils can be successfully combatted as anti-union. "Any secession movement or Southern Federation will just wind up as a company union," he says.

"One man in one of my locals said the Steelworkers is no good," he recalls. "I asked him about the 70 cents pay increase we got in three years, and he backed away."

William H. Montague Sr., President of the Georgia CIO council, takes the same tack.

"This secession movement doesn't mean a thing," he says. "We can beat it."

Montague is an auto worker at the big Atlanta Chevrolet plant almost across the street from his home. We waited on his porch until he got home, washed up.

He sees the unions making some progress in Georgia. But he concedes, "Organizing the South will be a tough job. We need money, organizers. Also the race question is a problem."

Montague supports CIO policy on integration. But sees nothing incongruous about the fact that there are ony a few Negro workers, mainly sweepers and maintenance, at his own Chevrolet plant.

NEGROES CRITICAL

Negro leaders in Atlanta feel there has been a real failure on the part of labor leaders to fight for jobs and upgrading of Negroes.

Some unions have done a better job on this issue. The CIO Packinghouse Workers is outstanding in fighting for integration and upgrading. It has also been trying to organize. The record of the CIO Furniture Workers is also considered good.

In the Birmingham area, the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers has fought long and hard for full equality for Negroes. AFL and CIO locals with large Negro membership often have a white president and a Negro vice president. But Mine Mill reverses this procedure in some locals.

Eastern Vice President Asbury Howard of Mine, Mill holds the highest rank of any Negro union official in the South. He makes a telling point as he recalls how steel union officials whipped up racist prejudices to raid his own union in the Birmingham area.

"Now they're reaping the whirlwind," he says. "The same arguments and prejudices are being used to wreck the steel union."

I suspect that even wellintentioned, straightforward union men like Montague and Crawford underestimate the threat of the Citizens Council drive inside the unions.

A big labor movement with millions of Negro and white members in the South could easily lick the Confederate unionists. But under present circumstances the possibility o a racist form of company unionism on a large scale can not be dismissed.

There is little organizing. The effects of the merger have been hardly felt. Unions are weak in most areas—hobbled by right to work laws and anti-union local and state governments.

In this situation the Citizens Councils are trying to take the initiative. The steel union in Birmingham is a hot bed of secessionist agitation. Some union officials there are disturbed, others either encourage the racist elements or keep mum. The auto union is having trouble. So is the International Typographical Union, the Machinists and other AFL unions.

PAST FALURES TELL

Years of failure to combat racism inside the unions and establish full equality are now taking their toll. Most of all, the whole labor movement is now paying for its failure to mount a major organizing drive in the South.

The unions are being compelled to meet the racist challenge not to help the Negroes but to save the labor movement itself from being wrecked.

I don't see where Southern labor can stand still. It will either lose ground under the mounting attacks — or take the offensive and organize.

The future of the South may well hinge on which course it takes. And the answer will be determined in part by the policies and the aid provided by the entire labor movement.

(Continued Wednesday)

A SENSATION in the South was the above advertisement in The Petal Paper, of Petal, Miss., lampooning the White Citizens Council movement satirized as the Citizens Clan in Petal. The liberal weekly donated a full page for the ad "in behalf of liberalism, fairness and progress." A front page column by Editor P. D. East in the same paper (March 15, 1956) observed: "Like prostitution, bigotry and intolerance must be a high profit business—else there wouldn't be so much of it."

WHITE LIBERALS IN THE SOUTH

Some defy racists, many are silent, others crawl

By ADAM LAPIN

(Ninth of a series)

At the end of two stately rows of cypress trees shading the road, near Black River Swamp, South Carolina, is an old plantation house not too dissimilar from the ones you saw in "Gone With the Wind" or other movies about the vanished glories of the South.

Behind the house, Negro plantation workers, men and women wearing hats or kerchiefs against the sun, are sloshing around in the wet ground, cleaning and packing lettuce for shipment on to Charleston and Columbia.

MAN OF IDEAS

The house, with its vast porch and lofty columns, is not quite so impressive when you look closer. The white paint is somewhat faded. The backsteps are full of holes.

Inside you find not only such modern conveniences as a vacuum cleaner and a big freezer to supply ice for the lettuce but a man with new and modern ideas, a liberal planter who stands squarely opposed to the plantation system.

"There is a silent south," the planter tells us over a glass of ice-cold grape juice. "Hundreds of thousands of white people know better. But they are torn between their conscience and what they conceive to be their economic self-interest."

"I can understand the Negroes of the South," the planter says, as a sudden thunder storm lashes the 110 year old house. "They know what they want. They want first class citizenship. But I can't understand the white man. He rationalizes his rationalization.

"I suspect my own analysis because it smacks too much of Marxism. But I can't help seeing economic forces behind the whole problem. Planters around here complain because Negroes are lazy and won't work hard enough. And why should they? What incentive do they have under this system?"

SOME GROUPS ACTIVE

This is, of course, an exceptional man. He comes from an old Southern family that has lived in that area for 150 years. But he has traveled extensively, lived for a while in the North, is a man of rare education and intelligence as well as courage.

Even in that plantation back country, however, there are some other like-minded white people, mainly professionals and

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COURAGEOUS WHITE LIBERALS giving direct support to Montgomery bus boycott are Aubrey Williams (left), one-time top New Deal figure, and Rev. Robert Gaetz, Lutheran minister, giving a lift to Negro boycotters. Williams gets up at 5 a.m. to aid in carlift.

Racist pressures still stifle white opposition in South

(Continued from Page 1)

middle-class. In nearby Sumter, there is a going branch of the South Carolina Committee on Human Relations which conducts regular joint meetings of about 30 Negroes and whites. It discusses how to improve Negro-white understanding and is making studies on how school integration could be effected in the area.

There are similar committees in all the Southern states which are, in turn, affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, recent recipient of a Fund for the Republic grant.

This is the leading organization of Southern liberals. It publishes an excellent little magazine, New South. It is inter-racial, is similar in some respects to Americans for Democratic Action in other parts of the country, but by the very force of circumstances plays a more advanced and daring role in the South.

The Regional Council lays major stress on the industrialization of the South as a factor which will destroy the basis of segregation and projudice in the old plantation system. A recent letter by the council to state Chamber of Commerce presidents in seven Southern states asked:

"Will the new industries sought by the Southern states be eager to build expensive plants in areas where the existence of public schools is in doubt, where tension and violence threatens."

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Council with office in Atlanta, puts the same idea in somewhat saltier terms.

"The old order is based on mumbley peg rules," he says. 'The new one plays on scooters. The old order is based on keeping the Negro ignorant, poor, obedient and voteless. But that won't work in a modern industrial order."

One Southern liberal I talked to had a two-hour conference with an outstanding Southern banker and attempted to convince him that segregation was in conflict with the economic needs of Southern capitalism. But he got a brush-off.

A UNIQUE MAYOR

There are a few Southern industrialists who are convinced the jimcrow and the agitation of the White Citizens Councils are holding back the economic growth of the South.

One of these is Mayor Edmund Orgill of Memphis. Orgill, biggest hardware manufacturer in the South, believes "the future of the South is in industrialization." A Kefauver booster, he enjoys friendly relations with Negro leaders in his city and has successfully bucked racist groups in an effort to appoint Negroes to city posts.

Then there are some representatives of northern capital in the South, like Winthrop Rockefeller, now chairman of the Arkansas Commission on Industrial Development, who believe segregated schools are economically wasteful.

But business leaders have, on the whole, provided sterile ground for liberal agitation. There are the advantages of low wages and weak union organization to be weighed against the economic backwardness resulting from the plantation system.

LIBERAL PENALIZED

Robert D. Barnes, former editor of the weekly bulletin of the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce, learned this first hand. He lost his job because he was a member of the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. This is another liberal organization in the South dedicated to supporting integration.

Often under attack as "a "Communist front" by Sen. Eastland and other racists, it is the successor to an old New Deal group, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. It publishes "The Southern Patriot" and vigorously combats the White Citizens Councils.

Barnes' experience was similar to that of many other white liberals in the South. The economic squeeze has been applied not only to Negroes who challenge jimcrow but to whites as well.

Dr. Mitchell estimates that about 20 white ministers have lost their pulpits. White teachers, newspapermen and editors have been fired.

PEOPLE WITH COURAGE

There are some who brave economic ruin and social ostracism.

Aubrey Williams, one-time top New Deal figure, is said to get up at 5 every morning to give rides to Negroes along with Lutheran minister Robert Gaetz and a few other courageous souls in Montgomery.

E. D. East, editor of The Petal Paper in Petal, Miss., has savagely and ironically attacked the Citizens Councils, in his little weekly—despite all threats of advertising boycotts.

Francis Father Donlan of Orangeburg, S. C., member of the Catholic Redemptionist order, has supported the Negroes of that town against the economic squeeze despite pressure from some white Catholics. He has even found that he can't get milk for his Negro parochial school.

Others remain silent or compromise. Some engage in agonizing soul-searching and are torn by obvious contradictions.

But the fact is that hundreds and hundreds of white ministers, editors, teachers, politicians and other middle-class people who know better have in one degree or another bowed before the pressures.

THE ROOTS ARE DEEP

I met a prominent liberal woman, also widely known outside the South, who was horror-struck by the atmosphere of violence created by the Citizens Councils—but could not free her own thinking of racist stereotypes.

"I know it's all our fault," she kept saying, "but Negroes do have lower moral standards. In 10 years passions may cool and a young generation may help solve the problem. But right now I wouldn't want my children to go to an integrated school."

Some have capitulated. Some have compromised their inmost conviction that the jimcrow system is evil. Most have remained silent.

There is deep conviction on the part of both Negro and liberal white leaders that sooner or later the silent will start speaking and the weak need stand up straight.

The great question is when. It is what combination of circumstances will give them strength and courage and organization. And particularly for us in the North, it is what we can do to help the liberals and trade unionists of the South speak.

(Concluded Thursday)

South's future—conclusions of a journey

By ADAM LAPIN

(Last in a series)

A Negro educator in Alabama says:

"Industrialization will help destroy the economic and political power of the plantation system. But you should remember that the textile industry developed as an extension of the plantations, practicing segregation and paternalistic control of the white workers.

"It will be harder to use this pattern in the new industries coming into the South. But segregation won't break down automatically."

An NAACP leader in Louisiana says:

"At an inter-racial meeting last night there was a report on the progress in desegregation being made in Texas. It was very encouraging, and shows what can be done."

A white minister in North Carolina says:

"Two years ago after the Supreme Court's decision it looked like we'd be desegrated in a big way by now. Most people were ready to accept the decision. The governor sounded like a reasonable man.

"Then there was the long delay in enforcement. The white supremacy groups started screaming. Many liberals started retreating. So did the governor. And those who believe in enforcing the law lost the initiative."

A liberal white lawyer in Georgia says:

"A lot of this nonsense would stop if the Federal government would act like it means business. Of course, you hear all this talk about people down here resenting outside interference. And there is some truth in that. But Southerners are law-abiding people. If they saw the law being enforced here, they would accept it."

I offer these scattered comments on different aspects of the same problem as keys to the way in which the situation is changing—and can be changed more decisively and speedily.

All the long-range factors are operating against the White Citizens Councils.

Mechanization of agriculture and growth of industry are breaking down the plantation system which is the source of white supremacist power.

A semi-feudal plantation economy will find it increasingly difficult to maintain its supremacy in a rapidly indus-

(Continued from Page 4)

'Gradualism' gives racists time to plot defiance of law

(Continued from Page 1)

trializing South — particularly if a strong, vigorous labor movement arises out of the new plants.

The white supremacists also see themselves being hemmed in from the border states as integration, slowly, gradually begins to take place in Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, parts of Tennessee and North Carolina.

They know the weight of national public opinion is against them—and eagerly grasp at every magazine or newspaper article from the North which seems to sustain their position.

They're on the losing side, and know it. But they have, nevertheless gotten the whip-hand over the politics and the thinking of at least much of the white South.

'GRADUALISM FAILS'

One reason was the long delay between the Supreme Court's original decision and the subsequent enforcement orders—and then the delay in doing anything at all about enforcement.

The federal government hesitated and compromised. "Gradualism" failed utterly in the South. It was supposed to give the South time for adjustment. Instead, it gave the Citizens Councils time to organize, to conjure up ancient Confederate symbols and dredge up old prejudices and hatreds.

Besides the "gradualism" slogan confuses the real issue. A white Catholic priest in South Carolina put it this way:

SAN FRANCISCO, May 23—Adam Lapin will tell of his recent trip through the South 8 p.m. Friday at the California Labor School, 321 Divisadero St.

Lapin, whose series on the trip has been running daily in The Daily People's World, will answer questions as a part of the program.

The People's World reporter traveled 5,000 miles through the heart of the South talking with Negro and white leaders.

"We're told all the time that it's impossible to start desegregation in an overwhelmingly Negro area like Orangeburg. All right, let them start in counties with only a few Negroes. But let them start somewhere."

WHO IS 'EXTREMIST'

The extremism in the South is not from Negro leaders who are eminently willing to sit down and work out the details of integration. It is from the white supremacists who oppose any progress towards integration—and were aided by the delays of the "gradual" approach.

Another factor was the failure of Southern white liberals and organized labor to play a decisive role at the right time, to move into the situation and ally themselves with the Negro people against the most reactionary forces in the South represented by the White Citizens Councils.

A big labor organizing drive a year or two ago would have changed the situation. It still can.

It would break down the political and economic power of the planters, and make it impossible for the Northern bankers, who control Southern industry, to save jimcrow institutions as a weapon against labor.

WHAT LABOR CAN DO

As a matter of fact, much of the current industrialization consists of runaway shops. It is based on an effort to take advantage of the low wages and weak unions resulting from jimcrow. Industrialists use jimcrow as a weapon—at the same time that some of them begin to complain that it is holding back the economic progress of the South.

A big union organizing drive would bring the working people of the South into collision with the forces fighting both labor and the Negro people. It would get the workers moving along parallel lines with the Negro people. It would explode the asserted monopoly of the Citizens Councils as the spokesmen for the whole white South.

Liberal political movements, which would be spurred by strong unions, would have a similar effect in challenging the white supremacists.

This is the really big problem. It is to bring out into the open and in organized, effective fashion the opposition to the racist extremists which does exist below the surface.

Progress in states like North Carolina and Tennessee and Texas deeply troubles men like Senator Eastland for this very reason. It shows integration can work. It exposes the fiction of a white South united against integration and social progress.

But it is when the Eastlands will be challenged by significant sections of the white population in their own deep South states that they will really be in trouble.

There have beeen some political setbacks for the extreme white supremacy crowd in Louisiana, Florida and Texas—although there was also a victory in Alabama when Gov. James Folsom was defeated for Democratic national committeeman.

But there hasn't yet emerged a liberal political movement, awakening the latent traditions of the Populist era and the New Deal, uniting labor, the Negro people, small farmers around a common program and common candidates.

Nomination of a liberal Democrat for President, and particularly of a Southern liberal like Estes Kefauver, would be of great significance in the South. It would help create a new political realignment which would probably result in forcing the Eastlands to leave the Democratic party.

NORTH CAN HELP

This, incidentally, is one of the many ways in which liberals, trade unionists and Negroes in the North can help influence the situation in the South. The South will have to liberate itself from the Eastlands. But it won't be fighting in a vacuum. What happens nationally has a major effect.

National pressures can force the Democratic party to disown the Talmadges and Eastlands, and by breaking their power as a national political influence also weaken their hold in the South.

Pressure from the North can end the kind of dilly-dallying on integration which played into the hands of the Citizens Councils and betrayed the best interests of the South. The liberal Georgia lawyer knew what he was talking about when he said the South would bow to the law—if it were firmly and effectively enforced.

IT'S ONE NATION

A firm stand by the AFL-CIO nationally can help shake up the whole situation in the South. It can spur the long-delayed organized driving. It can be a factor in ending the wavering and compromising and even support for the white supremacists on the part of some Southern labor leaders.

The churches can play a role in influencing Southern clergy and laymen. So can teachers and other professionals. They can help stir the conscience of the white South. This is still one nation, despite the efforts of the new Confederates. And Southerners will listen to their fellow citizens elsewhere.

The battle of the South will be fought out in the South—and it will be won. But all of us can help hasten the day of victory.

ALL GM PLANTS SHUT FOR A DAY

Story on back page

DAILY PEOPLE'S WORLD

NORTHWEST ★ ★ FINAL

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REPORT FROM THE SOUTH... First in a series

Most striking thing is confidence of the Negro

By ADAM LAPIN

(First of a Series)

SAN FRANCISCO

As we drove westward through Tennessee to start the working, or interviewing, phase of our 17-day trip through the South, we passed an old house in the little town of Jones-boro with a modest wooden sign on the lawn:

Site of the Publication
"The Emancipator"
First Abolition
Paper in the World

I should hasten to add that the sign was not typical of the monuments we saw throughout the South. No town was too small to have a statue to the dead in "The War Between the States," to Jefferson Davis or some Confederate general. In fact, there was little or no evidence there had ever been any other war.

The cloying impact of the past was everywhere. The symbols of history are used in the great battles still going on today. They are used as weapons against the emancipation of the Negro people—and of the South itself—from the still powerful grip of the plantation system and of decaying economic and social forces and institutions.

But if Tennessee was in some respects not typical of the entire South, it was for that very reason a good place to start a voyage of discovery and exploration of that vast region. In Tennessee you see not only a clash between different traditions but, above all, a clash between the old and the new. You see contrasts which illuminate what is happening everywhere in the South.

We (I traveled with Joseph Starobin, author and foreign correspondent) began our trip with the big questions:

- What is the outlook in the fight for integration?
- What is the impact of industrialization?
- What is the status of the plantation system?
- How strong and unified is the Negro people's movement?
- How strong are the White Citizens Councils?
- What role is played by the labor movment?
- What are Southern white liberals doing?
- What is the outlook in the fight for integration?

We saw the historic meeting of the Negro people of Montgomery, on April 24 where they voted to continue their boycott We took in a meeting of the Mississippi Council of Negro Leadership. We attended a meeting of the White Citizens Council in Forest, Mississippi, a couple of hours later.

VITAL STATISTICS

We talked to 53 representatives of differing points of view, to a leader of the White Citizens Council in Alabama, to Negro and white ministers, to white liberals and labor leaders, to Negro leaders, workers, business people and professionals

Of course, I didn't come up with definitive answers to all our questions in two and a half weeks of talking to people all day and then driving at night or in the morning to our next stopping place for a total of 5,050 miles.

But I could hardly escape some distinct impressions and conclusions.

One of these was the confidence of the Negro leaders that they would eventually succeed in fighting through for full citizenship.

MAN WITH A HOE—farm laborer in Alabama.

Typical was the attitude of a Negro minister in Orangeburg, S. C., where the Negro people first struck back last September with a boycott against the economic squeeze of the White Citizens Councils.

'WE WILL WIN'

He was involved in a fight against all the concentrated might of the South Carolina planters and their political servitors. Yet as we left his home, he shook our hands and said with deep feeling, "We will win."

In contrast was the impression of desperation I got from the spokesmen of white supremacy. At the height of their power, they nonetheless communicated a sense of weakness and futility in the face of forces they cannot forever withstand.

The unevenness of the progress being made towards integration is striking. There is a great difference between what is happening in states like Tennessee, bordering on the plantation areas, and in the deep South. Even within Tennessee there are great diversities.

Tennessee gave me a sense from the beginning that the South is not, despite professional Southerners and white supremacists, a homogenous unit, a vast plantation dedicated to an old way of life.

Tennessee is part of the South, but of a South that is changing, becoming industrialized. It was deeply affected by the New Deal, and particularly by TVA which raised living standards and speeded industrialization.

VICTORIES WON

The first Negro leader we interviewed was Z. Alexander Looby of Nashville, one of the city's two Negro lawyers. He spoke with a vigorous but calm confidence, typical of Negro leaders throughout the South, of gains being made in Nashville and elsewhere in the state. Schools there are expected to start integrating, although far to slowly.

Looby spoke of the victory in Nashville which resulted in desegregating the city golf links—and of the impact of Montgomery, an impact we felt everywhere in the South.

"They're courteous on the city transit lines now," he said.

Negro leaders, including Republicans like Looby, spoke with respect of Sen. Estes Kefauver—and with a somewhat more reserved although definitely friendly manner of Gov. Frank Clement who has thus far refused to be pushed around by the Citizens

(Continued on Page 2)

INSIDE

Civil rights bill faces slow death
—Story on page 5

Pension group backs Kefauver
— Story on back page

Will Rocky Marciano stick to it?
— Story in magazine

ASSIGNMENT U.S.A.

Science must be free

By JOSEPH NORTH

NEW YORK.

This is, perhaps, a brutal question to ask, yet, times being what they are, it needs asking.

If you are a Republican, let us say, and and you, or a loved one of yours, is stricken by cancer, would you accept a cure because it was a Communist who discovered it? The affirmative reply should be obvious. Certainly you would expect it from the sane portion of mankind, and yet again, times being what they are, it required a committee of eminent Americans, set up on the request of Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, president of the National Academy of Sciences, to come to that conclusion.

A research finding leading to a cure of cancer, the committee noted, "would be no less beneficial to all humanity for having been made by a Comunist."

The result of the committee's finding is expected to cause relaxation of certain governmental bans against scientists whose "loyalty" was under question. If they are not in "sensitive" areas they may be able to get government grants to aid their researches.

Aside from the limited nature of the practical conclusions, the over-all effect is the beginning, once again, of a re-

(Continued on Page 4)

South—old, new; the clash is vivid

(Continued from Page 1)

Councils which are particularly strong in the Memphis area.

One big reason for the big gains in Tennessee is that for the most part Negroes can vote there. They represent a real political force.

I also got a feeling in Tennessee, and it was confirmed later, that what happened in states bordering on the deep South might well have a major impact on the plantation states of Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina, making more untenable the position of the Citizens Councils.

Vast changes are taking place —and we saw them everywhere as we criss-crossed the South. The South is becoming industrialized. There is a modern, technically advanced as well as a backward South.

INDUSTRY GROWS

Nearly 25 percent of the nation's manufacturing facilities are now in the South—although these are mainly concerned with processing raw materials rather than with manufacture of machinery or complex durable goods. The South produces 80 percent of the nation's natural gas, 75 percent of its petroleum, 52 percent of its textiles, 32 percent of its chemical products.

Even the plantation system is changing. Modern machines are seen everywhere on the great plantations. Negro sharecroppers are being forced off the land. Day laborers are replacing croppers. The bigger planters are diversifying, going in for cattle and soy beans as well as cotton or tobacco.

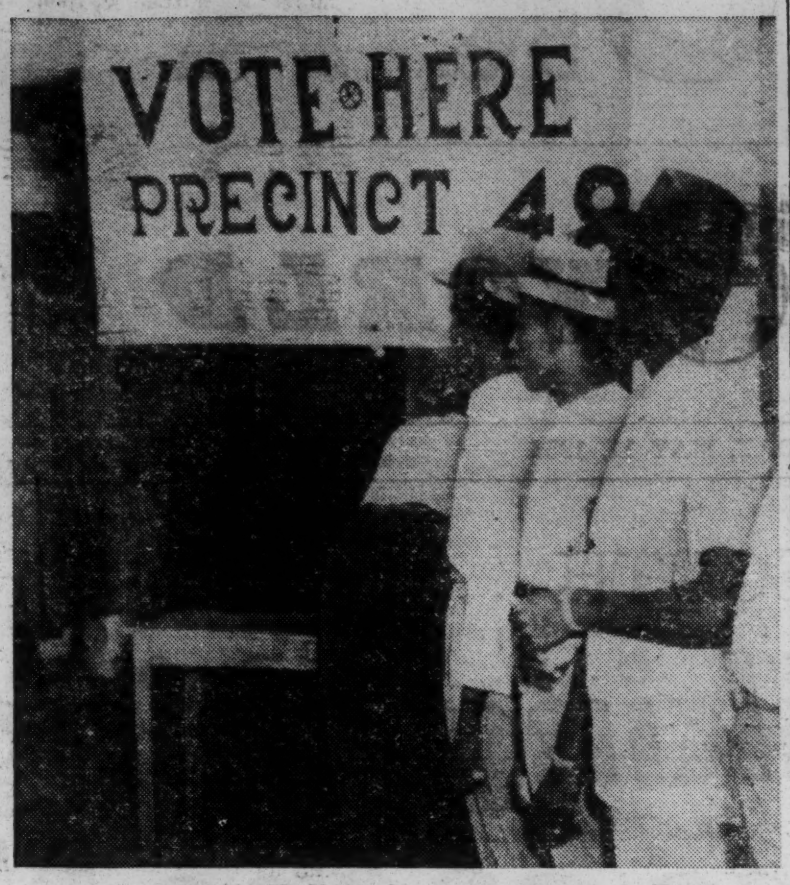
But much on the plantations remains the same. There remains particularly the old relationship between white planter and Negro sharecropper or field laborer based on the absolute economic power of the plantation owner.

PLANTATION INFLUENCE

Many white and Negro spokesmen see the industrialization as a great challenge undermining the plantation system and segregation. I think there is a lot of truth in this. But I also heard plenty of evidence to the effect that new plants can be jimcrow —that industrialization will not automatically destroy segregation, at least not without labor organization and political action.

I think it is also a mistake to underestimate the still considerable if declining economic and political power of the plantation system. It is the planters who provide the inspiration and leadership for the White Citizens Councils and it is in the plantation areas that the councils are strongest.

We talked to labor leaders in several states. They are distinctly hostile to the Citizens Councils. They recognize the councils as an anti-labor force, and are determined to combat the secession movement inside the unions spurred by the white supremacists



SYMPTOM OF CHANGE—Negro citizens vote in Texas.

But for the moment the unions are waging a defensive struggle or marking time. I saw little evidence, although there are some honorable exceptions, that the labor movement as a whole is playing a major role in allying itself with the Negro people on the integration issue.

THE "SILENT SOUTH"

We met a number of brave and gallant white liberals who are really speaking up in the face of enormous pressure and social ostracism.

They told us, and Negro leaders said precisely the same thing, **there is a vast "silent South" comprising hundreds and perhaps thousands and perhaps millions.**

They said, and I think they are right, that the Citizens Councils speak for a vociferous and aggressive minority, not for the whole white South.

But for the moment they have the whip hand among white southerners.

I have saved for last—and I will, of course, write much more of this in subsequent articles—my strongest and most vivid impressions.

These are of the oppression of the Negro people—and of their courage and skill and unity in fighting for full citizenship in the heart of the deep South.

MARK OF JIMCROW

In the plantation areas, in what remains a black belt with a preponderance of Negroes, there is still a subject people that does most of the work but has no rights and reaps few rewards.

A rigid, complex caste system regulates every aspect of life. We try to get into a cab on Beale st. in the Negro ghetto of Memphis. The Negro driver explains courteously, "I'm sorry, but I would get into trouble with the police and the white cab drivers.' Whites ride in white cabs, Negroes in Negro cabs.

We stop off for a cup of coffee and some gas late one night not far from Montgomery. The white owner complains of the slowness of two white youngsters in serving our car:

"I had a n----r boy working for me. He was a real worker. But too many people picked fights with him or tried to cheat him on change. I had to fire him."

SIGNS EVERYWHERE

Everywhere I see Negroes doing the dirty work. In the restaurants there were white cashiers and waitresses. Negroes prepare and cook the food and do the sweeping and cleaning up. White gas station attendants order around Negro assistants. Negroes do the heavy highway and building construction.

Any everywhere I see tangible evidence that the Negro people have determined to have no more of what the Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery calls "this dual society."

I see it when we talk to Mrs. Rosa Parks and other Negro working people who got tired of being pushed around.

I see it when we talk to a Negro sharecropper in Mississippi who got pushed off the land for "standing up."

I see it when we talk to Negro leaders throughout the South, professional and business people, ministers, NAACP officials.

The Negro middle class is unmistakably providing the leadership of a great people's movement. But the new thing is the unity of all classes and groups of Negroes in the South—as dramatized in the boycotts at Orangeburg, S.C. and Montgomery.

THE IMPRESSIVE THING

The Negro leaders were the wisest and ablest people I met in the South. They know what they are doing, where they are going and how they are going to get there.

It is the Negroes and their impressive leaders who are the best hope of the South, of the white South as well as of the black South, and, indeed, in a real sense of the whole country.

They have made gains — and they expect to make more. But most of them realize that to achieve their goal of full citizenship they need white allies. They want such allies and are ready to meet them more than half way.

In large parts of the South these is now something of a stalemate in the great struggle between the White Citizens Councils and the aroused and determined Negro people.

The next move will be up to the white trade unionists and liberals—and one they will have to take if they are to avoid being engulfed themselves by white supremacist reaction.

Monday: King cotton today.)

People's World pops up in Dixie

The Daily People's World pops up in some unexpected places. That's one of the interesting discoveries made by Adam Lapin during his trip through the South.

Lapin interviewed a White Citizens Council chieftain in Alabama. Oh yes, said the WCC man, he knew The Daily People's World. And he proceeded to quote some recent People's World stories about Pacific Coast actions of solidarity with the Montgomery bus boycott movement.

Elsewhere, Lapin met a Negro leader who knew the paper, and showed a respect for it.

The WCC man had operated on the principle of know your enemies.

The Negro leader proceeded from an opposite motive — know your friends.

At any rate, those two antagonists in one of the great social conflicts of our time, certainly the most dramatic battle in our country today, feel The People's World is a force to be reckoned with.

More, from opposite points of view, they find in it an invaluable source of information. They both want to know, each for his own purpose, what is doing on the Pacific Coast with respect to the battle for integration. Where else can they turn to but The Daily People's World?

They are at one end of what is a two-way street. They want to know Pacific Coast developments in connection with one of the great issues of our time. People on the Pacific Coast, on the other end, want to know what is happening in the South.

With the publication of Adam Lapin's series, The Daily People's World reaches a climax in the consistent effort to give its readers a comprehensive picture of the great upheaval in the South.

All of this points up why thousands of working people on the Pacific Coast, white and Negro, find The People's World the indispensable paper.

It also reminds us that there are only 10 days left until the termination date of The Daily People's World drive to secure 4,250 new readers.

More than 3,000 readers have been secured since the beginning of the campaign in January. Surely, there are another 1,000 persons on the Pacific Coast who want and need a paper like The People's World. We have 10 days to reach that 1,000 in order to complete our quota on time.

We are sure that the WCC man in Alabama does not want us to get those 1,000 additional readers because he will see in them another 1,000 people more consistently and more effectively enlisted in the battle to end the rule of terror and oppression for which he stands.

By the same token, that Negro leader in the South will be heartened by the reinforcements in the battle for democracy.

Ten day is not a long time. But much can be done in that span of time, given the will and many hands to do it.

Won't you — in these 10 days before May 20 — set aside the time to make the extra effort to secure new readers for the daily paper on the Pacific Coast that fights most vigorously, without compromise, and without hesitation, for the extension of the United States Constitution to all people everywhere?

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PTA calls for U.S. school aid, hits housing discrimination

YAKIMA, May 10 — Federal aid to education and elimination of all discrimination in sale or rental of homes, are among the key resolutions adopted by some 1,200 delegates to the annual convention of the Washington Congress of Parents and Teachers.

In all 83 platform planks were presented to the delegates and adopted, some after amendment from the floor. The federal aid plank supoprts the position of Mrs. Pearl A. Wanamaker, state superintendent of public instruction. It asks safeguards in such a program to insure local control.

Noting the growing pattern of segregated schools due to discrimination in housing, the convention voted approval for a program of action "to eliminate racial or religious discrimination in the sale or rental of homes." A proposed bill to this end was introduced in the 1955 legislature but died in committee. Other platform planks:

- **State legislation to provide financial support for schools from kindergarten through the university. (The Langlie administration has succeeded in eliminating financial support for kindergartens since 1953).**
- Permit special millage levies to be voted by the people for more than one year.
- Reduce the size of the vote required for passage of excess tax levies and bond issues in school elections.
- State funds to assist local school districts in their building programs.
- Reorganization of the office of the state land commissioner.
- Opposition to elimination or curtailment of such programs as kindergartens, adult education, junior colleges, vocational programs, school transportation, health programs, libraries, guidance services, education for the exceptional child and school lunches.
- **Support for the United Nations and the use of its material in the schools to promote better international understanding.**

Mrs. Arthur Skelton, Seattle, was installed for a two year term as president. Mrs. LaMar Oldrige, Walla Walla, was elected vice president for Region 6 and Loren Traxel, Vancouver, vice president for Region 4. Other officers were holdovers.

ticulate minority is largely emo-

Machines, competing fabrics—and people who talk up—shake King Cotton's throne

By ADAM LAPIN

(Second of a series)

SAN FRANCISCO

Oscar Clark Carr Jr. had just been crowned King Cotton in Memphis as we drove westward from the bustling Tennessee city into Mississippi.

Memphis is one of the growing industrial cities of the South. Here are Ford, Firestone and International Harvester plants. Here is a well-organized Negro community, and a relatively strong labor movement.

Memphis has one foot in the Tennessee of TVA, of liberal political traditions, of independent-thinking mountaineers whose forebears were abolitionists.

Memphis also has one foot in King Cotton's domain as the banking, shipping, processing and merchandising center of the Mississippi delta plantations.

It takes only a couple of hours of fast driving to get from Memphis to the Clarksdale area where King Oscar Carrowns 5,700 acres in cotton, cattle, soy beans and timber are located.

It is only an hour or so further to Mound Bayou where a young Negro doctor at the Friendship Clinic, headed by Dr. T. R. M. Howard, told of the economic squeeze being applied by the White Citizens Councils—and of the growing resistance by the Negro people.

It is only just a few miles more down the road to Cleveland where I talked to a sharecropper driven off the land a month earlier and is now working as a gas station attendant.

Driving in the early dusk out of Memphis, we see planes flying low over the cotton fields, spraying them against the parisites and ills to which cotton is prey. Great tractors (almost all driven by Negroes) are plowing the land, and tractor-drawn machines are dropping the cotton seed into the furrows. It is planting time in the delta.

We also see Negroes with old-fashioned horse plows, and here and there a Negro straining behind a plow which he pushes through the fields.

But on King Oscar's plantation everything is mechanized. The picking is done almost entirely by six International Harvester cotton picking machines made at the Memphis works.

The Memphis Press-Scimitar reports on the Carr plantation, "they use negro labor exclusively" (in a verbal curtesy to King Cotton, the Scripps-Howard Press Scimitar paper remains one of the Southern newspapers that still spell Negro with a lower case n), the 75 families in attractive, well - built houses."

I got to the Clark Mascott plantation too late to see for

(Continued on Page 4)

MECHANICAL cotton-picker on a Southern plantation.

Meet King Cotton— and some of his victims

(Continued from Page 1)

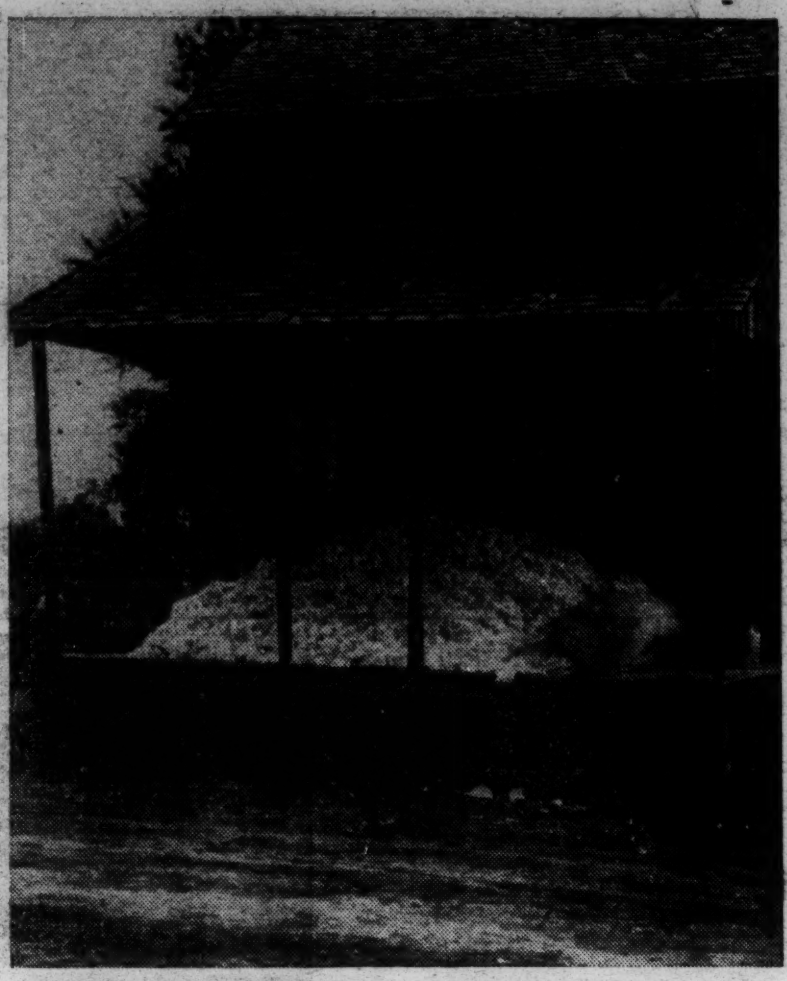
myself. But I passed thousands of Negro homes in the fields on a 17-day auto trip through the South. I did not see any that were attractive or well-built. I saw few that were even painted. Most were simply creosoted against the weather, now a battered, monotonous grey.

The machines are new, the houses old. Old, too, are the relationships between planter and cropper, planter and laborer. There is no contract to safeguard the cropper, no tenure. He can be pushed off any time. So can the day laborer, working intermittently at $4 to $5 a day.

King Cotton still lives in an old way, too. The Press-Scimitar provides this informative social note:

"An ardent hunter, King Oscar's ambition is to go on an African safari. He has a pack of 12 beagle hounds, uses them to hunt deer. He is a member of the Donaldson Hunting Club, and they have 40,000 acres of deer preserve, part of it in the Carr land."

In the midst of a changing South and a crisis in the cotton economy, King Cotton seeks to maintain an old way of life and old economic relationships.



COTTON ON THE PORCH of this sharecropper's home on the Maria plantation in Arkansas represents the year's income for one family.

Threats to cotton

Machines are replacing men. Negroes are being pushed off the land. Sharecroppers are becoming laborers. Many go to Memphis. Some get jobs in the plants there or in Birmingham and Atlanta. Others push on to Chicago or Detroit.

Cotton is threatened by synthetics, foreign competition, shrinking markets. Only government price supports have saved King Cotton, maintained cotton at about 30 cents a pound.

King Oscar, only 32 years old, is a modern, college-trained young man, aware of sickness of the old cotton economy and the changes around him. The cotton carnival in Memphis wasn't all fun and frolic for him.

"I certainly hope that the promotion of cotton will play a prominent part in the carnival," he explains. "There is no doubt that cotton today is at the crossroads, in a terrible crisis. Only by promotion and research can cotton maintain its place as king of the textile industry."

King Cotton and King Tobacco and King Rice are also aware of an even larger problem—the unwillingness of the 10 million Negro people of the South to continue an old and subservient way of life.

It is out of the plantation areas of Mississippi that the Citizens Councils first arose—casting their shadow over the entire South and, indeed, the entire nation.

It is in the plantation areas of Alabama, George, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana that the Citizens Councils are most firmly entrenched—from there that their leadership stems.

The 'new Negro'

But in the heart of the Deep South, in such cities as Montgomery and Orangeburg, S.C., and elsewhere the Negro people are threatening the power of King Cotton, of the plantation system and its political spokesmen.

Throughout the South we heard Negro leaders speak of the "new Negro"—determined to win his full citizenship. Even in the Mississippi delta, where King Oscar reigns along with the other big planters, we heard his voice.

In Mound Bayou, the young Negro doctor at Friendship Clinic answers the White Citizens Councils' propaganda scornfully:

"I'm not interested in marrying a white woman. We want an equal share of opportunity. We want the right to vote. We want full citizenship.

"They like you when you're young enough to be called a boy or old enough to be called uncle."

Negroes have relative security in Mound Bayou. This is a poor little town made up largely of plantation-style shacks. This is because it is an all-Negro town, governed by Negroes, with a Negro postmaster. There are about 1,500 Negroes living in Mound Bayou and about 2,000 more in the imediately surrounding area.

Here there are many independent Negro farmers, owning between them about 45,000 acres of land. They are perhaps most directly threatened by the crisis of cotton. But the population of Mound Bayou is still growing, in the midst of the general decline of Negro population in the plantation areas, because it is a haven of sorts for those driven from the land.

For example . . .

The young doctor tells us of the case of Anzie Moore, who opened a filling station in the little town of Cleveland, and got into trouble because he refused to segregate his rest rooms or his little restaurant where he serves the best barbecue in the area.

More was threatened with cancellation of his mortgage but managed to survive with the aid of the Regional Council for Negro Leadership headed by Dr. Howard.

We drive over to the gas station. But Moore isn't around. Instead our tank is filled up his assistant, who talks freely with two men driving through. He knows Moore will stand by him, anyway.

"A lot of people are leaving here," he says. "But that's not the answer."

He was told just a month earlier that he would have to get off the land with his family of 12. It isn't easy for him to move North — or to make a living working at the gas station.

He indicates that his own views had something to do with his getting evicted.

"You get the squeeze if you stand up for your rights," he says.

We ask about Dr. Howard—a bitter target of attack by the White Citizens Councils and who is also criticized as "too aggressive" by some Negro leaders at Mound Bayou.

"Dr. Howard woke us up," he answers, "we were asleep."

He explained why it took him a minute or so to come out and serve us:

"I was pacing back and forth thinking about what to do. Sometimes I feel like a rabbit being shot at from all sides."

This Negro sharecropper, who has only a 7th grade education in jimcrow Mississippi schools running about 4 months a year, knows the score. And this awakening of even the lowliest and most oppressed of the Negro people is perhaps the biggest problem of King Cotton and the other planters trying to maintain the old order and the old way of life.

(Continued Tuesday)

'Pour it on!' mob cries

Eastland talk teases racists

By ADAM LAPIN

SAN FRANCISCO

(Third in a series)

There wasn't too much excitement in the ball park at Forest, Miss., as Sen. James O. Eastland plowed ponderously through a prepared speech explaining that the Communists are "behind the campaign to integrate our schools and destroy our way of life."

There was little reaction from the shirt-sleeved crowd of about 3,000 filling the stands as he added in the manner of an earnest but uninspired McCarthy:

"I hold here in my hand a document from the New York state office of the Communist party which explains it all."

But about a third of the crowd, gathered on a cool Friday night from the little town and the surrounding hill country to hear their Senator speak to a White Citizens Council rally, started applauding as he looked up from his text and said:

"Many troubled parents in Washington have come to me to tell me about what goes on in the integrated schools there. They have told me how nigra boys make indecent proposals to innocent little white girls."

"POUR IT ON"

Shouts of "pour it on" break out here and there from the grandstand.

"Some of the boys have been searched. There were not only knives in their pockets, but something else, too."

There are snickers from the crowd, more shouts of "pour it on" and some applause.

Eastland pauses a minute, "I don't think it is proper for me to say more. After all, I am a United States Senator."

We had driven into Jackson earlier in the day to cover a conference of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership headed by Dr. T. R. M. Howard and to talk to Negro leaders.

INVITATION TO VIOLENCE

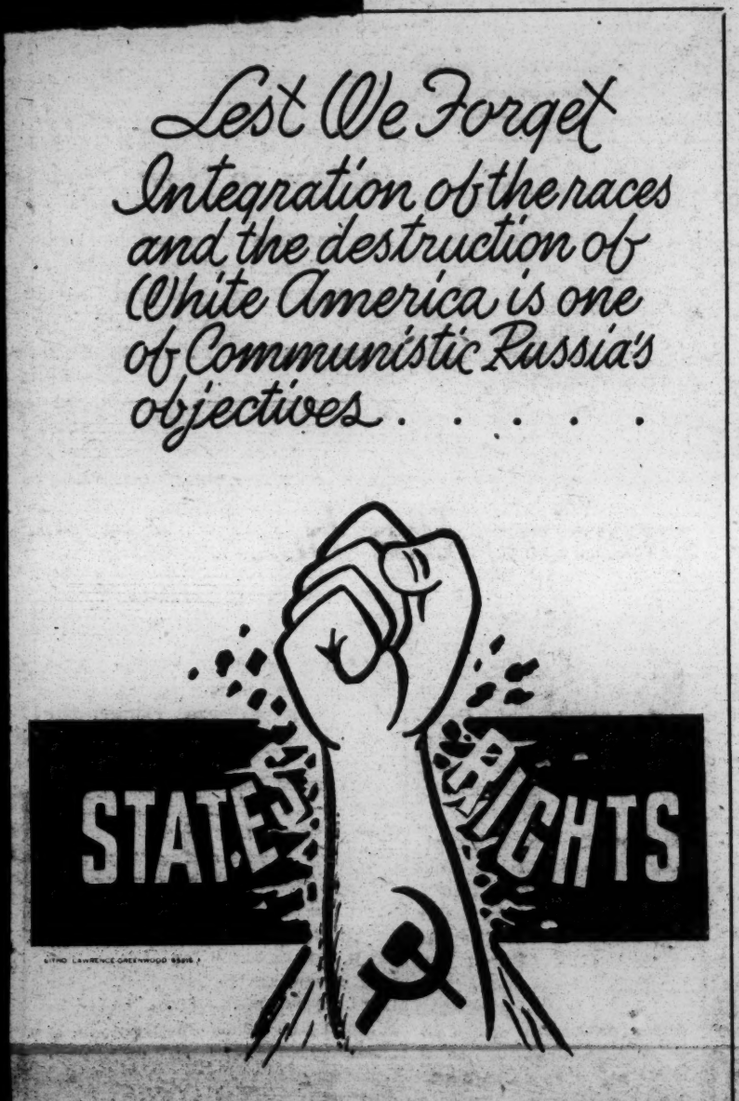
The atmosphere in Jackson had been tense. Negroes in the stret clammed up when we asked them how to get to the Masonic Temple where the conference was being held.

Gov. J. P. Coleman, who professes to be somewhat aloof from the Citizens Councils and a bit more moderate than Eastland, had heated up the situation with a statement denouncing Rep. Adam Clayton Powell and Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery as "professional agitators and one day scalawags."

The conference of Negro leaders passed a resolution declaring that Gov. Coleman's statement "was an open invitation to violence" had Powell and Rev. King come to speak as scheduled.

State troopers and city police surrounded the Masonic Temple most of the day, supposedly to protect the Negroes from violence but actually serving to intimidate the local Negro pop-

(Continued on Page 4)



TYPICAL of racist propaganda, labeling integration as a "Communist plot," is this back cover of "Black Monday," a booklet distributed by White Citizens Councils throughout the South. The author, Tom P. Brady, a Mississippi judge and Yale law graduate, was speaker at a racist rally witnessed by our correspondent, at which Sen. James O. Eastland spoke.

Confession repudiated in Polk murder case

— Story on page 4

that Folk had been mur- | meeting with Communists | was of the murder was the

"It is about time that we stopped this 'suicidal madness.'"

An NAACP leader suggested:

'Why don't you cover the Eastland rally?'

(Continued from Page 1)

ulation from attending. Big headlines in the two local newspapers sensationalized the conference, played up angles distorted out of context and calculated to antagonize the white community.

GROUP INTERVIEWED

As we walked into the hall where 300 or 400 Negroes, less than expected, were listening to speakers, a reporter for the violently segregationist Jackson Daily News looked up. He kept staring at the two strange white men at a Negro meeting. Introductions failed to allay his curiosity or hostility.

Despite the tensions, Negro leaders readily agreed to sit down with us right after the formal afternoon session to answer questions.

A Negro druggist from Clarksdale told of the economic squeeze on sharecroppers and merchants who ventured to speak up for desegregation.

Medgar Evers, a crisp young man of 30 who is NAACP field representative for Mississippi, told of the continuing atmosphere of violence in the plantation area around Money where Emmett Till had been murdered.

"I go through as quickly as possible and don't stay long," he said. "It isn't healthy."

Evers said the NAACP is growing in Mississippi, and is by far the leading Negro organization in the state. But he and other Negro leaders conceded freely that the ever-present threat of violence has hampered the growth of NAACP, that the Negro people in Mississippi have a ways to go under adverse circumstances to reach the heights of unity and organization symbolized by Montgomery.

Then Evers suggested that we ought to hurry over to the Citizens Council meeting and hear Eastland if we wanted to get a rounded picture of the Mississippi situation.

A RACIST RALLY

So we drove fast the 50 miles to Forest into the rolling hills and back country of Mississippi, getting there late while Eastland was already making the main address of the evening.

On the flag-bedecked platform in the center of the ball field were local dignitaries and other speakers, all formally dressed. Some in the crowd seemed to be business people. But most appeared to be small farmers, workers, townspeople.

There was a hard core of zealots in the grandstand. But many apparently came out of curiosity to hear their Senator, a local boy made good. Some people took in the whole family, as if to a drive-in movie. We stood on the sidelines, leaning on a car. Restless little boys inside kept opening and closing the doors. We didn't applaud. Neither did most of the people around us.

Eastland had grown up in Forest, gone to school there. His planter-father practiced law in the town. But later Eastland moved back to the 5,000 acre family plantation, about 100 miles from Forest, where he still lives when he is not in Washington.

The people around Forest are mainly the "rednecks," the poor whites of the area. Traditionally they have hated the planters. And you could feel Eastland straining to find a common denominator, an effective appeal.

PLAYS ON SEX FEARS

He tried hard to give the white supremacist cause a democratic flavor. "It is the people

SEN. EASTLAND
'Pour it on . . .

whose will is supreme," he shouts. "No court decision can be enforced if the people are against it."

But Eastland strikes pay dirt, and then only with a minority of the crowd, when he hits the "mongrelization" or inter-marriage theme which permeates all Citizens Council propaganda.

But then he draws back a bit, cautions: "We are against violence. Violence can only hurt our cause."

But you can sense his problem. While he wants to stir up the Mississippi back woods, he must maintain a position of respectability nationally, and he also fears to alienate more liberal-minded Southerners.

Eastland needs to play crudely on sex fears, on the old ingrown prejudices of the most backward and ignorant of the small farmers and townspeople. He also needs the atmosphere of violence and intimidation which has wracked Mississippi and of which we got a tiny whiff in Jackson.

'BATTLE FOR MINDS'

He urges a national propaganda offensive to win the North and West to the segregationist banner.

"We are in a battle for the minds of men," he says. "We must take our cause to the nation."

While Eastland is speaking, vendors are selling copies of "Black Monday," a $1 pamphlet published by the Mississippi Association of Citizens Councils and written by Judge Tom P. Brady, Brookhaven, Miss.

The title refers to the Monday on which the Supreme Court decreed the end of school segregation. The subtitle is "Segregation or Amalgamation . . . America Has Its Choice."

A RACIST TRACT

Brady spoke at the Forest meeting before we got there. But his little book gives a fair sampling of the ideas with which Eastland proposes to fight for the minds of men. Brady, a Yale graduate, incidentally, writes:

"Very few negroes have true respect and reverence for their race. They sense their racial limitations . . . These Northern negroes are determined to mongrelize America! They want the race to 'pass'. . . .

"The mental inferiority of the negro to the white is an established fact . . . "

"Constantly the negro will be endeavoring to usurp every right and privilege which will lead to intermarriage. This is the way it has worked out in the North. This is the way the NAACP wants it to work out in the South, and that is what Russia wants."

Eastland echoes this line, and yet apparently recognizes its limitations in winning converts in the North or even holding the allegiance of the younger generation of the white South.

"The first line of defense is the home," he says. "If we lose the minds of our children, all is lost. Then there is no hope for the future."

APPEALS TO STATES

Urging the states to appropriate funds from their treasuries for the white supremacy campaign, he says:

"We must use public funds and we have a legal right to do so because in essence this is an attack upon the South . . . We must bring to the attention of the people what integration will do to our school system."

Eastland appeals to the Southern states, urges all the governors to band together for a last-ditch fight.

"If we band together, we can win," he says.

"If we can win the border states, I am confident of the outcome."

But he bitterly attacks "weak-kneed political leaders" in the border states for gradually bowing to the Constitution and the Supreme Court.

Eastland concludes with a call to action. The crowd applauds politely but briefly, and starts slowly drifting out of the lighted ball park.

Eastland still reigns in Mississippi, heartland of the plantation system, of the White Citizens Council, of illiteracy, poverty and bigotry.

But the white supremacist crown sits uneasily on his head as he sees the pressures of the border states, of the North and of the Negro people themselves closing in on the deep South.

(Continued Wednesday)

Top racist tells (not quite) all

WHAT DOES AMERICA MEAN TO YOU?

By W. H. AMERINE

Are we living in "the last days" as prophecies in the Holy Bible tell us about? Are we to stir up religious strife? The situation becomes worse. And are we to adopt methods of the Kremlin?

We of the South gave the Negro his Bible and thus spread Christianity. Our churches at Montgomery donate money for the purchase of milk in the Negro schools. The major expense of their schools is borne by us, and such schools are comparable to our own. In many other ways we have, through the years, helped the black race. And we have sent missionaries to Africa, China, Japan, and elsewhere. We believe the Bible is clear as to all that.

The South is the best home for the Negro. He is happier here, and he knows it. We know the Negro and he knows us. We do not hate each other.

O temporal O Mores! We know not what next. God save America!

MONTGOMERY COUNTY CITIZENS COUNCIL
Montgomery, Alabama

A SAMPLE of bleeding heart propaganda of White Citizens Councils, passed out by their Alabama chief, Sam Engelhart.

By ADAM LAPIN

(Fourth of a series)

Sam Engelhardt Jr. had made the same statement thousands of times before, but a gleam came into his hard eyes set deep in his lean, almost gaunt face as he said that the trouble in Montgomery was all the fault of "outside agitators."

"It's all the fault of the NAACP, coming in and stirring things up," he said.

"I have no trouble with my n-----rs. Why, 90 percent of the people working for me are n-----rs, and we get along fine."

Englehardt, executive secretary of the White Citizens Councils of Alabama, had started with painful care to speak of Negroes. But the effort was too much for him. Soon he was referring to "nigras" as a compromise, and before long he relapsed to the more familiar usage of the Southern racists.

Englehardt is a planter—as are most of the big wheels of the Citizens Councils in the deep South. His plantation is medium-sized.

He is a state senator, and the leader of the white supremacy bloc in the legislature.

He is the man who kept putting the heat on the Montgomery subsidiary of National City Lines to hold firm against the bus boycott. He has Mayor W. A. Gale and the city commissioners under his thumbs. They are all members of the White Council.

Not looking for trouble in tense Montgomery, I introduced myself to Englehardt as a reporter for "The Daily World of San Francisco."

"I read The Daily World," Englehardt said poker-faced. He does, too. He filled me in on a couple of news items I had missed about funds being raised in Los Angeles for the Montgomery boycott.

He knew he was wasting his time. But once started, he found it difficult to stop agitating for white supremacy.

Handing us copies of literature, he said there are 65 white Citizens Councils in the state. But he didn't seem to think his claim of 75,000 membership was quite impressive enough. He said he expected it to double in a year.

Asked how he thought the boycott would end, he said:

"It will break down because of quarrels among the leaders."

He indicated the tactics he is using in an effort to divide the Negro community when he referred to Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the boycott, as "Cadillac King."

That night I got a chance to test his hope against the reality of a meeting in the Day Street Baptist church thronged by almost 5,000 Negroes, representing every sector of the community, voicing an inspired unity and a boundless determination to continue the boycott until victory.

"There will be no integration in the South," Engelhardt kept repeating.

But it turned out that he wasn't quite so sure.

Apparently anticipating an adverse federal court ruling on Montgomery and Alabama bus

(Continued on Page 4)

Meet a Citizens Council leader

'I read The People's World,' he states

(Continued from page 1)

segregation laws, he said through tight lips:

"If the court rules against segregation, there will be no public transportation."

"What do you think of integration in the armed forces?"

"We don't like it," he says. He means it, too, considering that Montgomery is ringed with integrated Army and Air Force camps.

"What do you think of integration in the Post Office?"

"Well, it isn't complete there," he said glumly.

Quite willing to talk about most of his activities, Engelhardt turns coy, however, when the subject turns to the role of the Citizens Councils in politics.

"We don't enter elections as such," he says.

But four days later The Montgomery Advertiser runs a full-page ad inserted by the Montgomery Citizens Council "as a public service."

The ad consisted of answers by various candidates asking these questions among others:

"Are you for mixing whites and negroes (that's the way it appears in the ad—A.L.) in our schools?

"Have you or will you solicit the negro vote?

"Do you here and now deny the negro vote?

"Do you here and now say to the negro that you do not want his vote?"

One candidate for state legislator, a candidate for Democratic national convention delegate replied in a letter along with his answers:

Folsom assailed

"Sam Englehardt has served with me for two terms, and Sam knows where I stand on the race question."

Folsom was bitterly criticized by the Citizens Councils for his refusal to answer the questionnaire.

An ad on behalf of Folsom's opponent in The Greenville Advocate said:

"Show Big Jim Folsom, the 'Darling of the NAACP,' how you feel about segregation and mongrelization."

Englehardt was willing to make only one political comment:

"I hear King wants to run for Congress."

Asked how he felt about Negroes voting, he said:

"I don't mind their voting, if they can qualify."

Two days later we were in Tuskegee, seat of the great Negro educational institute, and got a better idea about what he meant when he said "if they can qualify."

Franchise denied

Tuskegee Institute and the largely Negro town by the same name are in Macon county which Engelhardt represents in the state senate.

A Negro professor tells us:

"Macon county is 84 percent Negro. But only 900 Negroes are allowed to vote. To keep Negroes from voting there has been no registration for three years. The board of registrars was just abolished.

"Of course this penalizes whites as well as Negroes. There are now only 2,200 registered white voters in the county." (Total population in the county is 30,561.)

That's how Sam Engelhardt gets elected to the state senate—and that's how he intends to keep it.

But for all his power and cockiness, Engelhardt seemed curiously defensive.

He kept emphasizing that the White Citizens Councils are against anti-Semitism and oppose violence.

I should explain that this hard-faced bigot represents the more respectable and conservative wing of the white supremacist movement.

The extremist elements among the racists have joined up with the Northern Alabama Citizens Council, headed by Asa Carter. This was the outfit that instigated the attack on Nat (King) Cole in Birmingham.

Upholding the inalienable right of all persons of white skin to be anti-Negro, Engelhardt says:

"We have no use for Asa Carter and his group. They go in for anti-Semitism. We take in white people of any religion."

"We're against any violence," he keeps repeating.

A hot potato

This is not just for our benefit. It reflects one of the real problems facing the White Citizens Council movement.

To make headway, it needs rabble-rousing, incitement of race hatred, appeals to ignorance and bigotry.

It also needs violence—or at least the threat of violence—to intimidate the Negroes.

But when its propaganda reaps results, there is a kick-back from some newspapers and from many ordinary white people. The Nat King Cole incident, for example, didn't sit well in Alabama.

So the Engelhardt crowd puts out inflammatory appeals which incite violence such as one in an official leaflet he handed me saying:

"If we submit to this unconstitutional, judge-made integration law, the malignant powers of atheism, communism and mongrelization will surely follow . . ."

But it seeks to avoid responsibility for the consequences of its own propoganda—and disclaims any resort to violence.

There is another reason for the defensive tone of some of Engelhardt's statements. He is aware not only of the growing strength of the Negro people and opposition to the White Citizens Councils in the North but also of the fact that many white people in the South, f whom Folsom speaks, opp the hatred and violence bre the councils.

As we leave his office, hardt doesn't offer t hands. Neither do w says:

"Don't be too ha

(Continued

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

gration battle

By ADAM LAPIN

(Fifth of a Series)

L. Alexander Wilson, tall, business-like editor of The Tri-State Defender in Memphis, knows right from the start the kind of information visiting newspapermen from the North would like to have.

Wilson, whose paper is aimed at readers in Tennessee, Mississippi and Arkansas and is affiliated with The Chicago Defender, rattles off facts, figures, statistics about the Negro community in Memphis.

He tells us that the Negro population in Memphis is about 150,000 or 40 percent of the total, that 18,315 Memphis Negro families own homes, that Negro income is going up with the influx of of industry, that there is a $200 million annual Negro market in the Memphis area.

"High Caliber"

Wilson also knows exactly what he wants. He speaks of "the new Negro who won't be pushed around" and of "full citizenship." He tells of the enormous impact of the Montgomery bus boycott on the Negro people in Memphis and everywhere else.

"The whole nation knows now we have leadership of a high caliber," he says.

There is, indeed, Negro leadership of "high caliber"—and not only in Montgomery.

One of the most exciting experiences of my trip to the South was the opportunity to meet some of these leaders. They are militant, thoughtful and realistic, most of them highly-trained college graduates.

They are, for the most part, middle class people—ministers, lawyers, editors, educators, businessmen, NAACP officials.

Of course, the "new Negro"—and you hear the phrase again and again in the South—is not confined to the middle class. In fact, the significance of what is happening in the South is that all sections of the Negro people are stirring and moving.

An historic anniversary

Today, May 17, is the second anniversary of the historic Supreme Court decision against segregation in public schools.

This series by Adam Lapin, based on material gathered during an intensive tour of the South, affords a graphic picture of what has happened, and is happening, since the court's famous opinion.

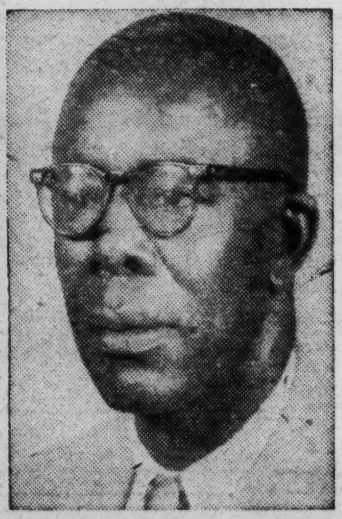
Most important, this installment describes the "new Negro" who is leading the fight to bring the Constitution to the South.

From all walks

E. D. Nixon, the tall, thin sleeping car porter—he was out on his Montgomery-to-Chicago run when we were in Montgomery—has become an almost legendary figure in the old Confederate capital. He is an active union man, past president of the Alabama NAACP, treasurer of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. He is said to be a mover and shaker in the boycott movement.

In Jackson, Miss., we run into Medgar Evans, the young, articulate field representative of NAACP and obviously college trained, who still looks collegiate at 30 in his striped sum-

(Continued on Page 4)



WHILE MIDDLE CLASS, as represented by The Rev. Martin Luther King and Mrs. King (left), predominates in Southern Negro leadership, workers like E. D. Nixon (right), sleeping car porter and active union man, play vital role. They are leaders of Montgomery boycott.

Meet some Southern Negro leaders

(Continued from page 1)

mer suit. He mentions almost casually that his father was a laborer. He was drafted at the end of World War II, managed to go to college on the GI Bill of Rights.

In Memphis, we hear much talk of James T. Walker who works in a barrel factory, but is a vice president of the state AFL and a major figure in the Negro community.

As more Negro workers come into industry and play an increasing role in the labor movement, they will also become a major factor in Negro leadership. But for the moment it is the middle class that is largely supplying the leaders of the Negro people.

Meet a lawyer

Typical is a man like Arthur T. Shores, attorney for Miss Autherine Lucy and a leading civil rights lawyer in Birmingham for more than 20 years.

Shores, he was attorney for former Sen. Glen Taylor when he was arrested for violating Birmingham's jimcrow laws during the 1948 Progressive party campaign, recalls that between 1940 and 1950 he was the only Negro lawyer in Alabama. Now there are 10 or 11—not very many for a harassed Negro population of about a million but progress all the same.

A short, dynamic man, Shores is now active in political action work as well as in NAACP activity and civil rights cases. While we are talking, people are coming in and out of his ofice to pick up copies of the sample ballot distributed by the Jefferson county Progressive Democratic Council, an organization of Negro voters, for the May 1 primary.

The ballot is marked for candidates like Sen. Lister Hill (he won) and Gov. James Folsom (he lost in the race for Democratic national committeeman) who at least are not part of the Citizens Council white supremacy crowd.

Emory Jackson, the witty, philosophical editor of The Birmingham World, explains the status of lawers in the Negro community when we ask him to tell us what kind of leaders are held in greatest esteem.

"Thurgood Marshall, there's a hero," he says, speaking of the NAACP lawyer who handled the school integration cases through the Supreme Court. "Our people like the idea of one of their own getting up before the Supreme Courts. "Our people like the juries, of fighting it out in the courts where they have been kicked around so long."

Then there are the Negro professors and educators who are fighting against the terrible odds of jimcrow public schools to train a whole young generation with modern skills, rounded education and a capacity for leadership.

Dean B. R. Brazeal of Morehouse College, a big, still youthful man in his 40s, tells how his college, one of the finest Negro institutions in the South, works to maintain high educational standards.

Facilities shared

He also describes "the Atlanta plan"—whereby four other private Negro colleges share with Morehouse a common and beautiful campus and some of the same professors and buildings to attain the equivalent of a top-grade modern university.

Asked whether the present generation of Negro college students is thinking about social problems and their solution, Dean Brazeal answers simply: "Rev. King is one of our relatively recent products."

Dean Brazeal also provides a brief glimpse of the indignities suffered by even the most cultured, middle-class Negroes—and of the relative stability and strength of the Negro community in Atlanta which has fought through such gains as desegregating the public golf links and is represented by a Negro educator on the city council.

"When I come back from a lecture in Birmingham or some other Southern city, I'm always glad to go back to Atlanta," he says. "Here we have some security."

Role of business

The importance of Negro business institutions like Atlanta Life Insurance Co. or Durham Mechanics & Farmers Bank is hard for white Northerners to grasp.

We got a glimpse of that at the Montgomery mass meeting which voted to continue the bus boycott when there was sustained applause for an announcement employes at Atlanta Life had contributed $2,100.

There is much the same feeling of pride in Negro businesses, built up against great handicaps, as there is in the network of Negro colleges throughout the South.

These business institutions generally participate in the activities of the Negro community. The lobby of Atlanta Life featured posters urging Negroes to register and vote.

Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, a Negro businesswoman in Columbia, S. C., executive secretary of NAACP in her state, has helped rally support for the boycott started by the people of nearby Orangeburg last September against the economic squeeze by the White Citizens Councils.

A business viewpoint

One of the most aggressive and able Negro leaders in the South, she owns a motel and has real estate interests in the Columbia area.

Calvin B. McKissack, head of the largest Negro architectural and building firm in the South, with headquarters in Nashville, provides an insight into the thinking of some Negro businessmen.

McKissack is currently doing a large project for middle class Negro homeowners. His firm has built homes for some of the wealthiest white citizens of the South, but currently it is mainly concerned with schools, Army installations and the like.

A big, elderly man who speaks freely and frankly, he takes us through his office building, introduces us to junior members of the long-established family firm, many of them members of the McKissack clan.

Then he sits down in his office and muses about some of the idiocies of the jimcrow system.

"I'm for state's rights as much as any man," he says. "But to have state's rights you have to have statesmen.

"Why should a man like Byrnes, a former Secretary of State and Supreme Court Justice, descend to the level of a county magistrate?"

"The white Southerners are hurting themselves more than us—because when they hurt the economy they hurt themselves."

"Ruhr of America"

McKissack is a little cool to unions. 'I deal with them on some projects, but not on others," he says.

He muses about how the South could become "the work shop of the nation, the Ruhr of America" if it were not for the barriers created by segregation and the economic backwardness growing out of jimcrow and the plantation system.

But thus far there are no Negro manufacturers in the rapidly expanding industrial South. Negro businesses largely because they can't get the capital available to white firms, are confined to fringes of the economy—and that is one thing men like McKissack deeply resent.

Capitalist dilemma

There are contradictions in the thinking of some Negro business leaders. Asked about the Montgomery boycott, one told us:

"What happens to the capitalistic economy if everybody boycotts everything?"

Some Negro leaders tell us frankly that there are Negro businessmen and professionals who have "a vested interest in segregation and fear integration." They put some Negro school administrators and some businessmen in this category as men who fear they will lose out either as a result of competition or discrimination in the free-for-all which would ensue if segregation is abolished.

But these are distinct minority, we are told, and they have lost their standing and prestige in the community. For the most part the Negro middle class plays a major role in the struggle for integration — and has furnished an articulate and determined and skillful leadership for the Negro people.

Lapin to speak on South

SAN FRANCISCO, May 16—Adam Lapin will give a first-hand report on "the battle of the South" at the California Labor School, 321 Divisidero, Friday, May 25, 8 p.m.

Lapin, associate editor of The Daily People's World, has just returned from a trip which took him through Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina where he interviewed Negro leaders, liberal and labor spokesmen as well as white supremist leaders.

The May 25 meeting is co-sponsored by the Labor School and The People's World. Admission is 50 cents.

ADL SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 EXCHANGE PL., S. E. ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

Harold Fleming

The kiss of you know what. (See the backside).

—

Art Levin

Liz,

File with info.

On two men who interviewed Dr. Mitchell sometime back, one by name of Lapin. Remember I gave you a batch of newspaper clips plus a couple of letters.

John
C.

...yprus, May 24.— ...ish Cypriots stoned Greek shops today in the cities of Nicosia and Paphos, following the slaying of a Turkish policeman in Paphos last night.

British paratroopers used tear gas in Nicosia to dispose crowds.

...sition of having to ... the U.S. is ahead.

Schnitzler cited various news sources about the lead which both Britain and the Soviet Union have over the U. S.

He urged an end to the debate "whether more concessions and ...

...bills, ... possible.

The Committee is currently engaged in a $100,000 drive in an effort to keep the paper going through the summer.

...ish fraternal organizations, died yesterday at 11:20 a.m., as a result of a heart attack.

Goldman, known to thousands as ... and died while being taken to St Vincent Hospital.

Funeral services are tentatively scheduled for this Sunday.

REPORT FROM THE SOUTH

'Hundreds of Thousands of White People Know Better'

By ADAM LAPIN

At the end of two stately rows of cypress trees shading the road, near Black River Swamp, South Carolina, is an old plantation house not too dissimilar from the ones you saw in "Gone With the Wind" or other movies about the vanished glories of the South.

Behind the house, Negro plantation workers, men and women wearing hats or kerchiefs against the sun, are sloshing around in the wet ground, cleaning and packing lettuce for shipment on to Charleston and Columbia.

The house, with its vast porch and lofty columns, is not quite so impressive when you look closer. The white paint is somewhat faded. backsteps are full of holes.

Inside you find not only such modern conveniences as a vacuum cleaner and a big freezer to supply ice for the lettuce but a man with new and modern ideas, a liberal planter who stands squarely opposed to the plantation system.

"There is a silent south," the planter tells us over a glass of ice-cold grape juice. "Hundreds of thousands of white people know better. But they are torn between their conscience and what they conceive to be their economic self-interest. . . .

"Planters around here complain because Negroes are lazy and won't work hard enough. And why should they? What incentive do they have under this system?"

•

THIS IS, of course, an exceptional man. He comes from an old Southern family that has lived in that area for 150 years. But he has traveled extensively and, is a man of rare education and intelligence as well as courage.

Even in that plantation back country, however, there are some other like-minded white people, mainly professionals and middle-class.

In nearby Sumter, there is a going branch of the South Carolina Committee on Human Relations which conducts regular joint meetings of about 30 Negroes and whites.

There are similar committees in all the Southern states which are, in turn, affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, recent recipient of a Fund for the Republic grant.

•

THIS IS the leading organization of Southern liberals. It publishes an excellent little magazine, New South. It is inter-racial, is similar in some respects to Americans for Democratic Action in other parts of the country, but by the very force of circumstances plays a more advanced and daring role in the South.

The Regional Council lays major stress on the industrialization of the South as a factor which will destroy the basis of segregation and prejudice in the old plantation system.

•

THERE ARE a few Southern industrialists who are convinced the jimcrow and the agitation of the White Citizens Councils are holding back the economic growth of the South.

One of these is Mayor Edmund Orgill of Memphis. Orgill, biggest hardware manufacturer in the South, believes "the future of the South is in industrialization."

But business leaders have, on the whole, provided sterile ground for liberal agitation. There are the advantages of low wages and weak union organization to be weighed against the economic backwardness resulting from the plantation system.

Robert D. Barnes, former editor of the weekly bulletin of the New Orleans Chamber of Commerce, learned this first hand. He lost his job because he was a member of the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. This is another liberal organization, in the South dedicated to supporting integration.

Barnes' experience was similar to that of many other white liberals in the South. The economic squeeze has been applied not only to Negroes who challenge jimcrow but to whites as well.

TO LEADERS

Editor, Daily Worker:

Recently several letters have been printed in Speak Your Piece dealing with our leadership's lack of close ties with the mass of people. Perhaps this can be attributed to the fact that the top functionaries don't belong to Party clubs and never appear as invited guests at club meetings. Isn't it possible for all the leaders to attend at least one scheduled club meeting during the coming discussion of Party convention. Both the leadership and the rank and file would profit by such an exchange of ideas and experiences.

—BILL.

• • •

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Editor, Daily Worker:

In the recent period some of the national leaders of the Communist Party have referred to our struggle against Browder as the elimination of the cult of the individual. By implication they say that many of the features which limited inner party democracy during the Browder period were eliminated with the expulsion of Browder. This does [illegible] leadership and against those forms and methods of leadership which tend in the direction of the infallibility of leaders and leadership bodies. Unless this is done we are simply laying the groundwork for new and far greater errors.

GEORGE SAMSON

• • •

WANTS THEM PUBLISHED

Editor, Daily Worker:

I expect to have my brief letters to the Daily Worker (including this one) published. Otherwise I shall share my usual yearly $50 to $100 contribution to the Daily Worker with other worthy left causes.

—FOR A FREE MARXIST PRESS.

Daily Worker

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Daily Worker & Worker	4.75	8.00	13.00
The Worker		2.00	3.50

It has the right to free speech and assembly, but it does not have at its disposal radio and TV networks, stadiums, auditoriums, halls which would be necessary to realize freedom of speech and assembly.

It has the right to vote but it cannot exercise this right universally because of literacy requirements, residents requirements, working conditions, etc.

It has the right to form political parties but it cannot secure their free functioning because of requirements for getting on the ballot, the gigantic expenses of conducting political campaigns, etc.

•

WHEN SOCIALISM is established, the bourgeoisie as a class is deprived of the basic economic and political pre-conditions for continuing to enjoy complete democracy. Its freedom of press is automatically restricted and curtailed because it no longer has unlimited access to stocks of newsprint or presses; nor does it have the advertising which it formerly got from private corporations without which it could not publish its newspapers on the scale it does. Its freedom of speech and assembly is auto- [illegible] or does not [illegible] civil war.

That is what Lenin meant when he wrote:

"The question in which countries, and in the presence of what special national features of this or that capitalism, democracy for the exploiters will be infringed upon or restricted (wholly or in part) is a question of the special national features of this or that capitalism, of this or that revolution. The theoretical question is an entirely different one, viz., is the dictatorship of the proletariat possible without infringing democracy for the exploiting class?"

(Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade. Selected Works, Vol. VII, p. 13).

•

LET US TAKE so important a question as depriving the bourgeoisie of the franchise. Did the Soviet government in 1917 deprive the bourgeoisie of the franchise because it was a matter of general principle flowing from the Marxist Leninist theory of the state? Of course not! It did so only because of specific conditions which existed in that country after the October Revolution.

"It should be observed that the question of depriving the ex- [illegible] ing and, hence electing its [illegible] didates to office?

On the other hand, if the right of franchise for the bourgeoisie is permitted to continue, then the right of bourgeois political parties to continue existing is implicitly recognized. This remains true even though one or another specific bourgeois party may be outlawed if, for example, it is guilty of overt acts of violence against the socialist government.

The right of franchise means the right to elect or to be elected. The political struggle to elect or be elected always takes place on the basis of a program. And the political struggle to elect candidates on the basis of a program constitutes the content of the work of a political party, no matter by what name it calls itself.

•

NEVERTHELESS, let us turn our attention to the specific question of the existence of bourgeois parties. Is the outlawing of bourgeois political parties and the expulsion of their representatives from elected bodies an inevitable feature of socialist democracy? Of course not!

Everybody knows that the

(Continued on Page 5)

May 29, 1956

JC:

Two guys came in about three weeks ago and said they were travelling journalists and would I tell them a few facts? Now they both turned out to have been some kind of extreme left-wingers. I guess they are both Communists. You had better look through this junk and see if they got us in any trouble.

FILE COPY

GSM/eab

Encl. - People's Daily World
dtd 5/11/56

RECEIVED MAY 28 1956

Published by
PACIFIC PUBLISHING
FOUNDATION, INC.
SAN FRANCISCO

DAILY
PEOPLE'S WORLD
~~570 FOLSOM STREET~~ • SAN FRANCISCO 5

81 Clementina

Visitors

May 24, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I should like to thank you for your courtesy and help when Joseph Starobin and I visited you a few weeks ago during our brief trip through the South.

I am sending you clippings of the articles I wrote for my paper, the Daily People's World, San Francisco. I understand the articles also are being reprinted in the Daily Worker.

You may find the next to the last article of the series of some interest as it tends to indicate your views.

I feel that I ought to indicate that I regretted considerably after leaving your office that I didn't make clear to you that my paper represents a distinctly left wing point of view. It just didn't come up in the conversation. But I wouldn't want you to feel that it was any deliberate attempt to take you in or conceal anything. In any case I found your ideas most stimulating and helpful.

I would, of course, be grateful for any comment or criticism you might want to make

Sincerely,

Adam Lapin

ADAM LAPIN
Associate Editor

A:L:C
SFONG

July 2, 1958

Mr. Nathan Eagle
New World Foundation
120 South LaSalle Street
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Eagle,

Our organization has been handling what I feel, perhaps immodestly, to be the best newspaper travel grant arrangement in the country. We have almost exhausted our original $50,000 grant received in 1955 from the Fund for the Republic and we would like to interest your foundation in supporting our program.

The SNPI is made up of Southerners who are Fellows of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard. We have no official connection with that foundation but its curator, Louis Lyons, has helped us and is in complete sympathy with our program and projects. We started as a regional social organization, but with the help of FFR and because the South does have a regional entity with particular problems, developed what we called simply a program to broaden the horizons of Southern newspapermen and thereby improve the world they gave their readers.

Through what has proved a workable and by and large an effective selection setup we have already given 16 grants varying from about $1500 to $3000 to such grantees. We try to choose journalists in policy making positions on their papers or in such status that they write pretty much as they please; we also try to pick people who will stay in journalism so their new knowledge will mean more to the reading public.

These men may travel anywhere in the world they choose. So far, we have restricted grants to foreign travel although we would like in the future to underwrite some domestic projects as well. Each applicant must outline either a study or a story project in the country or countries he visits. Frankly, the man and his exposure to other peoples and their problems has been the major consideration, but a project tends to direct his activities and to indicate whether he has an interest in something or just wants a junket.

Our selection committee has included Mr. George Chaplin, editor of the New Orleans Item; Paul Evans, public relations director for TVA; and E.L. Holland, Jr., associate editor of the Birmingham News.

Our first grantee was Louis Harris, executive editor of the Augusta, Ga., Chronicle-Herald. Harris visited Japan for eight weeks, did a terrific study of the textile export situation there in relation to the then stormy feeling in the South against textile imports. We believe a series of articles by him which we distributed (and which Nieman Reports published in a pamphlet) were responsible for stopping a bill in the Georgia legislature demanding that stores selling Japanese textiles so advertise with window signs.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Other grantees from papers from Roanoke, Va., to the New Orleans Times-Picayune have visited North Africa, Europe, Uruguay, Brazil, the Near East, etc. A Greenville, S.C., reporter visited the Union of South Africa; a Columbus, Ga., city editor travelled to several African nations.

Our reports have been widely reprinted by as many as 75 newspapers and, in New Orleans in February, we gathered all grantees together for a seminar---oppn to the public---which was a great success.

Our grants have several advantages for the newspaperman: the trips are from four to eight weeks and a working journalist can usually take that much time off and his publisher is willing to give him that much leave. A longer time involves hiring a substitute and other complications. In our travel period the newsman can have a timely theme to his project and make it more meaningful; he does not have to worry about finances for such a brief trip and we believe in giving him enough to facilitate his tour, not force him to penury; he does not have to leave his family too long a time; his contacts and hosts abroad are glad to see him and he does not become a longtime burden to them; the period has proved long enough to give him some genuine understanding of the countries and peoples he meets. If you consider the problems that go with a six months or longer tour as far as the grantee and his paper are concerned, you will understand these advantages.

The Fund for the Republic, as you probably know better than I, has changed its entire focus since our original grant and will give us no more money. Frank Kelley of the Fund, however, as well as its other directors, endorses the project wholeheartedly.

We are, I hope, in the final stage of receiving tax exempt status. The Internal Revenue Service requested and received enough material to choke its files and I expect approval very soon.

We have a great deal of detailed information about the program, full background reports on grantees, copies of material circulated and published by us (and distributed at no cost to the newspapers, study groups and organizations requesting copies of the grantee's reports) and a lot of other material with which I can burden you if you are interested.

We would like to meet you and discuss our program with you. I will come to Chicago at your convenience or if your travels bring you to this neighborhood can meet you anywhere you say. May I suggest that you call me collect if you would like more information or would like to meet with us. Others of our directors can join us, if you wish.

Since this is a volunteer organization with no fulltime administration we found it impractical to attempt to spend $60,000 a year. If you would entertain an application from us, we would request $30,000 to provide for 8 to 10 grants and administration of the grants during the next 12 months. Our costs are for a parttime secretary and bookkeeper, travel for the selection committee, etc. Naturally, we can give fewer grants if less money is raised.

-more-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Phil Hammer of Atlanta, who speaks very highly of you incidentally, advised me to write you. He can tell you about me and our organization.

Please give us the opportunity to explain the program more fully. Thanks for your patience with this long letter.

Cordially,

Sylvan Meyer
President

harold---

thanks for any help you can give us with eagle. here is the letter i wrote. i carefully avoiding using your name in any way, as you suggested and presume you'll hear from him. if you don't--and I haven't yet,neither--- we can thank of something else. why not come up and spend a day on the lake.

Sylvan

SYLVAN MEYER

July 2, 1958

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
Editor
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

I thought I should let you know that both Phil Hammer and I will be with Vernon Eagle in New York on July 18. We will be part of a group discussing with him and others the situation in the South. This will give us a good opportunity to get in some licks for your request. I gather you haven't yet submitted a written application. If you have, or if you get one ready between now and July 15, do send me a copy.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

December 4, 1958

Mr. Sylvan Meyer, Editor
Gainesville Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Meyer:

The enclosed article by Jim Montgomery of the Atlanta Constitution has perhaps already come to your attention. Mr. Fred Patterson of this city felt that the article deserved greater state-wide distribution and secured permission from the Atlanta Newspapers (through Mr. Eugene Patterson) to have the piece re-run in such other papers in the state as could be interested.

I agreed to be in touch with you on this matter, but missed you by phone today and am writing you so that you will have the information tomorrow. Several other papers have agreed today to run the article, but none overlap with your general circulation area.

I hope you will be able to make use of this article and, if possible, send me a tear sheet when it appears. It is our thought that it would be run straight without any indication as to who secured permission to reprint, etc.

Harold knows of this project but is out of town today; I'm sure he would want me to send his good regards to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Enclosure

Phone: Lenox 2-6211 Gainesville

July 27, 1959

Mr. Sylvan Meyer, Editor
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

At the request of Max Arnold, recent visitor from Belgium, we are sending you under separate cover a film which he left with us. When you have finished with it, please mail it to:

Mr. William D. Jones
Food Research Institute
Stanford University
Palo Alto, California

Mr. Jones will mail it to Belgium.

You will notice pasted inside the container, a certificate which must be with the film when it reenters Belgium.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

cc: Mr. William D. Jones

LWD, ✓
fyi
Return ml

June 30, 1960

Mr. Sylvan Meyer, Editor
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

Thanks for answering my query so promptly.

As you know, the booklet was released last Monday, and, ironically, it was thoroughly bungled by the press. UPI put out a story 24 hours late, AP evidently did nothing at all, and Claude Sitton apparently failed to file a story with the TIMES before he left on vacation. When I called UPI for clarification, I was told that somebody just fumbled the ball. One slight recovery: The Times has asked Pat Watters to do a Sunday story for them -- presumably for this coming Sunday's paper. Bill Emerson still hopes to get a story in the NEWSWEEK press section.

All of this tends to confirm a theory of mine that the press isn't much interested in comment on or criticism of its own performance. I doubt that the content of the booklet is responsible, since much less newsworthy SRC publications fare much better than this in the press.

Anyway, I have written to Louis Lyons soliciting his cooperation in distribution; I'll let you know what he replies. We have the list of Southern advisory committees and will attend to that. Les will be back next week, and I'll refer the question of the ASNE to him. I wrote Harvey Walters, but he's on vacation and

and will reply in a week or two. The booklet went to all schools of journalism and a fair selection of editors.

We're still awaiting the list of Southern Niemans.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Daily Times

Press-Radio Center, Telephone LEnox 2-6211
Gainesville, Georgia

June 18, 60

Dear Harold,

Thanks for the note and the nice comment on the essay. My next one can be shorter now that all those stray,unassorted general thoughts on the newspaper business are discharged.

wrote Lyons 6/22/60

I suggested to Les that several copies be sent to Louis Lyons. Perhaps you would like to send one to all ex-Niemans. That would take about 250 and Lyons would have the list. I'm sure his Nieman Report distribution list would be good,too, although schools of journalism would be duplicated.

Anne, who's looking to upbuild her boy, suggested the ASNE membership, about 600. I do not know your press run or mailing cost allocation, but that list is available, also.

I will get the Southern Assn. of Nieman Fellows list to you soonest.

The Southern state chairmen of advisory committees to the US Commission on Civil Rights would be good addressees. I'll dig up a list of those; or better yet, the Commission might take 100 or so for further distribution and cover those folks in franked envelopes. Chances are the Commission might mail even more than that. Why not try Gordon Tiffany?

The press associations might want some (state ,regional and nat'l) as the basis for convention panels, which could argue the validity or lack of it in the specific points made. Harvey Walters might give some leads on this.

Thanks for the nice job (I don't find the cover bad) and for making me an author!

Sylvan

Please send one to Currier at Taconic — and to the New World Foundation man (S)

Rec'd 7/19/60 HCF

The Daily Times

Press-Radio Center, Telephone LEnox 2-6211
Gainesville, Georgia

July 18, 1960

Southern Regional Council
Mrs. Ed Albright
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Albright,

Thanks for handling all this mailing.

✓ Tom Sanction's home address I don't know. Perhaps he is with the Times-Picayune. Try sending him one there.

✓ Morton, is Charles Morton, Associate Editor, The Atlantic Monthly, Boston, Mass. A magazine directory, or a copy, which I don't have here at the office, would have the adress exactly but this one will probably do.

✓ W. Allen Wallis of the White House executive staff asks that we send a copy to Prof. and Mrs. Raymond B. Bowers, 102 Cloverhurst Circle, Athens, Ga.

✓ Have we sent one to the News Workshop, Dept. of Journalism, New York University, N.Y.?

✓ Please send one also to Mr. Chester Bowles, Essex, Conn.
Mr. Ted Shelton, Greenville News, Greenville, S.C.
Mr. James Gray, Albany Herald, Albany, Ga.

✓ I could use a dozen more copies, which I would like to send out with a personal note attached.

✓ One more: Mr. Herbert Hirschman, 251 Bedford Dr., Beverly Hills, Calif.

MA 7-19-60

Thanks. Would you ask Harold Fleming, now that Ralph McGill is back in town, to call him and make sure he has read the pamphlet. Claude Sitton mentioned it to me when I was in California and if someone could suggest a news peg to him, he might be able to make something of it.

Cordially,
Sylvan Meyer
Sylvan Meyer

July 11, 1960

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Meyer:

We have mailed out copies of Racial Crisis and the Press to the list of Southern Nieman Fellows and to the second list you sent, with a tag, "compliments of Mr. Sylvan Meyer." I do have two questions, however: 1) Mr. Thomas Sancton, New Orleans, La.--you have marked through "The Item" -- do you have a new address for him? New Orleans is a large city. 2) We do not know Morton at Atlantic--do you have his initials and address? Because he did not get a copy.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

The Daily Times
Press-Radio Center, Telephone LEnox 2-6211
Gainesville, Georgia

July 6

Dear Harold,

Altho Emerson sent 'em a batch of stuff, I guess Newsweek decided not to go ahead. He killed the first week's story because he was afraid the man on the NY end would gut The Times will superlatives.

I've been disappointed in the reaction, also, though I'm sure we will hear from the academuc circles in the fall. Too bad about McGill's being away. Perhaps when he returns from LA (where I'm headed Friday through the 16th) you can get him to make some comment on the booklet.

I wrote Walter and haven't heard from him.

Did you send a copy to Morton at the Atlantic?

In the fall, you might submit the booklet to the SDX as an entry in the "research in journalism" division of its national contests. It may not be detailed or specific enough to win, but a lot of good people get a look at it, anyway.

The real truth is, horrible as it may sound, neither the press nor the national news media are interested in calm observation or balanced judgement except that which they think they produce. They want controversy and extremism in reporting. Newsweek, for example, heckled Emerson dozens of times for "adverse" comment on the booklet and on me. Finding none from either liberals or Warings, they were confused. Actually, my whole point is that progress is to be made from a foundation of mutual agreement on basics and the lack of strong opposition is a point in our favor. If Newsweek were to do a piece on Jesus Christ they'd have to have an adverse comment from an atheist, or perhaps Mohammed for "balance." Gad!

Maybe Editor and Publisher's reviewer of journalism works, Prof. Roscoe Ellard, Columbia, would review the booklet in E&P. Why not try him?

Come see us: bring wife, kids and bathing suit.

Sylvan

Racial Crisis And The Press

walter spearman & sylvan meyer

RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS

by

Walter Spearman

and

Sylvan Meyer

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
1960

FOREWORD

From time to time Southern newspapers have paused for moments of reflection on how they have reported and interpreted the leading domestic story of the years since 1954. When these thoughtful self-examinations have found their way to the printed page, they have evidenced the realization of a responsible press that it has an inescapable part to play, not only in writing history, but in deciding how the history of the racial crisis will turn out.

As a contribution to this self-appraisal, we asked two men, each closely and prominently identified with the Southern press, to give their analyses and evaluations of its performance. Walter Spearman, who has taught many of the South's practicing journalists, has taken a close look at the treatment given selected stories by six representative papers. He has found the results generally good, though perhaps not always thorough or imaginative. He closed his analysis with the statement that "Southern newspapers are doing a better job in giving their readers the facts about racial events than in revealing their meaning and interpreting the points of view of the people involved."

It was to this final remark that we asked Sylvan Meyer, one of the region's ablest young editors, to address himself. He did, but he did more than that, ranging widely and impressionistically—but shrewdly as well—over the whole news gathering and reporting field.

Because Spearman and Meyer know the Southern press as it exhibits both failures and victories, merits and weaknesses, they are good critics whose sympathetic appraisals are worth newspapermen's attention.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

RACIAL STORIES IN THE NEWS

by

Walter Spearman

Walter Spearman is Professor of Journalism at the University of North Carolina. He is a frequent contributor to newspapers and magazines, and for a number of years has been the director of the Writers' Conference at Chautauqua, New York. During 1957-58, he held a Fellowship from the Fund for Adult Education.

INTRODUCTION

How do Southern newspapers handle racial stories? Do they overplay certain types of stories and ignore others? Do they slant the stories, either in the writing or in the headlines, according to their point of view on matters of race? Are they giving their Southern readers a fair and accurate picture of racial incidents?

These are natural questions that may well be asked about Southern newspapers. In the Summer of 1959 the Southern Regional Council decided to look for the answers to these questions and authorized a study of how certain selected Southern newspapers handled certain selected stories of race in the years between 1954 and 1959.

What papers should be studied? Five morning newspapers in five different Southern states were selected. Then a weekly Negro newspaper and the New York *Times* were added to give additional contrast and comparison for each story surveyed. These are the papers covered in the survey:

Atlanta (Ga.) *Constitution*

Charleston (S. C.) *News and Courier*

Louisville (Ky.) *Courier-Journal*

Memphis (Tenn.) *Commercial Appeal*

Norfolk (Va.) *Journal and Guide*

Raleigh (N. C.) *News and Observer*

New York *Times*

Two of these papers were chosen from the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, where school integration has been tried for several years, without violence in Louisville, with violence in Tennessee. Two were from states in the Deep South, Georgia and South Carolina, where there have been no desegrated public schools. One was from North Carolina, where limited "token" desegregation has been practiced for several years. The papers ranged from conservative to liberal in editorial points of view on integration. If any five papers taken from the Southern states could be truly considered "typical," these five might meet that criterion.

What particular stories should be selected for study? They should be important enough nationally to be covered, to some extent, in all the papers studied. They should be sufficiently concentrated in time to be adequately reported in one or two issues of each paper, not as spread out as the entire Autherine Lucy case, Montgomery bus strike, or Little Rock violence. They should be stories that might well allow for some difference in handling on the part of various papers. Here are the stories selected, listed chronologically:

1. Report of the Davis Committee on Washington School Integration (unfavorable)—December, 1956
2. Report of Assistant Superintendent Carl Hansen on Washington School Integration (favorable)—February, 1957
3. Passage by Congress of the Civil Rights Act—August, 1957
4. President Eisenhower's Decision to Send Troops to Little Rock—September, 1957

5. First Negro Students Enter Norfolk, Va., Schools—February, 1959
6. The Poplarville, Miss., Lynching—April, 1959
7. The Tallahassee, Fla., Rape Case—May, 1959
8. The Black-White Rabbit Book—May, 1959

Of these eight stories dealing with race, two pairs offered particularly significant comparisons. The two reports on integration in the Washington, D. C. schools, one favorable and one unfavorable, gave an opportunity to study the difference in play given the stories and to see whether the editorial policy of the newspaper seemed to affect the handling of the news story. The Poplarville Lynching, in which a Negro man charged with raping a white woman was the victim of a white mob, and the Tallahassee Rape Case, in which four white men were charged with raping a Negro girl, occurred at nearly the same time in the Spring of 1959, and again gave a good opportunity for studying contrast in handling.

The controversy over the book about a black rabbit marrying a white rabbit, which was removed from the open shelves of the Alabama state library agency, offered a bit of light humor in a field where violence and strong emotional feelings were more usually prevalent.

As the handling of each story was studied, these were some of the questions considered: How much space was given to the story? What pictures or illustrations were used? How prominently was the story displayed? What kind of headline was used? Was there any editorial bias discovered either in the writing of the headline or the editing and cutting of the story? Did the paper depend entirely upon the wire services for its coverage or did it supplement this coverage with special stories by staff members? Were any stories actually omitted and if so, why?

In the first few years following the Supreme Court decision of 1954, various students of the Southern press came forth with widely divergent opinions of how well newspapers were handling the racial story.

Time magazine devoted several pages to the Southern press in February, 1956, pointing out both good and bad points of its coverage. "Southern newspapers," said *Time*, "with scattered exceptions, are doing a patchy, pussyfooting job of covering the region's biggest running story since the end of slavery." *Time* also quoted Jere Moore, editor of Georgia's Milledgeville *Union Recorder*, a weekly, as saying: "The newspapers of the South have failed to take the leadership demanded of them in this issue. They have been weak-kneed when they should have been strong. We have not tackled the issue."

As the "most violent" example of what it called "slanting, suppression and rabble-rousing against integration," *Time* cited the Jackson, Miss., *Daily News*. As "shining examples of courage and fairness in handling its No. 1 story" *Time* cited the Tuscaloosa, Ala., *News*, the Montgomery, Ala., *Advertiser*, the San Antonio, Tex., *Express* and *News*, The Greenville, Miss., *Delta Democrat-Times*, the Charlotte, N. C., *Observer*.

"The surprise," concluded *Time*, "is that so many editors are now willing to stick their necks out."

William Peters in his recent book, *The Southern Temper,* a fair-minded and impartial study of the whole problem of integration in the South, had kinder words to say about the Southern press, in a chapter perceptively entitled "Won't You Come Along With Me?"

"While it is true," Mr. Peters said, "that a large majority of white-owned Southern newspapers has opposed the 1954 decision, a significant minority has taken the other side. . . . At the same time, Southern newspapers of all persuasions have given their readers by far the fullest coverage of the desegregation story of any newspapers in the country. While much of this coverage has lacked objectivity and while there has been a general timidity among many editors to cover the speeches and activities of active desegregationists, particularly whites, no one who has traveled widely throughout the South during the years since 1954 can doubt that the Southern newspaper reader is being exposed to more news about desegregation than his counterpart in the North."

"In a good many more places than most Northerners realize," he added, "Southern newspapers are making themselves felt on the side of law and order."

Among the Southern papers Mr. Peters cited as "making themselves felt" are the Gainesville, Ga., *Daily Times,* the *Arkansas Gazette,* the Greenville, Miss., *Delta Democrat-Times,* the Tuscaloosa, Ala., *News,* the Atlanta *Constitution,* the Charlotte, N. C., *Observer,* the Charlotte, N. C., *News,* the Raleigh, N. C., *News* and *Observer,* the Winston-Salem, N. C., *Journal,* the *Carolina Israelite,* and the *Petal Paper.*

But to return to the present survey, the most obvious—and at the same time perhaps the most striking—conclusion reached in this study of how six Southern newspapers handled eight racial stories is that the handling was practically the same, with very little variation from one paper to another, no matter what the paper's editorial opinion might be on racial matters. There was no example of real bias, almost no distortion of the news. Even the placement on the page and the size of the headline differed very little from paper to paper.

It is true that the Raleigh *News and Observer* did not carry the story on Carl Hansen's favorable report on integration in the Washington, D. C., schools, and that the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* did not carry the Davis committee's unfavorable report on the Washington schools. However, the *News and Observer* was crowded with news of the 1957 North Carolina State Legislature in February, 1957; and in March it did carry a reprint of an article from the Washington *Post* discussing the Hansen report. And although the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* failed to carry a story on the Davis committee report in December, 1956 or January, 1957, it had carried several earlier stories on the activities of the committee.

Since the papers usually carried either the AP or the UPI wire dispatches for any important story, such as those covered in this survey, there would naturally tend to be very little difference in the stories run. Since each editor selects the news material to fill his alloted space for any day, one editor may decide to run 12 inches on the violence in Little Rock, while an-

other editor may decide to run 24 inches. If they are using the same wire story, their editorial points of view may determine which particular paragraphs of the story they will run and which they will eliminate.

The most startling example of what two different papers may do to the same wire service story was observed in January, 1959, about a new development in North Carolina's famous "kissing case." The UPI story, datelined Wadesboro, N. C., began with this paragraph: "North Carolina's legal expert on segregation matters will appear with Atty.-Gen. Malcolm Seawell Monday at a hearing for NAACP lawyers seeking to free two Negro youths in Union County's widely-publicized "Kissing Case."

For five paragraphs this story appeared just the same in the Atlanta, Ga., *Constitution* and the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*. Then in the final paragraph there was a wide divergence.

The Atlanta *Constitution* story ended: "The case arose from an incident in which one of the youths was accused of kissing a white girl with the help of the other."

In the *Journal and Guide*, a Negro newspaper, the story ended: "The case arose from an incident in which one of the youths was kissed by a white girl."

Did the two papers get the identical story from the UPI? Did one of the editors change the original wording to give the story a different slant?

In fact, there is a third version of this story in the March, 1959 issue of *Southern School News*, which has a very high reputation for the accuracy of its racial reporting. This story tells of "the two young Negro boys who were sent to a reform school after they allegedly forced a smaller white girl to kiss one of them." If this is what actually happened, the *Journal and Guide* distorted the story to make it more sympathetic for the Negro boys and the *Constitution* distorted its story to put greater onus on the Negro boys.

Again, one editor may decide to run a wire service story that most other papers pass up.

On May 24, 1959 an AP story from Columbia, S. C., appeared on page 1 of the Charleston *News and Courier* under the headline:

Waring Urges
News Watch
For South

The story was a report of a speech by Thomas A. Waring, editor of the *News and Courier*, to the South Carolina AP News Council, urging Southern editors to monitor wire service news to be sure that it gives a truthful interpretation of racial occurrences in the South. He said the wire services are being subjected to "terrific pressure from big, powerful papers in the North to play up racial discord in the South" and that it is up to Southern editors to see that at least a truthful version goes to the North and to try to offset this pressure from the North by putting on pressure from the South for racial news happenings up North.

Now this story may well have been carried by many Southern newspapers, but it was not observed in the other papers surveyed.

As another example of editorial selection, the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* carried an INS story from Paris by Keith Lampe on September 21, 1957 under an inside page streamer, "Racial Clashes Over Integration Hurt U. S. Overseas."

The story was an interview with Rep. Adam C. Powell (D., N.Y.) who said that racial incidents like the Little Rock integration fight "have already had a calamitous effect on U. S. prestige abroad.

"Before sailing for home aboard the liner United States," the story continued, "Mr. Powell said the subject had come up in his talks with Italians, Frenchmen, Jugoslavs, Russians and Britons. He said:

" 'All of them brought forward their particular national problems and pointed out that our background is now so dirty they no longer can respect U. S. moral leadership or advice. The French now feel easier with their Algerian problem, the Russians with Hungary, the British with Suez'."

Again, this same story may have appeared in many American papers, but it was not observed in any of the other papers surveyed.

There is one interesting example of a Southern racial story which evidently no wire service handled at all.

On June 8, 1958, the Washington *Post and Times Herald* broke a story headed "Death and Violence Terrorize Negroes of Georgia Town." It was written by staff reporter Robert E. Lee Baker, was datelined Dawson, Ga., and ran for 86 inches. The first few paragraphs itemized that a Negro was beaten severely in his front yard by police, that he was hauled senseless into court and died five days later from a crushed skull, that another Negro was shot to death in his back yard by police, and that a third Negro was shot in the buttocks by police when they investigated a juke joint.

On June 10, 1958 the Atlanta *Constitution* ran a 25-inch story by staff writer Jack Nelson under the headline:

No Atmosphere of Fear Found

Among Negro Citizens of Dawson

Reporter Nelson wrote that "Two of the town's leading Negroes — a school principal and an undertaker—said they knew of no reason for Negroes to be afraid." He also interviewed witnesses of the alleged brutality cases and talked to local law enforcement officers. In the same issue the *Constitution* carried a four-inch story from its Washington bureau, saying that a spokesman for the Justice Department said that charges would be brought against persons in Dawson if an investigation determined the civil rights of Negroes had been violated.

On June 15 the Louisville *Courier-Journal* carried a story from the New York *Times* News Service out of Washington saying that the Justice Department in Washington "was investigating charges that police in rural Dawson, Ga., have brutally mistreated Negroes."

No mention of the Dawson, Ga., "brutality case" was found during the entire week in the other papers surveyed.

What happened? Did the wire services not send out a story on this situation? Or did the various newspapers not consider it worth running?

Here again there was the matter of selection—either on the part of newspaper editors or on the part of the wire services.

It is obvious to even the casual reader of Southern newspapers that a great amount of space is being given to racial news. Racial conflict still gets greater coverage than racial cooperation, for both newspapers and their readers still consider conflict more newsworthy and more readable than lack of conflict.

Southern newspapers are also giving more attention to Negro news, even news that is not based upon conflict. Many of the papers segregate their Negro news by placing it all on one page; others use Negro news wherever it fits into the newspaper's various departments. More papers are finding it natural and easy to use the titles "Mr." and "Mrs." and "Miss" in their Negro news stories. This policy appears to meet with appreciation on the part of Negro readers and with little serious objections from other readers.

There is still wide variance in the policy of using Negro pictures in Southern newspapers. For example, the Asheville, N. C., *Citizen* has a column entitled "About Western N. C. People." One column during June, 1959 had an item about three white students making the Dean's List at Furman University in South Carolina—and another note about a Negro girl winning a scholarship given by the School of Law at Howard University in Washington, D. C. There was also a half-column cut of the Negro girl.

On the other hand, in August, 1956 *Time* magazine cited the action of the Wilmington, N. C., *Morning Star,* "which went to press with a front-page picture of four Marine witnesses in the court-martial of Sergeant Matthew C. McKeon . . . One of the Marines was a Negro. The deskman met the crisis by ordering a pressman to take hammer and chisel to the press plate. Next morning Private Ervin's ragged ghost haunted the spot where the *Morning Star* cut out the Negro and spited its front page."

It is not too surprising that a North Carolina Negro newspaper carried a long editorial on this incident under the head: "The Depths of Journalistic Depravity."

With such a wide range in the handling of racial news by various Southern newspapers, it would be revealing to examine, in detail, just how six papers did report, edit, headline and display eight different news stories dealing with racial incidents. It should also be enlightening to compare the treatment in Southern papers with treatment in the New York *Times,* which is generally taken in the United States to be "the newspaper of record."

1. DAVIS AND HANSEN REPORTS ON WASHINGTON INTEGRATION

DECEMBER 1956—FEBRUARY 1957

On December 28 and 29, 1956, most of the newspapers carried an account of the report of the House of Representatives subcommittee headed by James C. Davis (D., Ga.) on integration of the Washington, D. C., schools, with a recommendation that segregation be reinstated. On February 11 or 12, 1957, most of the papers carried an account of the brochure-report of Carl F. Hansen, assistant superintendent of the Washington schools,* called *Miracle of Social Adjustment,* in which he refuted the Davis report and maintained that integration had gone well in Washington schools.

The manner in which newspapers reported these significant and quite contradictory stories provides one of the most illuminating and interesting aspects of this present study.

First of all, it might be pointed out that the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* did not carry any account of the unfavorable Davis committee report, but carried the Hansen report on the front page under a 2-column head. Conversely, the Raleigh *News and Observer* did not carry any news of the Hansen report in the week studied, but carried the Davis committee report on the front page under a 1-column head. All other papers carried stories on both reports—but played them up very differently.

The six white newspapers all played the Davis committee report on page one, the stories ranging in length from 17 inches in the Raleigh *News and Observer* to 85 inches (on three successive days) in the Charleston *News and Courier.* The Hansen report made front page only in the Norfolk *Journal and Guide,* where it received 14 inches of space. Other papers placed it on inside pages, giving it 15 inches (New York *Times),* 12 inches (Charleston), 20 inches (Atlanta), and 7 inches (Memphis).

Even though these two stories were similar (although on opposite sides), most of the papers obviously felt that the official nature of the Davis report, coming from a sub-committee of Congress, gave it greater news value. The great difference in play given the two similar stories could not, therefore, be attributed solely to how the individual newspapers felt on the subject of integration in Washington.

Of the papers which handled the Davis committee report, the New York *Times* gave it the smallest play, placing the story under an inconspicious 1-column headline near the bottom of the page:

Four in House Urge
Capital Segregation

The story was written by Bess Furman, special to the New York *Times,* and began:

"The majority report of four Southern members of a Congressional sub-committee recommended today that Negro and white students again be separated in the District of Columbia schools.

"The recommendation was issued as a last-minute addition to the majority report of a House of Representatives subcommittee that investigated school conditions here."

The story appeared to be scrupulously fair, with long excerpts from the report itself, remarks from Representatives Davis, Broyhill, Williams, and Jones of the majority and Representative Hyde of the minority.

There was also a statement from Gerhard Van Arkel, chairman of the Washington Committee for the Public Schools, who called the majority report "a foolhardy attempt to smash education."

One of the excerpts quoted from the minority report was: "In a close reading of the hearings, we must come to the conclusion that the technical staff presented leading questions to a select group of witnesses. While we do not doubt the honesty or sincerity of the witnesses who testified, the testimony does not appear to be well-balanced or objective since persons with views not in accord with those of the counsel were not given full and fair opportunity to testify."

---

*Now superintendent.

Tacked on to Bess Furman's account was an AP story with more quotes from both sides of the controversy, including a statement from Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, who said that conclusions of the committee were "preconceived" and added: "The whole fiasco was a total waste of the taxpayers' money. The committee could have saved these funds simply by announcing its preconceived recommendation without benefit of any hearing."

Both the Raleigh *News and Observer* and the Atlanta *Constitution* used the AP story on the Davis report, beginning:

> A House subcommittee dominated by Southerners recommended today that racial segregation be restored in the public schools here.
>
> Its report did not attempt to square this recommendation with the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling that segregation of white and Negro students in public schools is unconstitutional.

The story quoted from the majority and minority reports and also the "counterblast" from the Washington Committee for the Public Schools.

The Atlanta paper added a statement from Chairman Davis at his home in Georgia, but also quoted Roy Wilkins, not, however, using the Wilkins statement that the report was "preconceived."

The Memphis *Commercial Appeal* ran a story by Morris Cunningham of its Washington Bureau, with full coverage of both majority and minority reports. This interesting paragraph was included:

"While the report may prove helpful to those seeking to prevent or delay integration in other areas, there appeared little likelihood of Congressional approval of the subcommittee's views and recommendations."

The *Commercial Appeal* also carried a front-page story by Bob Marks, interviewing Memphis Attorney William Gerber, who attacked the minority report and termed it "political."

On Friday, December 28, the Charleston *News and Courier* ran 14 inches of the AP story, listing in full the ten "findings" of the committee, all critical of integration.

Then on Saturday, December 29, the Charleston paper ran a special 53-inch account by its Washington correspondent, Roulhac Hamilton, under a 6-column headline:

D. C. School Segregation Urged

Probe Report Hits Integration Evils

One paragraph of the story read: "Two Republican members, neither of whom attended the subcommittee's hearings during the fall, refused to sign the report and indicated they would attempt either to defeat or nullify it when it comes up before the full district committee."

On Sunday, December 30, the *News and Courier* carried another story on page 3-A under a 6-column head: "D. C. School Aides Hit Probe Report." It was by-lined "By Washington Correspondent" but no name was used.

Part of the story was a statement from William E. Gerber of Memphis, counsel for the subcommittee, who said the minority report by Miller and Hyde was made "for political purposes only."

A considerable portion of the story was devoted to the Washington *Post and Times-Herald:*

> The Washington Post and Times-Herald, pro-integration morning newspaper, attacked the report editorially this morning. In its front-page news story on the report the Post 'played down' the recommendations of the majority that integration be ended in schools here, not mentioning it until the end of the fourth paragraph of the story.
>
> Editorially, the Post charged the committee majority with an 'espousal of lawlessness' [which] is somewhat remarkable for an instrumentality of the U. S. Congress.

It called the report "a clear picture of the prejudices and preconceptions held by the subcommittee's white supremacy Southern majority" and accused Davis and Williams, who attended all of the hearings, with having been "impervious to what they heard except as it happened to suit their special purposes."

The Post asserted that "perhaps this warped view will make effective horror reading for the Southern cities which the subcommittee members want to turn away from conscientious compliance with the Supreme Court's mandate; but it will be recognized by anyone familiar with the District of Columbia as sheer nonsense."

The *News and Courier's* entire handling of the Davis report magnified the story considerably beyond its actual news value and seemed obviously designed to cater to the emotions and prejudices of readers rather than to inform them of newsworthy events in proper perspective.

Now let's see how the various newspapers played up the Hansen report, which was a favorable picture of integration in the Washington schools.

First of all, why did the Raleigh *News and Observer* not use the story at all? On other racial stories, it has shown a consistently fair attitude and omitted no essential information on either side of a story. Examination of the issues of the paper from Sunday, February 10, through Sunday, February 17, showed that the North Carolina Legislature was in session and a great deal of space was devoted to coverage of its actions.

The New York *Times* ran a story by its Washington correspondent, Bess Furman, over on page 31 under a 1-column head. It began:

The Washington school system's defense of its integration program was issued today. It was in effect an answer to a House of Representatives subcommittee report that had recommended a return to segregation.

The six-chapter philosophical and documented study titled *Miracle of Social Adjustment* was written by Carl F. Hansen, Assistant Superintendent of Schools. It was published by the Anti-Defamation Leauge of B'nai B'rith in its Freedom Pamphlet Series.

The study expanded Dr. Hansen's testimony of last September before the House subcommittee. At that time he said: "The integration program in this city has been a miracle of social adjustment."

This story went on to give a resume of Dr. Hansen's report and a review of the Davis subcommittee report and the NAACP charge that the subcommittee was "stacked."

The Atlanta *Constitution* also used a Bess Furman story, but the lead ran: "The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith today issued the Washington school system's answer to the Davis subcommittee report which recommended a return to segregation."

Instead of using a straight story on the Hansen report, the Memphis *Commercial Appeal* ran a 7-inch AP story beginning:

The national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League criticized as "one-sided and negative" the report of a House subcommittee which recommended that District of Columbia schools return to racial segregation.

The League is a division of B'nai B'rith, Jewish service organization.

Anti-Defamation League Chairman Henry Edward Schultz, a member of the New York City Board of Higher Education, made his comment in connection with publication by the ADL of a report on District desegregation by Carl F. Hansen, assistant superintendent of schools.

Mr. Schultz said the report, titled *A Miracle of Social Adjustment*, was written before the report by the House subcommittee, headed by Rep. James C. Davis (D., Ga.), was published on December 28.

"It is not intended as a rebuttal to the subcommittee's findings," Mr. Schultz said. "Nevertheless, Dr. Hansen's own evaluation of the integration program stands in strong contradiction to and offsets the conclusions of the subcommittee."

Having ignored the critical report of the Davis subcommittee in its issues of December 29, January 5, January 12, and January 19, the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* ran a 14-inch story under a 2-column head on the front page about the Hansen report. It did not clutter up its lead with any round-about discussion of the Anti-Defamation League, or B'nai B'rith, or Mr. Shultz, but got immediately to the point:

> A District of Columbia educator reports that integration of the city schools is a "miracle of social adjustment."
>
> Dr. Carl F. Hansen, assistant director of the Washington schools, said this week the pattern of breaking down classroom segregation could serve as a model for parents and educators throughout the South.
>
> His detailed report, issued Sunday, took issue with a study made by a Congressional Committee headed by Rep. James C. Davis (D., Ga.) which was published on Dec. 28. This group, composed mainly of Southern law-makers, concluded that segregation should be restored.

Newspaper handling of these two contradictory stories about integration in the Washington schools is a striking example of a charge often made against American newspapers: that they play up the controversial news about conflict and play down the quieter stories which do not concern violence. The Davis report, which criticized the school situation and was made by a committee majority admittedly hostile to integration, was splashed over the front pages. The Hansen report, which called the school situation "a miracle of adjustment" and was made by the educator closest to the schools, was buried on inside pages. Even the New York *Times* carried the Hansen story on page 31, although it had carried the Davis story on page 1.

Instead of carrying the Hansen report clearly and quickly identified as a report of the Washington schools made by a man who should know the situation best, the assistant superintendent, several of the papers led off either with the fact that the Hansen report was issued by the B'nai B'rith or with an actual quotation from the chairman of the Anti-Defamation League. This treatment certainly obscured the news element in the story and probably prevented its being read by many of the people who had read the earlier Davis report story.

2. CIVIL RIGHTS ACT—AUGUST 1957

Passage by the U. S. Senate of the Civil Rights bill on Thursday night, August 29, 1957, by a vote of 60 to 15, provided a revealing opportunity to study some of the differences in newspaper coverage, both in amount of space devoted to the story and in the treatment accorded the record filibuster by Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

This was front-page news for each of the seven newspapers studied; and each paper gave it the lead position on the front page. The New York *Times*, Louisville *Courier-Journal* and Raleigh *News and Observer* played the story under 3-column headlines. The Memphis *Commercial Appeal* gave it a 4-column head.

But the Atlanta *Constitution*, the Charleston *News and Courier*, and the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* all gave the story streamer headlines—not necessarily for the same reasons.

Length of the main stories on the Senate action ranged from 18 inches in the Raleigh *News and Observer* to 36 inches in the New York *Times*. The papers also carried from 10 to 17 inches of sidelights on Senator Thurmond. But in the Charleston *News and Courier*, which obviously considered Senator Thurmond the hero of the occasion, there were three stories on Thurmond, adding up to 95 inches of space.

In the New York *Times* story by William S. White, after an explanation of the significance of the Civil Rights bill and of Thurmond's filibuster, there was this paragraph: "The rest of the Southerners stonily boycotted Senator Thurmond's display. They deeply resented it as what one of the most authentic of the all-out anti-civil rights leaders, Senator Herman Talmadge of Georgia, called a 'grandstand' performance that endangered the basic Southern cause."

The Louisville *Courier-Journal*, in a story "from wire dispatches," pointed out: "But they (other Southern Senators) shunned the filibuster tactics. Some of them were critical—privately or openly—of Thurmond. They grumbled that he had made a grandstand play to the folks at home and 'defected' from an agreement not to filibuster."

The Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, in a story by Morris Cunningham of its Washington Bureau, reported: "Other Dixie Senators were embarrassed, and in some instances, angered, by Senator Thurmond's unheralded, headline-grabbing exploit."

One note of somewhat humorous interchange was also reported: "The Carolinian said passage of the bill would force 'cruel and inhuman treatment on citizens of this country.' Senator Knowland suggested Mr. Thurmond was giving 'cruel and inhuman punishment to his Senate colleagues.' "

And perhaps the most vivid description of Senator Thurmond was this: "His knees were trembling. His voice, dry as a drought-stricken cotton field, often seemed at the point of failure."

But the picture drawn of Senator Strom Thurmond in his home-state paper, the Charleston *News and Courier*, was a vastly different one.

The streamer headline for Saturday, August 30, was: "Compromise Force Bill Is Passed." Under this was a 6-column headline:

Thurmond Sets Filibuster Mark
In Fighting 'Civil Rights' Bill

The sub-head read: "Talks for 23 Hours, 12 Minutes, to 'Educate' Others on Evils."

The story itself was written by Roulhac Hamilton, Washington correspondent for the Charleston paper. It began: "Sen. Strom Thurmond, the lone voice from the South, tonight set an all-time individual record in his protest against the 'civil rights' force bill."

Another Thurmond story, also on the front page and also written by Roulhac Hamilton, appeared under a 3-colum headline:

South's Senators
Desert Thurmond

Through this generally laudatory story ran such phrases as "gallant one-man battle," and "many messages of support reminded Thurmond that he had apparently become the sole hope of the South," and "the man who was carrying the ball for the entire Southern way of life."

It is interesting to note that all the papers, except Charleston, referred to the bill as "the Civil Rights Bill"; but the *News and Courier* labeled it "the compromise force bill." This phrasing appeared to be an unnecessary effort to revive the emotional reactions of the Reconstruction Era.

The Raleigh *News and Observer*, in its Washington AP story, gave some play to the role of Georgia's Senator Russell: "Southern Democrats, furious with South Carolina's Sen. Thurmond for breaking ranks to filibuster against the compromise Civil Rights Bill, today gave Senator Russell of Georgia the major credit for the fight against a stronger measure.

"Russell himself said the Dixie bloc had succeeded in pulling the fangs of legislation which, in its original form, could have brought about 'the social intermingling of the races from the kindergarten to the grave' and destroyed Southern civilization 'beyond the hope of redemption.' "

There was little difference in the way the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* handled the Civil Rights Act story—except in giving it a streamer headline, just as Charleston and Atlanta did. The headline declared: "President Awaits First 'Rights' Bill in 80 Years."

The story itself, 26 inches written by INS reporter Rose McKee, included this mention of Thurmond: "Sen. Strom Thurmond (D., S. C.), in something of a one-man filibuster against the measure, kept the Senate in session into the early morning hours, even though Southerners had conceded earlier that they had no chance to block action through a full-fledged talkathon."

3. TROOPS TO LITTLE ROCK—SEPTEMBER 1957

The Little Rock story, like the bus strike in Montgomery or the Autherine Lucy case at the University of Alabama, is long and involved, with many different incidents reported in newspapers over periods of weeks and months. For the purposes of comparison, one particular incident was selected for study—the decision of President Eisenhower to send federal troops into Little Rock and the violence evident that day. The stories appeared on Tuesday, September 24, 1957.

All the papers gave the Eisenhower story front-page treatment, with 8-column streamer headlines, except for Louisville, which gave it the lead position with a 5-column head, and the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, which gave it six columns on Saturday, September 28, the first issue after the event.

The New York *Times* gave it the most complete coverage, with seven stories, adding up to 225 inches of news. Atlanta also had seven stories (135 inches), plus a column by Ralph McGill. Raleigh, Memphis, and Charleston ran five stories each, with Louisville covering the subject in three stories.

There was little variation in the content of the major headlines in the various papers. "President Threatens to Use U. S. Troops" said the NY *Times*. "Ike Clears Way for Use of Troops" said the Charleston *News and Courier*. There was no emotion either for or against the President's actions in the headlines—just the facts.

The *News and Courier* did, however, use a front-page story from Sea Island, Ga., where the Southern Governors were in session, quoting Gov. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., of South Carolina, as saying: "If Eisenhower has threatened to call out the troops to force integration, then it is evident that he is trying to set himself up as a dictator and is further evidence of an effort to communize the country."

And the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* carried a feature story on Mrs. Daisy Bates, with a 3-column head: "Woman Leads the Way—The Wounds Will Heal at Little Rock."

Most of the papers carried statements from Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus from Sea Island saying that the President could not order troops to Little Rock unless he requested them—and he would not make such a request. Play on this story varied from a scant two inches in Louisville to 26 inches in Atlanta, which also had an interview of 17 inches with Georgia's Gov. Marvin Griffin.

An interesting example of how point of view may have determined point of headline was in the Atlanta *Constitution* this same day. An AP story out of Washington gave comments from various Congressmen as to what the President should do about Little Rock. The first paragraph quoted Rep. Keating (R., N.Y.) as saying that the President *should* use troops if necessary. The second paragraph quoted Senator McClellan (D., Ark.) as saying the President had no right to use troops.

The headline read:

McClellan Says Civil Rights Bill

Outlaws Troops Use In Arkansas

While the stories on Eisenhower's action were singularly free of emotional slant, the New York *Times* reporter, W. H. Lawrence, did say, "President Eisenhower *angrily* threatened today to use whatever force may be necessary." And Morris Cunningham, writing for the Memphis *Commercial Appeal,* pointed out: "The President's threat to use troops was a complete reversal of his previous, repeated disavowals of such drastic measures in the integration controversy. . . . The President's forceful new approach to the school integration problem, apparently provoked by the new violence in Little Rock, is a policy long sought by the NAACP and other integrationist groups."

Much of the space on September 24 was devoted to descriptions of the mob action in Little Rock.

The *Times* had a detailed story by its staff writer, Benjamin Fine, out of Little Rock: "A mob of belligerent, shrieking and hysterical demonstrators forced the withdrawal today of nine Negro students from Central High School here. Despite a heavy turnout of local and state police to see that the Negroes were not molested in Little Rock's newest attempt to integrate the high school, city authorities bowed to the fury of about 1,000 white supremacists. They ordered the Negro students to leave the school about noon. The integration attempt had lasted 3 hours, 13 minutes."

A quotation from Little Rock students used in this story and several others was: "Two, four, six, eight, we ain't gonna integrate."

In another *Times* story, this one by Farnesworth Fowles about the police pressing the mob back at the school barricades, was this statement: "Benjamin Fine of the New York Times, a familiar figure now in Little Rock, was repeatedly and deliberately jostled and received several light blows."

In addition to the seven front-page stories, the *Times* devoted all of page 18 to runovers and pictures of the Little Rock story: a four-column picture of the angry mob pressing against the barricades; four-column picture of Alex Wilson, Memphis Negro newsman, being attacked; three-column picture of a photographer being roughed up; and a two-column feature with a 1-column cut of Mrs. Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas branch of the NAACP.

One of the most effective pieces of description of the trouble in Little Rock was written for the AP by Relman Morin and Keith Fuller and appeared in the Louisville paper. The story included these paragraphs:

> Morin gave this eyewitness account of the violence at the school Monday morning: It was exactly like an explosion, a human explosion.
>
> At 8:35 a.m. the people standing in front of the high school looked like the ones you see every day in a shopping center . . . Five minutes later, at 8:40, they were a mob.
>
> The terrifying spectacle of 200-odd individuals, suddenly welded together into a single body, took place in the barest fraction of a second. It was an explosion, savagery chain-reacting from person to person, fusing them into a white-hot mass.

Later in the story, after the Negro students had gone into the school, a woman with auburn hair and a green jacket rushed up to the man who had yelled, "Oh, God, the niggers are in the school!"

"Her face," said the reporters, "was working with fury now.

"Her lips drew back in a snarl and she was screaming, 'Did they go in?'

" 'The niggers are in the school,' the man said.

" 'Oh, God,' she said. She covered her face with her hands. Then she tore her hair, still screaming.

"She looked exactly like the women who cluster around a mine head when there has been an explosion and men are trapped below."

4. NEGROES ENTER NORFOLK SCHOOLS—FEBRUARY 1959

On Monday, February 2, 1959, the first Negro students went to white schools in Virginia, 17 in Norfolk and four in Arlington. Virginia's "massive resistance" had come to an end. This event was a front-page story in all seven papers studied, but the display varied from a 2-column head in the New York *Times* to a 6-column head in the Charleston *News and Courier*. The Norfolk *Journal and Guide* gave it a 5-column head—and used 93 inches of stories compared to the 30-40 inches in the other papers.

Most papers used the general AP story by Douglas B. Cornell, datelined Richmond, which began:

> Virginia glumly gave way to racial integration Monday and hesitantly took 21 Negro children into several white schools.
>
> The Negro pupils came and went unmolested at schools in Norfolk and Arlington County. In each community a few white children refused to attend school with them, picked up their books and left.
>
> Special police details turned out to maintain order. But they didn't have to work at it. There was no commotions, serious incidents, or even catcalls—only the usual loud chatter of teen-agers.
>
> Yet it was with grimness and discontent that the Old Dominion watched the ancient ramparts of segregation start tumbling down in a state that once paced the Southland in massive resistance to the mixing of races in the schools.

Newspapers varied considerably in the way they headlined this emotion-laden story. The Memphis *Commercial-Appeal* picked up "glumly" and "hesitantly" and used this headline:

Glum Virginians Give Ground,
Hesitantly Mix Some Classes;
Integration Proceeds Quietly

The Charleston *News and Courier* did likewise:

Reluctant Virginia Accepts
Integration in 7 Schools

The Atlanta *Constitution*, the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, and the Raleigh *News and Observer* simply indicated that the schools were integrated "peacefully" and made no mention of "glumness" or "reluctance" or "hesitance" in their headlines.

Pictures were effectively used with the Norfolk story. The Atlanta *Constitution* had a 3-column cut showing a Negro girl in class with white junior high students. The Raleigh *News and Observer* had a dramatic picture of a Negro boy: "Lewis Cousins sits alone in corner of Maury High School auditorium. . . . He was the only Negro pupil assigned to Maury; white students sit in background." The Norfolk *Journal and Guide* used two pictures on the front page, a 3-column picture of two Negro girls entering Norview High and a 4-column picture of three Negro students entering the school.

The weakest point in the coverage of the Norfolk story was the lack of color, human interest, or background material that might have explained how the students or their parents felt about this momentous change in their way of life.

The New York *Times* did have a story by reporter Homer Bigart out of Norfolk and one by Anthony Lewis out of Arlington, which brought in some of the available human drama. The Memphis *Commercial-Appeal* sent a staff writer, Morris Cunningham, to Norfolk, and he talked to school officials, newsmen, and some children, but his story was more factual than colorful. The Raleigh *News and Observer* sent one of its ablest reporters, Charles Craven, who wrote a good human interest story after talking to some of the students about their interests and their opinions on integration and watching the first two Negro girls arrive. The Atlanta

Constitution was satisfied with Douglas B. Cornell's AP story out of Richmond, but the Charleston *News and Courier* and the Memphis *Commercial-Appeal* also ran Arthur Edson's AP color story from Arlington, with such touches of description as this: "At 7:55 the first white student arrived. Prim little thing. Looked like the kind that dusts a mean eraser. Marched by without a look to left or right."

Being right on the spot the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* gave by far the most vivid description of what was happening. In addition to the UPI lead story there were four on-the-spot color stories by reporters P. Bernard Young, Obie McCollum, Lin Holloway, and John "Rover" Jordan.

Mr. Holloway interviewed the parents of the Negro students, who said they had not been expecting any trouble. Mr. Young wrote a very interesting interview with the two "lone girls" who desegregated two of the Norfolk schools. He gave special emphasis to Geraldine Talley's decision as to whether she should arrive "late" at 9:15 on the first day as suggested by the school principal or to come with others at 9. She actually arrived at 9:02. The reporter wrote: "One lonely girl walking across a deserted schoolyard was not the picture to be flashed around the world by various news media if integration was to have meaning."

Here are his final two paragraphs: "I am very glad we had in Norfolk a Geraldine Virginia Talley and a Betty Jean Reid, two of the wonderful '17' who helped make the historic May 17, 1954 decision a living reality in a keystone Southern state.

"They are kids to be proud of. They, I am sure, don't realize it fully but history was written by them on Monday 'for the ages.' "

5. THE POPLARVILLE LYNCHING—APRIL 1959

A revealing study in contrast and comparison may be made of the newspaper handling of the lynching of Mack C. Parker, Negro, in Poplarville, Miss. on Saturday, April 25, 1959, and the arrest of four white men for rape in Tallahassee, Fla. on Saturday, May 2, 1959.

The Poplarville lynching made front page in six of the seven newspapers examined. Only the Atlanta *Constitution* played it down to the extent of running the story on page 2-A under a 2-column head.

The Tallahassee rape case, on the other hand, was front page news for only the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, which gave it a 2-column head, and for the Raleigh *News and Observer*, which gave it a 3-column head. Other papers buried it in the body of the paper, the New York *Times*, for instance, placing it on page 45 under a 1-column head.

The New York *Times* reported the Poplarville lynching in a 25-inch UPI story, which began: "A lynch mob of masked white men broke into the country jail here early today, beat an accused Negro rapist in his cell and dragged him to a waiting car." The headline stated:

Lynch Mob Seizes

Mississippi Negro

The Louisville *Courier-Journal* used a 22-inch AP story, including more details and more emotional phrasing: "Gun-wielding terrorists—faces masked and hands gloved—dragged a screaming Negro charged with raping a white woman from his jail cell early Saturday. They vanished by car into the wooded hills of Southern Mississippi."

This story also quoted the Jackson, Miss., *Daily News* as calling for "swift justice for the men who kidnaped Parker," and declaring that such an act "strikes fear into the heart of every Mississippian."

The most extensive coverage was given by the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, which not only gave the principal account of the lynching a 2-column head at the top left of the front page, but also carried five additional sidelight stories on an inside page, with pictures of Parker and Sheriff Moody.

The front-page story, by staff writer Kenneth Toler, emphasized the fact that 16 FBI agents had set up headquarters in Poplarville "to start an extensive investigation into the abduction and apparent lynching of a young Negro accused of assaulting a white woman." Sheriff Moody was quoted as saying: "Blood-splattered hand stains were found indicating Parker had been pulled feet first through the building to the street."

Accompanying stories include two from Poplarville pointing out "Victim of Mob Awaited Trial," and "Town Surprised by Mob Action"; one from Washington, "Mob Action Spurs Rights Law Pleas"; and one from Tuskegee, Ala., saying "Lynching Records Show Big Decline."

The fifth story, 13 inches, came from Jackson, Miss., and had interviews with Mississippi's Governor Coleman, the Negro attorney defending Parker, and the President of the Young Democrats of Mississippi, all deploring the lynching. The headline read: "Stronger Civil Rights Laws Feared Result of Kidnaping."

The Atlanta *Constitution,* after placing the original Poplarville story on the second page of the Sunday edition, moved it to page 1 on Monday, April 27, with a 2-column headline, "Witness Describes Negro Kidnaping."

In the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* the Poplarville story was reported from a somewhat different angle. On Saturday, May 2, there was a 22-inch story, "Special to the Journal and Guide," under this 2-column head: "Mississippi's 578th: Mob Lynches Man in Law's Custody."

Here is the beginning of the story: "Poplarville, Miss.—Indications here are that a colored man was dragged out of a jail cell, brutally beaten and hauled away to be lynched last Friday night simply because somebody figured that the state would not be able to put the man to death on a rape charge he was to face trial on Monday.

"As quietly as it is being kept, the possibility exists that Mack Charles (M. C.) Parker—who is most likely a lynch victim as this is being written—would have subsequently won his freedom had it not been for last Friday's raid on the county jail here by a masked and gloved lynch-bent mob."

(The story then pointed out that if Parker had been convicted, the case would have been appealed because no Negroes were on the venire from which the indicting grand jury was drawn.)

The following paragraphs, taken from the story, indicate a definite point of view in the reporting:

> Mute evidence of the raid is still given in the jail, where every stair step for the full three floors bears bloodstains despite scrubbings. Bloody handprints are also to be found on the walls beside the stairs. These handprints were placed there by Parker as he tried to hold on as he was dragged, feet-first, downward, his head hitting on every stair.
>
> Local and state officials are putting on a good show of hunting for the abductors. The efforts of local and state men are half-hearted, however. They remember a statement, "He would have been found guilty anyway," made by Gov. J. P. Coleman at a press conference.

6. TALLAHASSEE RAPE CASE—MAY 1959

The Tallahassee rape case, in which four young white men were charged with raping a Negro coed at Florida A. and M. University on Saturday, May 2, 1959, had extensive coverage when the case came to trial, but drew relatively little attention in the first story.

Biggest display of the story was in the Raleigh *News and Observer,* a 3-column headline on the front page (the same display was given to the Poplarville lynching). The Atlanta

Constitution, instead of handling it as a separate story, ran the facts as part of a 10-inch story headlined "6 Dixie States Report Race Violence Cases." The story also included the latest facts in the Poplarville lynching. Tagged onto the story was a short AP dispatch from Washington quoting Roy Wilkins of the NAACP as saying that the Parker kidnaping made it almost certain that no Southerner could get on the national Democratic ticket in 1960.

On another page in the Atlanta paper the same day was a 10-inch story of an interview with Georgia Representative James C. Davis headlined, "Davis Blames Rabid Foes for South Tragedy." Davis said that he and all Southerners were "shocked by the abduction of the Negro in Mississippi," and that "until the integrators became so rabid, such tragic incidents had declined and ended."

The interview continued: "Some people undoubtedly feel that they have their backs against the wall.

"The South is a peaceful, friendly, courteous, kind and Christian community.

"I say to my friends in the North: Stop driving us against the wall. Leave us alone. Stop harassing us with these silly nostrums with a Northern label."

On Tuesday, May 5, the *Constitution* carried an AP story from Tallahassee reporting a statement from the administrative council of Florida A. and M. University that "the press, radio and television have reported the crime with completeness and without bias."

The Raleigh, Charleston, and Atlanta papers did not include in their Tallahassee story any account of the reaction of Florida Negro leaders; but both the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, as well as the N. Y. *Times*, added this paragraph: "A Tallahassee Negro leader, Dr. M. C. Williams, charged angrily: 'If the situation had been reversed, four colored men would be dead now. I'd bet my life on that.' "

Practically every paper included this paragraph somewhere in the story: "The death penalty can be imposed for rape but no white man has ever gone to the Florida electric chair for that crime."

The Norfolk *Journal and Guide* on Saturday, May 9, carried a 22-inch story on page 1 under the headline: "White Men Rape Co-ed—Eyes of World on Florida: 'Will Justice Be Done?' "

Under a Tallahassee dateline, "Special to the Journal and Guide," the story began in literary rather than factual style:

> There are seven hills in Tallahassee and atop at least three of those hills there is a unity of spirit that tends to focus the eyes of the world on the Florida capitol, site of one of the most despicable sexual attacks of record.
>
> Atop one hill, a thousand students of A. and M. University have launched a weeklong period of prayer seeking sympathy for their efforts to see the full power of the law brought to bear against four young white men who abducted a co-ed from their campus Friday night and took turns raping her.
>
> Atop another hill, the 19-year-old co-ed is still undergoing treatment for the ills she suffered at the hands of her sex-mad, moonshine-crazed assailants.
>
> Atop the third hill, students of Florida State University are roundly expressing sentiment with the Florida A. and M. University students. While no indication is given that they will join in the prayer protest, some students at the school openly express themselves as being "for full punishment of the rapists."

Carrying the Tallahassee story to its conclusion, we can also note the different handling of the jury's verdict of guilty in the white press and the Negro press.

On Sunday, June 14, 1959, the Raleigh *News and Observer* carried an AP story from Tallahassee, saying simply: "Four white youths were convicted early Sunday in the rape of a 19-year-old Negro coed, but a white male jury spared the lives of all." The New York *Times*,

in a front-page story, said: "Four white youths were convicted early today of raping a 19-year-old Negro coed. The jury recommended mercy, thus sparing their lives."

Negro newspapers, however, felt very deeply about the results of the trial—and did not hesitate to indicate their feeling in the stories they ran.

Baltimore *Afro-American:* "Florida says 'no.' Rape, even mass rape of a colored woman, is not cause to execute a white man. A Leon County circuit court jury of 12 true-to-tradition white men made it inescapably clear at 12:35 Sunday morning, that death for rape is only for colored men accused by white women."

Carolina *Times:* "An all-white male jury decided that four white men who raped a young Florida A. and M. coed were not brutal and this saved the quartet from the death penalty with a recommendation for mercy."

Norfolk *Journal and Guide:*

> Florida has kept intact its record of never having made it necessary for a white man to pay the extreme penalty for the rape of a colored woman.
>
> That, basically, is the three-day-long trial here last week in which four white men were convicted for the mass rape of a young Florida A. and M. University coed.
>
> The eyes of the world were focused on Tallahassee, the capital of Florida, during the trial to see if there was a possibility that the system of 'one code of justice for colored and one for white' would be changed. (It did not.) Even though an all-male, all-white jury found the men accused in the rape of the college girl guilty, the jury recommended mercy.

Later in the story mention was made that the "four white men were said to come from broken homes." The reporter then added: "A thorough investigation by newsmen has pointed up the fact that no one has yet taken the time to determine the kind of homes four colored men now awaiting execution in the State Prison came from. These four, being colored, received the death sentence—'background' or no background.

"While not vindictive, colored citizens look askance at the verdict of the jury."

The unequal play given by most papers to these two similar stories—the Poplarville lynching and the Tallahassee rape case—would appear to indicate a blindness, if not a weakness, in the news handling by most of the papers. The two stories are not, of course, exactly the same. The fact that a lynching occurred at Poplarville might give that story greater news value than the rape in Tallahassee. However, the readers of the two stories might well wonder whether the fact that the rape victim was a Negro girl in Tallahassee and the rape victim a white woman in Poplarville did not play an important role in the disparate treatment by the white newspapers. Certainly the Tallahassee story later developed into a big, controversial front-page story when the trial was held. News editors with greater foresight for developing news or a stronger conscience for fair play might well have recognized earlier the news value in the Tallahassee story.

7. THE RABBITS' TALE—MAY 1959

Racial news in Southern papers has not all been on the grim or violent side. There was, for instance, the fine May madness of the rabbit book, which most papers, including the Negro press, found more amusing than alarming.

This was the story about the Alabama segregationists who insisted that Garth Williams' juvenile book, *The Rabbits' Wedding,* be removed from the open shelves of the Alabama Public Library Service Division because the black rabbit married the white rabbit. This was obvious integration propaganda, said the objectors.

It was just the sort of story that publications outside the South pounced upon. The Chicago *Sun-Times* headlined the story: "What's Black and White And Can't Be Read All Over?"

Life magazine gave the story a full page with pictures. The headline was "Fuss Over Integrated Black Bunny." And the gag line was a quote from an astute Florida politician: "The book will have to go. I won't have my daughter grow up and marry a rabbit."

The New York *Times* ran a 10-inch story Friday, May 22, on page 29 under a 2-column headline:

Children's Book Stirs Alabama:

White Rabbit Weds Black Rabbit

The matter of fact story told of the book's removal from open library shelves, cited the title of a critical front-page article about the book in the Montgomery, Ala., *Home News*: "What's Good Enough for Rabbits Should Do for Mere Humans"; and quoted statements from author Garth Williams and librarian Emily Reed.

In its 11-inch UPI story on page 12 the same day the Atlanta *Constitution* used a 3-column headline. The story quoted both author and publisher as denying any "political" implications in the book, but devoted most of its space (about 8 inches) to Miss Reed, who said, "The book has not been banned. That would not be morally right. We have put it on the reserve shelf where the public can get it by request only."

"After the article appeared in the *Home News*," the story continued, "Miss Reed put out a directive to the state's public libraries, saying that 'in view of the troubled times in which we live we decided to withdraw the book from circulation.' "

The Charleston *News and Courier* waited until Saturday, May 23, then ran a four-inch story on page 9 under a 1-column head:

Ala. Legislator

Asks Burning of

Children's Book

There were only six paragraphs to the story, which began: "A legislator whose protests helped get a children's book taken off the shelves in Alabama declared Friday the book should be burned."

The Raleigh *News and Observer* ran a 10-inch story on page 2 under a 3-column headline. The final paragraph of this AP story, not used in some of the other papers, said: "He (Williams) said the book was not written for adults and that they will not understand it because it is only about a soft, furry love and has no hidden message of hate."

The Louisville *Courier-Journal* also ran the story, about 11 inches, on page 2, but dressed it up with an AP Wirephoto of legislator Eddins and a 2-column wirephoto of black and white rabbits. The cutlines ran: "COURTSHIP SCENE—This is one of the drawings by Garth Williams in his controversial book, *The Rabbits' Wedding*, showing a white girl rabbit and black boy rabbit. Sketch is at point in story where they agree to be 'all yours . . . forever and always.' "

The Memphis *Commercial Appeal* carried a 9-inch UPI story with a New York dateline on Friday, May 22, with a 1-column head on the front page, then followed it up the next day with an 11-inch AP story from Montgomery. The two stories had thorough quotes from State Senator E. O. Eddins, Miss Reed, Harper's, and author Garth Williams.

What gave distinction to the Memphis story on Friday was one short local paragraph added to the New York story: "*The Rabbits' Wedding* is available at Memphis Public Library at Peabody and McLean without restriction. It was out on loan yesterday."

Evidently Senator Eddins' objection succeeded in making the book much more widely read —and other libraries also doubtless found their copy "out on loan."

But it was the Norfolk *Journal and Guide,* Negro newspaper, that really had fun with the rabbits' tale.

On Saturday, May 30, there were three rabbit stories, all on the front page. The main story, 11 inches, was displayed in the left lead, under a 3-column head:

Shades of Hitler!

Thought Control for Children:

Segregationists Say Burn Books

Marked "Special to Journal and Guide," the story began: "Attempts at thought control and book-burning in the South are reaching into the field of children's literature. Even the little animals of fairyland must move around in separate, but not necessarily equal worlds."

After giving the principal facts of the rabbit controversy, the story pointed out that Virginia had set up a committee to probe into school books and that both South Carolina and Mississippi had banned *The Swimming Pool,* a book by Miss Alice Cobb, assistant professor in the Department of Church and Community at Scarritt College in Nashville, because it allowed white and Negro boys to swim in the same pool.

Three inches of this story were devoted to a part of a book review of *The Swimming Pool* in *The Southern Patriot* written by a 7½-year-old white boy who liked the book and concluded his review by saying, "The book shows that it's wrong to segregate white and colored people."

A 2-column cut of the jacket of *The Swimming Pool* was used, showing author Cobb with a white boy and a Negro boy. The cutlines included this sentence: "Mississippi and South Carolina have rebelled against such thoughts of brotherhood."

The second rabbit story on the front page was an 11-inch UPI account with a New York dateline, with statements from the author and from the publisher. This story had two 1-column drawings of a black rabbit and a white rabbit. The two captions read: "Little Black Rabbit Meets Br'er Jim Crow," and "Little White Rabbit Has Love Story Banned."

To top off this very thorough rabbit coverage was a story datelined Tuscaloosa, Ala. The headline read:

Farmer "Mixed"

His Horses; Fined

This story began by pointing out that the incident of the rabbits "recalls another story in which segregationists objected to 'mixing' of animals." The story tells how "Farmer John Blackman" was arrested when he rode into town on a wagon driven by a "mixed" team of horses —one white and the other black, spent the night in jail, "got a blistering lecture, Alabama style, on how colored and white had to remain separate." His white horse was confiscated, he was fined $10 and costs and ordered to drive "colored" horses in the future.

Was this story an account of something that really happened? Is it in the realm of folk myth, told so many times that it is finally taken for actuality? Is it made-up humor and not expected to be taken for true? There was no indication in the handling of the story that it differed in any way from other straight news accounts, but the name of the leading character, "John Blackman," seems to put it in the realm of allegory.

HOW GOOD A JOB *IS* THE PRESS DOING?

The preceding study of the performance of selected Southern newspapers in handling selected racial stories should help the reader determine for himself how good a job the press is doing in reporting completely, accurately, and fairly the running story of race relations and racial incidents in the South.

Other appraisals have been made from time to time. In fact, criticism of the press both from within and from without is not only constant but is also healthy. If certain newspapers have fallen into the habit of encouraging prejudiced reporting or emotion-rousing headlines, a sharp attack of criticism may well cause an editor to re-think his policies on race stories. If certain editors are merely reflecting the current point of view of their own local communities without realizing the serious effect slanted stories may have on the image of America around the world, then criticism may bring its own effective remedy of the journalist illness.

Roy E. Carter, Jr., formerly professor of journalism at the University of North Carolina and now director of the Research Division of the University of Minnesota School of Journalism, is author of two articles in the *Journalism Quarterly*, based on research in the field of newspaper coverage of race relations. In the Summer 1959 issue he wrote: "There is some evidence to the effect that the general performance of the Southern press in the field of race relations is improving. . . . Recent studies of the Southern press treatment of the segregation issue indicate that newspapers are doing a reasonably responsible job, over-all."

An earlier article in the Winter 1957 issue of *Journalism Quarterly*, in which Mr. Carter reported his study of seven North Carolina dailies, 11 North Carolina non-dailies, and several papers from other states, concluded with this paragraph:

> Although there was an apparent tendency to "downplay" news from pressure-group sources (whether pro-segregation or pro-integration), there was no contrastive development, generally, in the form of staff-originated stories designed either to delve into the issue or to "background" it. Instead, most of the papers seemed to be making gingerly use of what was offered them, without any real effort on their own part to provide affirmative coverage of a major continuing story. There were exceptions, but this was the general pattern in the papers studied.

One of the most reliable and helpful sources of objective news on the racial situation during the years since the Supreme Court decision has been the Southern Education Reporting Service in Nashville, and its monthly paper, *Southern School News*. This paper has a monthly state-by-state summary of what is happening on the integration-segregation front; and these reports have been used by many Southern newspapers, either as news stories, feature displays, or editorial background material.

C. A. McKnight, first editor of *Southern School News*, told the American Society of Newspaper Editors back in 1955 that desegregation "is a bigger news story and a more important news story than our treatment of it would indicate," and that "the story has received what I would call minimum coverage since last May 17 (1954) and that this minimum coverage has all too often been unbalanced and frequently distorted."

He added that he did not consider wire service coverage of desegregation adequate and complained that "while more often than not desegregation is being accomplished quietly and without incident, the total press impression conveyed is exactly the opposite. The press has emphasized the news of occasional turmoil while largely ignoring those situations where desegregation is proceeding smoothly."

Mr. McKnight, now editor of the Charlotte (N. C.) *Observer*, said in the Summer of 1959: "The press North and South is doing a much more authoritative, complete and constructive job of covering the race story than was true when I made my 1955 talk."

The Associated Press Managing Editors continuing study committee for domestic affairs said in the Summer of 1959 that "racial affairs constitute the single most important domestic issue in America"—and added that it found no flaws in AP coverage of racial affairs with respect to fairness and objectivity. "The consensus is," said the committee, "that AP is doing an acceptable job."

What conclusions may be drawn from this survey of eight racial stories reported in six Southern newspapers and the New York *Times*?

1. Southern newspapers generally are doing a conscientious, thorough, and predominantly fair job of reporting racial news. They are conforming more closely to the accepted standards of good journalism than the atmosphere of the times or the charges of their critics would indicate.

2. Chief source of the news is the wire services, with some slight effort to add local interviews or tie-ins, when pertinent. News may be made more or less sensational, given more or less slant, by the way wire service stories are cut or by the headlines placed above them.

3. The editorial bias of a paper is more likely to be revealed in the use or non-use of certain interpretive or color side stories than in the handling of an important event.

4. By-line stories of a newspaper's Washington correspondent or of a local reporter sent to cover a nearby racial news event are more likely to show bias than the principal story from the wire services.

5. A story of racial news may be pushed out of place by an important local story, such as the session of a state legislature or the running of the Kentucky Derby.

6. Southern newspapers are not taking advantage of their opportunity to secure color and human interest stories in addition to the principal stories of an event from the wire services.

7. Display of Negro news, use of Negro pictures, and attitudes toward Negroes as sources of news vary widely among Southern newspapers.

8. Attentive reading of Negro newspapers in the South would give Southern readers a very different conception of Negro attitudes, emotions, and points of view.

9. Southern newspapers are still unaware of the effect some of their racial stories may have on readers in other countries.

10. Southern newspapers are doing a better job in giving their readers the facts about racial events than in revealing their meaning and interpreting the points of view of the people involved.

THE PRESS AND THE SCHOOLS

by

Sylvan Meyer

Sylvan Meyer is Editor of the Gainesville, Georgia, *Daily Times*. He was a Nieman Fellow in 1950-51, and won the Sigma Delta Chi Distinguished Service Award for Editorial Writing in 1957. He is Chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

"The South is changing. How shall it live through the change?"

Thus asked a perceptive Southern editor even before the crucial 1954 Supreme Court school decision.

Reporting and interpreting the change, and playing no small role in determining how the South will live through it, is the press of the region.

How has the press performed? What are its failures and successes? What did it do that it shouldn't have, and what should it have done it didn't do? Is the press the catalyst it imagines itself?

An analysis of press effectiveness in creating new attitudes, strengthening old ones, compounding chaos or guiding the way to reason requires a subjective approach, and this is my road. These are impressions. I believe them to be generally true, with it understood that no one can read every newspaper every day, and thus no one can say, as so many seem to want to do, what "the press" really is or does. My arguments summarize my own general impressions and I am not trying to grade newspapers, wire services, or reporters.

If this advance apologia seems self-conscious, it is. I have rarely read a critique of the press that could not be refuted item by item. My accustomed role, moreover, is as a defender of the press—one newspaper in particular—and not as a critic. Newspapers have had their share of criticism, on this topic and others, from the "outside." So these remarks will reflect the insider's sympathy, at least, along with a sense of shared guilt in the faults of our remarkable ministry.

WHY NEWSPAPERS ARE THE WAY THEY ARE

Only newspapers among all the information media operate within a primary responsibility to inform fairly and to cover all the news. Only the newspaper devotes required space and capital to a complete news job, one that offers a wide variety of material in detail, a balance of views (over a period of time, if not in the same article), a relationship to a specific community, and the routine, dogged coverage from which most news springs. Only the newspaper recognizes that it carries the fundamental burden of imparting sufficient information to the citizen so that he can make for himself informed democratic judgment, and do so feeling independent of influence or propaganda.

Radio and television reporting, particularly on the local level, and magazines because of the long periods between publication dates, deal mostly in superficiality and sidelights, relieved only rarely by such brilliance that the relief wins every award of the year. This is why any press performance short of perfection appears so disproportionately serious and why hardly anyone speaks or writes of the failures, biases, and shortcomings of radio and TV coverage of race or any other major issue.

Newspaper men represent the most conscientious end of the show-entertainment-information spectrum. News and editorial standards have improved markedly in this century. The reporter's ambition is to inform, and, because that ambition is partially satisfied by readership and attention, an item deemed important to the reader may be bolstered with writing skill and typographic presentation to make sure it demands reader attention. This is not distortion. Although press critics usually blame press faults on malicious intent or the desire to "sell newspapers," fault often is more accurately laid to the nature of the newspaper beast itself. Deliberate pettifoggery is so rare it isn't worth discussing. And newspapers aren't "sold" anymore on the basis of one story or headline. Most reporters, as a matter of fact, don't know whether papers sell or not; newsmen just don't think in such terms.

It is true that in the end a publisher will have the sort of newspaper he wants, if he knows what he wants. This doesn't mean that he checks every word or headline prior to publication. Whatever the publisher's policy wishes, within them a copy desk, city editor, or managing editor will find flexibility in phrasing or in the choice of a word or, indeed, in the choice of a story itself. Few newspapermen take such a cheap view of their own nobility that they would submit long to direct perversion of their ethics, and publishers realize this. Many an advertiser's brother-in-law has been listed in the drunk driving reports because the publisher knew better than to ask his police reporter to omit the name. Of course, the newspaperman is as subject to mass hysteria and self-delusion as anyone. But charges that news reports are deliberately slanted mistake his motives. Most of the time, he knows he tried to be impartial. He has striven to be fair and the charge that he has failed strikes not at his reporting ability alone, but at those professional values that in his mind make his career a mission, not just a job.

Neither can the reader always assume that the editor, the man who makes formal policy statements for his publishing corporation, touches every

phase of the operation, passing judgment on story positioning, length, style, or headline. On larger papers, the contrary probably is true and the editor devotes himself to the editorial page, rarely trespassing directly on the domain of the managing or news editor. These men often rank with the editor and themselves can fall victim to their own imperfect knowledge, personal backgrounds, and staff deficiencies. The problems of condensing precise, complicated ideas into a small headline count; the urgency of compressing philosophies that require volumes of elucidation for perfect understanding; the mechanical opportunities for dropped lines and misplaced names—these are with us eternally.

Newspapers have many problems not apparent to their readers. A sizeable portion of staff time goes into such routine but essential reportage as land transfers, police affairs, meetings, weather yarns, entertainment pages, and service features of all kinds. Often accurate information is difficult to obtain and people with that rare commodity hide it from the press. Public officials sometimes prefer to work in secrecy and news must be pried out of them (so that, it often seems, it can be copied by other media who rarely use legmen on the local level). People with a passion for newspapering are becoming increasingly difficult to find. Reporters have more or less ability to pass along the precise comprehension of events to their readers.

The lay public understands little of a newspaper's internal organization, yet the administrative and production complications of publishing bear directly on the content of the finished product, almost as much so as the desire, or lack of it, on the part of management to produce a quality product.

And there are newspapers and newspapers. Some simply aren't aggressive in covering news or in seizing editorial initiative. Their apparent reluctance to tangle with the steaming issues of race indicates no sudden cowardice. They simply aren't that kind of newspaper, and they likewise eschew joining battle with city hall or the local school board. They see their job as printing the news that happens. Some, as part of their nature, check aggressively for local angles and probe more deeply than the wire services into general stories. This is a matter of the individual paper's personality, and while one may judge his local paper harshly for failing to do an all-out job, this failure does not necessarily relate only to the race issue.

Like our readers, most Southern editors and reporters have suffered emotional adjustments to a new legal situation since 1954. Granted that a degree of this adjustment was necessitated by our own failure to find the right words to describe what was happening and our tardiness in achieving professional detachment, Southern newspapermen were constitutionally unable to view race news as just another story. Part of the reaction, then, to any race story depends on the reporter's background. We took refuge in what I would call textbook journalism. We grew acutely aware of the play of race news and hyper-sensitive to imagined effects on readers. We went by the book in overstrict adherence to the theory that a news story must stand as a complete entity in order to serve the reader who has had no exposure to the news subject previously. This theory demands that each story contain enough background material and character identification to provide com-

prehension for a reader who just arrived from Mars. Concern about background resulted in repetitious rehashing and often a story might spend as many words relating the news of yesterday that led up to the news of today as telling what hapened today. This also meant that any unpleasant reference to the individuals concerned in the story was repeated *ad nauseum* until persons involved in the news were convinced they were victims of persecution. Trying to rely on rules rather than on the easy intuitiveness developed by an experienced newsman, newspapers changed story positions drastically from edition to edition and treatment fluctuated from sensational to conservative. Race news play reflected uneasiness, an excessive preoccupation with the public destiny rather than the story itself, and indicated not a negative policy, but too much concentration on policies that would not jell. To me, these vagaries reflected self-conscious uncertainty, not invidious purpose.

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Except for the metropolitan giants who can staff major stories wherever they break, Southern newspapers have been dependent on press wire services for news coverage unless the story is local. These services face all the ordinary problems of story composition plus the complication of having to please editors whose personal views vary tremendously. Some of the outstanding performances in the race coverage field have come from the wire services, and some of the worst. Mechanically, the wires face special hazards. An original report is subjected to numerous rewrites and each additional step from the scene of action opens opportunities for error. Transmission problems and the timing of "splits" (i.e., interruptions in the routine of teletype sending to insert state or regional news or to admit regional news to the national wire) cause unavoidable mistakes. A split might occur at such a time that a client newspaper on top of a deadline can't squeeze in its message or is forced to use only a part of the original message. Or since all client papers don't have the same deadlines or number of editions, the constant urge to "update" and provide "new leads" evokes the danger of pushing the crux of a story down several paragraphs from the beginning. Thus, the editor and the reader both may miss the point.

The man in the local newspaper office who selects the wire items that will be printed may be more or less well informed. He may have missed —and this has happened—an important story altogether or, hypnotized by yesterday's running yarn, underplayed today's new one. Wire services and their clients draw on uneven talents and a feature story today dripping with perspicacity may be followed by one tomorrow that is meaningless garbage. If the wire editor omits the garbage, he may stand accused of ignoring a day's report on a critical story. However, too many are prone to judge the press as a whole by a single story or by one day's space allocation. Obviously such judgments reveal little. Judgments must be based on the long haul, the sharpness of day in and out treatment, and on the total effect of the coverage of a given story.

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In the South, rural politicians enjoy using the press as a whipping boy. Newspapermen are accustomed to these blasts. It is intriguing, though, that

where the race issue was involved, the early minority in favor of conceding ground and relinquishing old legalisms excoriated the press with a fervor equal to that of the "wool hats." Both alike complained of biased news-treatment and news-space.

I take some solace in the fact that race in the 1950's has been a difficult story. It is complicated and growing more so. Characters change from time to time and some of the characters who haven't changed, have changed sides. Each Deep South state developed its own crazy quilt of laws, until even governors and attorneys-general differed in interpreting them.

News is, by and large, conflict. Conflict creates partisans and the meaner the conflict the less likely partisans on all sides will be satisfied with the reporting. Unless the reporter is an eye-witness, news consists of relaying to the reader what someone has said or done, or what someone else says still another party said or did. For long years in the South, only one side was vocal, as far as the reporter out in the field covering the spot news story was concerned. And because conflict is news, the newspaper has a mandate not to dish out pap. These are times of bitterness and change and it would be a gross disservice on the part of the press to suggest that the upheavals of a generation arise merely from a gentlemanly contest of wit and words. Quiet, innocuous handling of a controversial story would in itself be misleading. Sensationalism does exist in some journalistic quarters, but, more often, the content of the news creates its own sensation.

As a newspaper editor, I live with controversy and believe in it as a process of democracy. The nation and the South may yet benefit from the race controversy as we have benefitted by ultimately landing on our feet after every major ideological conflict arising from the application of our professed beliefs in freedom.

In behalf of the press it should be pointed out that newspapers often have dispatched truth to catch falsity and locally have performed superbly as deflators of rumor. Several Southern papers have effectively punctured claims made by race-sheets and Ku Klux types. But most of the time, the effort is next to hopeless. Before a federal court in 1955, for example, counsel for the state of Virginia quoted figures purporting to prove that Negro intelligence tested consistently below that of whites. The statement was not refuted in the court testimony by opposing counsel. It was refuted and proven erroneous, in the context presented, by Virginia newspapers. Nevertheless, the court record was quoted in *U. S. News and World Report,* and perpetuated thereby in scholarly articles. Even an author in the *Journal of Negro Education* used it unquestioningly. Neatly footnoted in academic attire, its credibility would be challenged only by a few exceptionally well-informed specialists in the race field, and, presumably, the reporters whose papers labeled it falsehood.

Of course the press is imperfect. Some of the press wants to be perfect; others of the press have stopped trying. Many of the press faults spotlighted by the continuing race story and emotions stirred by that story grow from the contrary nature of the newspaper animal and aren't race story faults as such, but faults affecting the coverage of all stories.

All this is by way of explanation, not excuse. Those faults growing from incompetence, ineptitude, absent-mindedness, and plain ignorance of sound newspaper principles perhaps may be better understood against this background of news processes and journalism's general problems. Still, it has been extraordinary that a large area of the Southern press leaves the impression it failed during the last six years of interregional cold war to admit there was more than one side and to recognize them all in news and editorial columns.

ERRORS OF OMISSION

Certainly a fundamental failure, reflected in both news and editorial treatment, was that many papers, either confused or paralyzed, never developed articulate news and editorial policies derived from sound ethical or Constitutional principles. Such basic propositions were needed as guideposts for staff and editorial attitudes.

On most of the subjects about which he writes, the editorialist is pleased to think he bases his views on eternal verities. He measures foreign policy or tax proposals against a yardstick of values which usually are as fundamental to him as the Ten Commandments and equally as sacrosanct. He reacts to concretely derived danger signals when free enterprise is threatened and he has a working philosophy regarding tariffs, national defense, and centralization of government. But his own inner conflicts remained unresolved where race was concerned, and so each major incident was cut out of the continuing story like a thing unrelated to the fabric of regional history and sociology, like daily whims without ties to the principles that express the whole meaning of this country. Thus with judgment factors out of kilter and yardsticks awry, the writer's own contradictions of spirit stayed his typing fingers on the platitude keys.

It has been said that editorial pages no longer mold public opinion. Don't believe that. Opinion molders read editorials and consciously or subconsciously adopt phrases therefrom and find their thinking either modified or directed, or at least provoked, thereby. Logical argument doesn't convert the disbeliever overnight, but it wears him down over the long haul. If nothing else, it forces him to argue the issues as defined in the editorials he reads. But often on this issue, editorial indecision delayed reason, and where editorial opinion was definitive but obviously extremist and bombastic, it repelled reason.

Lack of clearly defined newsside policy led to an atypical timidity in reporting. The question of what to print and what not to print is more easily asked than answered and sub-editors working without clear policy direction must run to the top with every out-of-the-ordinary story. Unusual requests sent up the chain of command generally return denied on newspapers just as in government bureaucracies or big business. Enough denials and the requests stop.

One daily of excellent reputation, for example, finally declined to print a first-rate series on South African apartheid written by one of its own top reporters who had been to that country. The grounds? The series would be "inflammatory." Nevertheless, the same paper printed dozens of stories challenging the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Because much of the Southern press couldn't make up its mind where it stood, the accustomed aggressiveness of coverage and positiveness of expression failed to appear, except in spirited defense of the status quo and denials that any corrections were needed. Thus a vacuum was created where constructive leadership might have asserted itself. Into the vacuum rushed the extremists who initiated the labels, planted their shibboleths, and caught off guard many newspapers which would have liked to exert more responsible leadership for communities in unbalanced and unsure positions.

Neglect of the key reporting question "Why?" was widespread, as was the general relaxation of the traditional reportorial art of probing cross-examination. Comments by extremist status quo leaders and also by determined civil rights advocates outside the South appeared in the press time and time again without noticeable change in content from report to report. It was unlike a press long used to covering Southern politics to fail to ask the speechmakers specifically to identify their villains, or to ask them why their statements appeared to disagree with more authoritative information on traditions, school conditions, and court decisions.

This shortcoming travelled hand in hand, or perhaps was a by-product of, a noticeable failure on the part of editors and reporters to keep up with their homework. With Citizens Councils' pamphlets, NAACP releases, Southern Regional Council publications, the Southern Education Reporting Service, the race-law quarterly compilations from Vanderbilt University as starters, the conscientious writer for the public prints should have been well informed. Obviously false assumptions and misstatements of fact revealed inadequate research.

Few studied that basic document, the Constitution, itself, apparently preferring to deal with prejudicial interpretations of history and the Bill of Rights, only mildly diluted with facts. For these dilatory scholars, quotations from speeches sufficed as reference material. We were confronted with a particular issue in the relationship between, or the differences between, the 10th (states' rights) amendment and the 14th and 15th amendments, plus the first nine-tenths of the Bill of Rights. States' rights became the controlling philosophy of the anti-Supreme Court faction, but the individual rights so carefully laid down by the other amendments were rarely mentioned. Entire states accepted the fallacy that the Supreme Court's findings, for example, could be subjected to the ballot: and thus people were not informed that an individual's freedom from discrimination is not a votable issue. Some even asserted that it was "undemocratic" not to vote on whether Negroes could be admitted to previously all-white schools. This would be comparable to voting on whether or not a newspaper could print a particular editorial. We can mark this obfuscation up to the failure to clarify issues and to define the terms of controversy. That entire area of misunderstanding that confuses tradition with legality, as though one were completely dependent on the other, still clouds the question of race, courts, and Constitution. This, then, is not only a matter of failing to define issues, but failing to relate the arguments and the issues correctly.

Equally hurtful was the slipshod, lazy handling of what was, *au fond,* the central fact of the whole story, the Supreme Court's ruling. Again this may be construed as a failure to study the record and to think independently.

Although the press immediately after the 1954 decision interpreted it as endurable and appreciative of the South's problems, the more direct 1955 decision stimulated outraged rhetoric and revealed an absence of interpretation. The 1955 and later Supreme and appellate court decisions were merely implementations of the original, and several lower court rulings were definitely cautious and "deliberate" insofar as speed of desegregation on the local level was concerned. Analyses of them would have lent comfort to the beleaguered. Few papers attempted to analyze exactly what it was the Supreme Court said

in 1954 and 1955. The most succinct interpretation I've read came from the pen of federal Judge Frank Hooper, ruling on the Atlanta case in late 1959. He said, "The court gave no order to integrate the races. It ordered an end to discrimination in pupil assignment."

I submit the South's understanding would have been vastly improved had that interpretation been made clear from the beginning. Instead, newspapers—North and South—referred thousands of times in editorials and news stories, in phrases neither qualified nor attributed to a source, to the "high court's integration edict."

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High among the list of flunked opportunities ranks what I might call "solution" or "what do we do next?" coverage. Although a few Southern papers hammered away at principle and, within their resources, continued traditional reporting and editing judgment, most avoided precise definition of problems and their answers. Papers which might send a reporter to a dozen farflung cities to investigate better garbage disposal techniques, did not probe for balm for the more crucial racial conflict in their midst. In any conflict, possible solutions are bona fide news and suggesting solutions is legitimate, even demanded editorial column fare.

With a few notable exceptions, desegregation coverage in Deep South papers has been rare until recently. If Podunk should successfully swing a new opera house, Chittlinswitch would want one, too. The Chittlinswitch *Bugle* might, and often has, reported in detail just how Podunk pulled the coup. Yet the story of Louisville, Nashville, Baltimore, Charlotte, Washington, St. Louis and others has not been completely and dispassionately written in all our Chittlinswitches.

In the same vein, one of the most revealing discussions in recent years as far as school desegregation is concerned was at a Nashville conference under the aegis of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. It brought together principals and superintendents from cities which had undergone some experience in the abolition of discriminatory student selection. Their discussions offered any Southern school board invaluable lessons in preparing for and enduring the inevitable. I have not seen these discussions reported in detail anywhere. This oversight may not have partisan basis, because there has also been a paucity of reporting on the feasibility of large-scale conversion to private schools in "threatened" communities.

Thus also were readers denied direct knowledge of their stake in crises elsewhere and so have suffered shock and surprise as their own communities have been brought face to face with reality. Some newspaper policy makers avoided such stories on the grounds that each community should stick to its own problems and not "interfere." Unfortunately, Tuscaloosa, Norfolk, and Charlotte aren't on separate planets.

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There was a failure to report a vast and important sector of the school controversy—the Negro himself. White politicians often told in the press "what the Negro wants." I would not imply that the Negro knows himself what he wants, other than an even start in the law books. But I recall few interviews

with NAACP leaders in the public prints. The NAACP is anathema to much of the white South: it is equated with Communism, and worse. How many have studied its history and purposes and set out factually to describe its origin, membership, and policies? A New York newspaper did, in a most impartial job of reporting.

One consequence of the failure to explain the Negroes' organizations and ambitions was recurrent attacks on the Urban League, a community service operation not a part of the NAACP, to a point at which Community Chests either amputated the valuable League or risked disaster to maintain its affiliation.

Where was the coverage of the precise status of Negro education or Negro labor and economic potential? Is the Negro a quasi-animal who stores food in the fat of his buttocks, or is he an intelligent being with a sociological handicap? Why did the books and magazines have to explore military experiences with integration, pre-empting that subject before our newspapers got to it? I'm afraid most of the news coverage of the NAACP even now consists of the most inflammatory excerpts from speeches given outside the South by NAACP leaders to highly partisan audiences.

The press in the 1930's was in the van of the region's struggle to provide the Negro with equal, albeit separate, educational facilities. But in the white heat of the 1950's, the equal theory received ever-diminishing shrift. In fact, the general impression left by the press was that equality in education had been achieved. The subject has been forfeited in the general pressure of newer topics and I confess I was startled one day to hear a Negro educator read from the Georgia auditor's report figures of shocking inequity in my state's per pupil and per college allocations to Negro junior colleges as compared with white ones. Until very recently, the press has remained equally oblivious to disparities in the availibility of home loans to Negroes, the apportionment of residential real estate, differences in public hospital space available to Negroes, and in half a dozen other fields involving personal contentment and fulfillment.

To have analyzed these subjects and to have reported Negro attitudes, political motivations, and community problems would not necessarily have implied endorsement of any particular goal. The widespread failure to do so does not mean that the newspapers didn't agree with what they might find or that they were deliberately hiding information. Suez and Lebanon, Sukarno and Tom Mboya, Arabs and Bantus have been subjected to microscopic examination in segments of the press. The more localized failure means, unfortunately, that segments of the press developed blind spots and surrendered the time honored responsibility to tell, and interpret, the full story.

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Newspapers are hipped on "consistency." Their style sheets, policies regarding what to print and what not to print, policies on reporting politicians' activities and statements during campaigns, the typography used in picture captions—all these are handled by the rule so that the paper will be fair to all alike and its standards maintained.

Few hobgoblins of consistency haunted the press on the race issue. It was almost as though there had been decisions to avoid decisiveness. One venerable Southern organ, for example, enjoyed berating the "moderates." When the NAACP first filed a school suit in Atlanta this paper (not Atlanta's) saw it as a death blow to moderates. (Everything has been a "death blow" to moderates, but more on that later.) It said:

> The moderates who have argued for years that Georgia's racial problems could be settled in the years ahead if common sense prevailed on both sides have had the rug yanked out from under them [by the suit].
>
> . . . unfortunately the heat is apt to become so intense in the days ahead that only a few moderates will be able to stand against it.

So the moderates were dispatched. The editorial went on to say that the suit might hasten the death of Georgia's compulsory education laws, which the paper likes. It closed by joining in these words the moderates it despised earlier:

> We hope common sense will override hysteria and hatemongering insofar as compulsory school attendance is concerned, for without this law, the cause of education in Georgia would be dealt a damaging blow . . .

So much for consistency, and for ignoring the even more "damaging blow" of closing the schools altogether.

There are more glaring inconsistencies in news treatment, but they lend themselves to another category and will be dealt with later.

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A final major inadequacy reduces newspaper effectiveness and clarity on all issues, schools and race included. It can be classified only as low quality, thoughtless reporting. It revolves about the apparent inability of the newspaper business to tell a story simply, directly, and accurately, so that it is understood by the reader exactly as it happened, down to the finest nuances of phrasing. Badly chosen verbs, hasty writing and ambiguities, the all-too-easy sin of pat phrases and catch words yield reports that are at best not precise and at worst completely off-base.

We saw a similar occurrence in the days following Russia's Sputnik launching when every missile that left, or didn't leave, Cape Canaveral bore with its payload the alleged status of American prestige around the globe. It was somewhat ridiculous to hear from a reporter shivering on a sandspit two miles from the launching pad that "United States' prestige in world capitals soared today with the successful launching of . . . ." It is equally lugubrious to read that "the South won a skirmish . . . ," or that "Negroes scored victories in court rulings that . . . ." The assumptions are broadly farcical and the bland application of indefinable group labels is misleading.

One of our best editors recently commiserated on this shortcoming in a letter. He cited this example: "A wire story reporting on the three judge decision in Little Rock said that Gov. Faubus' attorneys had made an argument but that the court had heeded Thurgood Marshall. This is very prejudicial reporting and yet, I doubt if the reporter was deliberately prejudiced. He was unconsciously parroting the saying that the court is an adjunct of the NAACP. If he had said that the court sustained Marshall, or that the court had found Marshall's argument more in keeping with the Supreme Court decision, it would have been a fair story.

"But here was the good old——sending out word all over the nation which implied that Thurgood Marshall had given an argument and the court had heeded it."

Such inferential words helped create public images and repeated incidents solidified those images and the images were false.

ERRORS OF COMMISSION

The reluctant newspaper dragon must admit that of the major institutions of our society, the clergy was the first to recover constructive leadership. Government, business, teaching held back, and the newspapers relied on reports of ministers' manifestoes and other ecclesiastical statements to show the existence of "another side" of the whole question.

As a consequence, we should not have been surprised to read 1960 letters to editors saying, "I finally see, after reading your article of yesterday, that private schools can't work," and, "I still say the Supreme Court acted unconstitutionally and if the South resists, no one can make us do anything." In a ruling in early March, 1960, Judge Hooper mentioned not once but twice, "general misconceptions in the minds of perhaps a majority of the people of this state concerning the real questions at issue." A "general misconception" can exist only to the deep chagrin of the press.

Now the press shouldn't be blamed for failing to convert every Southerner to an attitude of passive acceptance of change: that was never its mission. We, as readers and critics, cannot estimate newspaper effectiveness nor judge newspaper quality on the basis of editorial viewpoint. The criteria derive from journalism's purposes: to maintain detachment as observer and interpreter; to avoid community chaos; to prevent the breakdown of legal, democratic processes and institutions; to think more deliberately than those whose views receive less circulation.

I believe the big, solid body of Southern journalism tried to keep cool. Sincerity and solemnity of purpose don't excuse error although they may mitigate the harshness of critics' judgments. After all, this has not been an easy time. Not always do sound motives demand flouting all the preconceived notions of one's community.

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Timing was a key question in editorial minds. Since 1954, the perceptive reader could discern a number of newspapers indulging in what they no doubt supposed to be a gradual conditioning of the public mind for reluctant acceptance of changed school status. The writers, like swimmers wading cringingly into cold water, sidled gradually closer to the basic issues. As the months and years passed, news columns increased the daring and pertinence of their explorations and accelerated initiative produced more incisive features, more quotations from Yankees, and more reports on border area "progress." More sensitivity could be noticed toward the use of titles of respect—"Mr., Mrs., and Miss"—for Negroes, although during periods of rising tension these practices seemed to retreat, then move forward again in the lulls.

Editors deliberated on their effectiveness and asked themselves such questions as, "Should we get too far ahead? Will we lose our ability to communicate with the people or influence anyone if we shock the reader abruptly? Is this the time to take a firm stand?"

These were, and are, no idle musings. To exercise the sort of leadership that maintains followership, to provoke serious thought rather than antagonize

emotions, may indeed stand as a sterner obligation than to prove one's foolhardiness.

The difficulty of judging the precise instant at which each pebble of enlightenment can best be dropped into the lake of public susceptibility is obvious and many who attempted this legerdemain waited too long, forfeiting the leadership they coveted. One sizeable paper in a critical city held its breath until the local school board, in answering a court order, decided for open schools and a plan that could, but not necessarily would, admit a Negro student to a white school. At this point, the paper joined forces with the school board, undoubtedly with great effect. I cannot say that this was wrong, immoral, or escapist. Perhaps the newspaper by this strategy created the maximum support for community order at a time when such support was most desperately needed. But could it not be that if it had acted a year or two earlier, the school board might also have acted, aiding the entire community by prompter riddance of a fruitless preoccupation and allowing other business to progress?

Other papers reckoned, perhaps accurately, that their editorial attitudes would produce an adverse reaction and that they served more by silence than by provocation. This might be termed the "kiss of death" theory and under certain circumstances it is valid.

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Whatever its motivations, the press North and South suffered an extended period that can be likened to the one when the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy was in his ascendancy. Reporters seemed almost awed by the stature of names damning the Supreme Court and calling for resistance against encroachments on states' rights. That these big names were at the same time advocating and passing state legislation that usurped the rights of local school boards was rarely observed.

About this time theorists of massive resistance seized the initiative from those who foresaw that the price of such resistance would be massive ignorance. The interpositionists, who, despite a century of proof to the contrary, considered the union "a rope of sand," enjoyed a brief year of Deep South legislative resolutions. Citizens Council presidents, governors, and other highplaced names in the resistance camp received day in, day out, detailed and prominently positioned news stories despite the fact that their speeches changed little from 1955 to 1959. Any big name Dixiecrat could catch banner headlines by declaring the courts unconstitutional. Repetitive reporting of the same weary bombast contradicted the news principle that a statement cannot be "news" over and over again. This fault continues today when the big-name elected officials, especially one visiting from out of state, can make mileage off the same resistance speech he wrote in a fury of brilliance back in 1955.

There was at least a rationale for this imbalance. Early in this controversy the elected politician was about the only individual of quotable rank in the arena: if a senator or a state lieutenant-governor gives a speech it is customarily reported. Reporters could hardly be expected to go about knocking on doors until they found someone of equal stature to counteract inflamma-

tory statements. And the few papers which determined consciously to cease repeating racial aggression unless a new idea was presented gained a certain notoriety among the status quo elements in the South.

A free press in a democracy inherits both a practical and theoretical role. It is supposed to act as a public critic, and the Southern press often did during the unpleasantness of the 50's. But the press, North and South, let its preconceived notions strengthen myths that didn't exist and kill constructive reports before they could be aired simply because such statements didn't fit the pattern of the hour. The press is also expected to treat each protagonist in a major controversy alike. Often in play of stories, in writing techniques, in headline enthusiasm or irony, the press North and South violated that rule.

Southern publishers, editors, and reporters alike received considerable pressure to maintain prominent play of racist elements. Perhaps their Northern colleagues underwent the same from the other side. On one occasion, rather late in the decade, a first-string Georgia political figure indulged in vilification of the Supreme Court at a "segregationist" rally attended by about 600 persons and the tirade rated a four-column headline on page 1 in that city. The following evening, 1500 persons attended a "keep the schools open" rally in the same city and heard the first significant public expression in the state of that attitude, although from persons, perhaps, of slightly less public reknown. That story drew a two-column head on an inside page and about half the space of the other.

I'm afraid such disproportionate space and position allocations have been the rule and to an extent still persist. This situation has long run implications in that it helps sustain the prevalent notion that the status quo is unshakable when as a matter of fact the region was and is in ferment.

For example, anyone judging from the weight of newspaper reporting alone would have known only dimly of the large element of "middle man" thought in the South, of influential people whose doctrines are expanding, who in their hearts may have preferred the status quo but couldn't rationalize their sense of justice or their awareness of the forces of history. Parts of the press, to continue the example, asked or implied over the years the question, "Where are the moderates?" As they asked, the Southern Regional Council's *New South* was quoting dozens of them; human relations councils in every state were holding small conventions of them; a South Carolina group of them published a pamphlet of essays; the arch-segregationists were roasting them with hellfire; Yankee-dominated press associations were festooning them with prizes.

Then, state by state, as school closings became more imminent, the Southern press found them more easily. When Sen. McCarthy's repeated charges in that earlier era drew deeper scrutiny from the press, publication of his accusations was delayed until the other side could be heard from. The press realized it had the role of cross-examiner and fact-checker and that it had been derelict in rationalizing prominent use of his charges by noting that "it is true that he said it, whether what he said is true or not." The press had been used, and the senator was not the first, nor was he the last so to use it. The South's "McCarthys" use it effectively. More recently, however, reporters have begun questioning the "other side" and countering extremist statements with moderate

ones. Newspapers' colors emerged slowly, in direct proportion to the immediacy of the threat of closed schools. This is not to say that all have changed, but many have started the process. Virginia's "massive resistance" press performed a typical and courageous about-face when the future of their communities clearly hung in the balance.

I have used the McCarthy analogy enough to make the point. The current shift is sufficiently apparent to reveal that editors are now aware their race news coverage of the mid and late 50's left something to be desired.

But the cost cannot be so easily dismissed. What was the long-range effect of ignoring for a period of years the considerable segment of Southern life whose constructive attitudes and statements might have attracted adherents and thus convinced those in political power to follow a less obstreperous and destructive course? What was the cost of denying dissemination to the ideas of teachers, college faculty members, much of the ministry, non-political attorneys, women's and civic organization leaders—all influential persons and the intellectual leaders of their communities?

LABELS, CATCH-PHRASES, AND LOADED WORDS

Involved in a complex legalistic and sociological upheaval, the press fell victim to a special language it helped create. This language was more than inexact, it was misleading. Its loaded words evoked purely emotional responses. Its one-word tags to describe entire philosophies committed group libel against untold numbers of people by labelling them in the press, without refutation or qualification, as "NAACP'ers, Communists, mixers, integrationists." The nomenclature did not allow for the wide differences in viewpoints that existed.

Outspoken public figures, almost always in the resistance camp, posted the catchwords. They had the initiative and they used it. The press followed them by using the words and conjuring again and again the sacred, racist slant in its newspages. This tended to create attitudes that were, in a word, wrong. As the issue persisted, the jargon contracted rather than expanded; the loaded words became standardized and so were rarely defined despite the fact that their meaning changed. In fact, often they had no meaning.

In a news story, characters must be defined as briefly as possible. "Segregationist, integrationist, and moderate" became the most popular labels. How many stories have we seen that said something like this:

> Joe Doe, segregationist leader, said today that Richard Roe, Podunk principal and a spokesman for moderate educational forces, should be "run out of the state—but first, horse-whipped."

It is impossible to say what either Mr. Roe or Mr. Doe really advocates as far as school customs and practices are concerned. Actually, "traditionalist," instead of "segregationist," and "open-school advocate" instead of "moderate," might have served with more accuracy. Many persons attacked as "moderates" genuinely consider themselves "segregationists" but aren't willing to see schools close to keep that title. As far as integrationists are concerned, I have not in my admittedly limited acquaintance met anyone who could classify for that appelation as the term is defined by the massive resistance element. By the same token, even the academicians can't agree who in the racial debate should be called "conservative," "liberal," or "radical."

Unfortunately, labels stick. Once a man received his label he kept it in story after story until he was classified irrevocably. Newspapers have the odd view that while today's story may misfire, anything in the files is gloriously conclusive and that 24 hours in print transforms a news story into gospel.

The catch words are legion: they demand discussion, even though I doubt I can take the exquisite care that would be required to expose all their semantic traps. Some of them and their approximate meanings, are:

The South, Southerners, Southern viewpoint—the addictions to such all purpose labels has the result that any voice raised against civil rights legislation becomes a "Southern" spokesman and every problem a North-South conflict. The usage has created conflicts where none existed and is meaningless as a definition when the region includes both Orval Faubus and Martin Luther King, Jr. It is harmful to public judgment when it includes both Mississippi and Florida.

Extremist—to a person ready to resist change to the death, this means anyone who thinks "it might be all right" if a few Negroes entered a white school; to a person willing to accept a modicum of change, it means anyone who uses rabid and flamboyant language in defense of the status quo.

Integration—used to denote what the Supreme Court ordered all schools to do, even though it is an erroneous and inaccurate term. "The end of statutory discrimination" would be more accurate but is cumbersome and certainly could not be used regularly in the headlines. Yet the court did not order "integration," or hardly even "desegregation," which also implies positive program rather than a mere change in assignment rules. "Gradual desegregation" possibly is more accurate.

Desegregation—used by "moderates" instead of "integration" because it sounds, somehow, less aggressive.

Moderate—either a fellow who couldn't make up his mind, a schemer intending to violate all Southern traditions, or simply a person unwilling to sacrifice the public schools in a vain attempt to stay the march of history, depending on the point of view and on whether the "moderate" was defining himself, or being defined, and by whom.

Anti-integrationist—substitute coinage for "segregationist."

Segregationist—this is used to label all those whose views varied from a mild belief that the South would be better off maintaining as much racial separation as possible to those advocating insurrection rather than "surrender" to any compromise whatsoever.

Anti-Segregationist—the subtle nuance here describes one who is a defensive rather than a positive "integrationist."

Mix and Mixer—favorite headline words used to refer to any desegregation, including even cases in which only one or two Negroes enter a school with, say, 1500 whites. Also useful for such headlines as:

Court Order Brings
Mix Threat to City

Mix creates a picture of thousands of persons being stirred with sticks until completely amalgamated. It became a verb and an adjective and a noun; thus, "Mixer": as used to describe all who favor maintaining public schools in the Deep South instead of abandoning them, its implications make it a genuine scare word. Unfortunately, it is a perfect word for headline writers. It is short.

Anti-mixer—this must mean someone opposed in principle to stirring cake batter.

* * * * * *

The word "integration" in any sense other than racial may be leaving the language. Georgia's mammoth poultry industry experienced a trend of corporate expansion in which one company would extend into various levels of production, from growing chickens to processing them. This $150,000,000 industry blushed to admit that this process was known as "vertical integration." Some editors shied from the word; others saw it as an attention-getting catch-

phrase and wanted to use it to appeal to public interest. One Tennessee editor had both reactions, and caused to be published in his paper a story titled:

PO Merges
Work For
All Races

The Washington-datelined story reported that the post office had "integrated" 18,000 employees in its 90 postal transportation service installations. The "integration" was purely an administrative measure that, in effect, gave local postoffices control over some workers in their cities who had previously reported elsewhere. The story had nothing whatever to do with race. It had only that trigger word.

Press entanglement in these label words gave advantage to the status quo forces in the South by serving to perpetuate the arguments that (1) enemies of the region wanted to "mix" or amalgamate the races socially and eventually sexually as part of deliberate political plots; and (2) the Southerner willing to accept any degree of change was a traitor and therefore suspect.

Repeatedly erroneous labelling and condensation eventually prevailed as fact in the minds of many people. One man's facts become another's propaganda, anyway, and with the weight of the press rubbing deeper grooves in the public mind with each succeeding edition, the imprecise tags became accepted.

Even at this late date, when the Supreme Court's ruling is mentioned in the press, the reference will likely be to its "integration ruling," rather than to its decision that states cannot discriminate in school assignment. Northern papers joined in reinforcing this interpretation by similar usage. In fact, Yankee editorialists sometimes gave evidence they had read neither the statements of Southern politicians nor the court's decisions. Some advised editorially, with supplementary news stories quoting interested people, that white and Negro students be shifted about so that fairly equal proportions of each would be represented in all the schools.

This advocacy of deliberate amalgamation was to the South as unconstitutional in its recognition of race as the South's refusal to end discrimination was said to be. Such usage helped frighten the white South and obscured the true meaning of pertinent court decisions. In addition, it provided effective ammunition to Southern Yankee baiters.

* * * * * *

No matter how lucid a piece of writing may be, no matter how honestly composed, one mistake destroys the piece by giving an effective weapon to its critics. Every reporter can look back, wincing, and remember when his own carelessness or a misinformed source on a single point sabotaged an otherwise splendid reporting effort.

In many ways, however, the newspapers waded into trouble with eyes wide open. Staff changes often placed green men, green, at least, on the race story, into knotty situations. Even a good reporter needs time to build his background understanding of a story and become familiar with the principals in-

volved. Stories by inexperienced reporters unfamiliar with the history and traditions of the South and its complicated sociology and politics generated persistent misunderstandings. As each major story snowballed, understanding of the whole rested on comprehension of each part, and sharpness of phrase and meaning gave way to dullness and vagueness. The press thus invited criticism because persons familar with the full story, especially those who actually participated in the news, could point to mistakes and flyspeck mercilessly, thus destroying confidence in the newspaper's reliability.

The factual errors might be corrected eventually, but faulty interpretation and wrong emphasis, hasty summations, broad assumptions, and inaccurate conclusion jumping—sometimes by unseasoned men covering a breaking story before the "pros" could reach the scene—can never be overcome. Interpretive reporting is genuine public service when the reporter is qualified to draw perspective sharply. But interpretation by the unaware brings only distortion and extends the myths.

So the unfortunate press repeatedly contributed to illusions in the land. For days following the arrival of federal troops in Little Rock, as a case in point, the incident was described in news stories as the "death knell of Southern moderates." The first day of the incident, the phrase was in lead paragraphs. Gradually it descended day by day, paragraph by paragraph, and finally disappeared.

As is clear by now, the incident was neither the death knell of the moderates, whoever they are, nor a defeat for the forces of reason. Indeed, it so sealed the inevitability of the exercise of ultimate federal authority that since that time capitulation has made further armed expeditions unnecessary. Several Southern newspapers called this shot accurately at the time, but too many reporters had fallen in love with "death knell" assumptions and the idea jelled. This demonstrates the peculiarity of the newspaper business that perpetuates one man's fallacy as another's handy phrasing.

Shotgun semantics also clouded headlines. Titles were used for race stories that had no resemblance to the stories under them. "Man in the Street" stories enjoyed popularity in the early 50's, but their contents could have been composed without the reporter's ever leaving his office, so predictable were the results. Even the big stories yielded results unsatisfactory to the men who covered them. At least five topflight reporters who covered Little Rock have commented in my presence that the "real story of Little Rock was never reported," and then all had trouble saying what the "real story" was.

A recent interpretive story, better than most, shows clearly how poor summation and inaccurate condensation can mislead:

> If he [the federal judge] should determine that the idea is nothing more than a delaying action, he could, of course, order immediate integration of the schools. In such event, the governor is pledged to follow state law and close the school, or schools, which may be affected by the integration order.

> Undoubtedly, a taxpayer's suit would follow which would force the closing of schools throughout the state.

Sounds OK. But analysis shows it could create, and probably recertify, various public misunderstandings. In this case, the judge would not order "integration of the schools." He would, as he has said, order the city in question to start using its pupil placement plan, which he has approved. This would not necessarily mean "immediate integration." The plan does not necessarily assign a Negro to a white school and, in any event, the city would make the assignment and not the judge. First, however, the Negro student would have to clear the administrative processes of the plan, or, if he did not, return to court to show that he had been discriminated against. Furthermore, state laws would not become effective on the judge's order, as the story says, but when the Negro pupil physically enters the white school. At that point, according to the most reliable legal interpretations I can obtain, the governor must close the breached school and may, in this particular state, close the one the Negro student previously attended.

The "taxpayer's" suit and any statewide closing of schools may not be as imminent as "undoubtedly," and if the reporter actually has information that a suit is so imminent, his statement needs attribution.

The paragraph cited is not flatly inaccurate; it just isn't accurate. It confuses readers as to the problems they face. Such imprecision has been compounded again and again in summary paragraphs. Whatever its shortcomings, the item at least shows that the Southern press is advancing in reporting issues in detail and is telling its readers that alternatives do exist to massive resistance.

* * * * * *

Treatment of any news involving Negroes these days is "race news" whether the item in question bears directly on race conflict or not. So the question of the use of the word "Negro" as an identification naturally arises. Since this aspect of press treatment has had a great deal of attention elsewhere, let me deal with it only briefly.

I'm well aware that critics of Southern newspapers customarily score "Negro" as a tag word in news stories.

A few papers avoid such identification unless it is demanded by the nature of the story or unless the story salutes an achievement. Others "play by ear," using "Negro" when necessary to avoid confusion or when readers who know the residential patterns of their communities would not otherwise recognize the race of the story subject. Intense attention to racial problems sharpened tender public sensibilities and editors have become more aware of racial designation. In some wire stories, especially, it is not always apparent whether Negroes or Caucasians are involved and wire service people tell me their clients now insist more than ever on racial identity tags.

If I had less faith in the long-run influence of the American press, I would accept the argument that this sort of thing has no effect on general attitudes. But newsmen know that by repetition and emphasis a newspaper can make a

"big deal" of anything and a "little deal" of a big one. What the newspaper accepts as natural the public comes to accept the same way. This has been discovered by papers that do not segregate obituaries or school news, or who use racial tags as little as possible, or who occasionally run a picture of white and Negro children together for Scout Week.

The converse is equally true, and incessant association of the word Negro with unpleasant news becomes a sort of propagandizing. Individuals in stories need to be identified, but not to the point of group slander. Balanced judgment is required here, because not using the word can become as much a fetish as using it. Good news service requires thorough identification and I would prefer to use "Negro" in a borderline case rather than publish an unclear story. Some papers deliberately avoid the identifying word to prove their nobility. They make the point at the expense of clarity.

Here is an example of destructive use, credited to a wire service Southern bureau:

> GREENVILLE—A 16 year old Negro who was arrested for questioning in connection with a grocery break-in was identified by city police Friday night as the Negro who broke into the bedroom of a prominent Greenville matron Oct. 19 and scuffled with her before her screams caused him to run.
>
> The young Negro was identified as [name and address].
>
> The warrant charged the young Negro with burglary at night with intent to ravish.

The headline: "Negro Boy Held in Ravish Try," made a total of five times "Negro" was used in a three paragraph yarn, twice in one sentence that should have been rewritten for other reasons. This makes me suspect deliberate selection of an identifying word for an unwholesome purpose.

Readers of our paper, and of others, have lately accused the press of deliberately playing down or omitting stories of interracial trouble, particularly rape. Not only do I know of no conscious effort to omit such items, but my personal observation is that since the spectacular Tallahassee rape story, these stories have increased in usage and prominence. Whether more rapes are happening or editors are more alert to them, I couldn't say.

A PERSONAL COMMENT

Although I am reluctant to submit personal experience in evidence, my ineffectual service as chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights put me on the receiving, rather than the "dishing out," end of press activity for the first time and for that reason has a certain contrary interest.

This new perspective on newspapers not only proved again the old adage that newspapermen should be leary of public service lest they compromise one duty for another; it was also rather like running a gauntlet.

My innate confidence in our often maligned trade was shaken by the rather cursory questioning and off-hand reporting members of the committee received at meetings and other newsbreaking times. Only one paper, a small daily, interviewed me after my appointment and asked why a Georgia editor would take such a "weird job." I regarded this as an excellent question, since it was the first one I had asked myself, and wanted to answer it publicly, but had no other opportunity to do so.

Few papers seemed to understand that the committee was not a little civil rights commission, but an advisory, non-action group; or that such a communications avenue to Washington could be of some service to Georgia, as I hoped it could be. Perhaps this was a public relations failure on my part.

Our few meetings were innocuous and not very newsworthy, but the committee was amazed, after a discussion about broadening its membership by trying to find someone whose thinking was more attuned to that of Georgia's current political leadership, to find their effort headlined:

Rights Group Seeks Anti-Mixer

Let the "rights group" pass, though it misses the mark. "Anti-Mixer" implies that the committee favors "mixing," which all do not, myself included, if mixing is what I suppose it is.

On other occasions I was asked about policies expressed by the Commission in Washington, which solicited little advice and used less from its advisory committee in Georgia, and I responded in a mild vein. When I did once criticize one section in a long list of Commission recommendations, that negative statement received spot-lighted play, and headline verbs included such words as "flays" and "lashes." Many of the reporters on these stories are, or were before this essay, friends of mine and no doubt were trying to protect me from my own folly, a motive I appreciate.

Mild statements, mine or anyone else's, rarely rate much attention. The non-contentious just aren't news in the usual sense, and that's a shame because the race story has needed calm statements, and few have received notice.

When the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights released its report to Congress in September, 1959, coverage generally impressed me as containing more

froth than substance and more heat than light. Several influential newspapers published extensive quotes from Congressmen damning the report and though newspaper readers everywhere knew a controversy brewed, few knew what it was about: reportage was about the conflict itself, not the issues in conflict.

The Commission staff made a thorough tabulation of press handling of the report, checking 712 newspapers during the report release period. What I found in the relatively few papers I read during that period unfortunately substantiated the Commission staff findings that:

—Several Southern newspapers editorially evaluated and analyzed the report on the basis of erroneous information given in premature debate on the Senate floor, when the report release date was broken and part of the report was still at the printers;

—Some Southern papers gave prominent play to the report's statement that Chicago is the most segregated city in America and at the same time lambasted the Commission for indicting the South and failing to examine conditions in Northern cities;

—Southern papers' Washington correspondents committed grievous faults of misinterpretation and often appeared to be writing what their editors wanted to read (one trouble with a poor story from a correspondent is that the newspaper tends to think his report covers the situation and consequently does not run supplemental wire stories);

—Some 28,000,000 newspaper readers of the total 50,000,000 subscribers to the 712 papers found no coverage at all of the report in their local press.

AND NOW?

I have deliberately omitted names of papers and writers because for all I know the fellow who sinned one day according to my lights exemplified professional attainment the next. The casual observer, and I pretend to be little more than that, finds no consistent pattern of malicious intent or incompetent work. The lack of pattern perhaps proves wrong those critics who find vast plots on the part of the press to shape the public will.

Some papers and writers went beyond duty in initiative; some made the decision deliberately to play down racial news. We should take comfort in the observation that as a crisis draws closer in a particular community its press increases the firmness of its editorial position and gradually builds up the intensity and quality of its news coverage. Since any newspaper's basic precinct is its own backyard, this trend might be expected. But it does reveal that there is courage and a sense of duty as urgency and proximity increase.

The press' sense of responsibility has been especially high when communities in the South go through a transition in their schools. At the Nashville education conference of the Commission on Civil Rights in 1959, and again at the Gatlinburg conference in March 1960, every school official who had experienced some desegregation praised the cooperation of his local newspapers,

radio, and TV stations. Newspapers received commendations for explaining desegregation plans, soft-pedalling minor incidents among students, and generally serving to maintain public calm.

Some debate is possible among newspapermen on the question of whether or not news should be suppressed for the public interest, but the point here is that school officials who participated in the conference unanimously felt that when the chips were down their papers helped them enormously.

Perhaps in some communities the time has not come to draw too fine a line. In most, an occasional tolerant editorial does not make a beleaguered martyr of the editor, despite a tendency in other parts of the nation to believe that "courageous" editors in the South read their papers by the light from crosses burning on their lawns. A few editors have been threatened, a handful have been in danger of their lives, and all know the weight of more subtle pressures and influences regardless of their views on the "big subject."

By and large all newspapers hope their views will receive at least grudging acceptance in their communities. Any other reaction would indicate that the editor has failed to persuade his readers or to provoke them to serious thought.

Every day the press is supposed to communicate to millions of people of varying intellectual attainment, background, degrees of prejudice, and keenness of observation the story of our generation. The job is complicated by the reluctance of many people to read carefully or to think about what they are reading. These obstacles defy manipulation of public opinion by any medium.

Nevertheless, we of the press are too imperfect observers of an imperfect world. No other medium can attempt the job we have taken unto ourselves; no other has the independence nor the mandate to do it.

Certainly there is more anguish and confusion in the world than there should be, and if we were better at our jobs some of these troubles might be allayed. We can only hope that there is less trouble than there would be if we weren't around at all.

March 30, 1961

Mr. Sylvan Meyer, Editor
The Daily Times
Press Radio Center
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Meyer:

May I take this opportunity to convey to you my congratulations on winning a $500 Sidney Hillman Prize Award for 1960.

In connection with the luncheon on April 25th, at which the awards will be presented, we would appreciate it if you would send us a biographical sketch of yourself and 24 glossy photographs. We would appreciate your cooperation in this connection to facilitate the handling of the press, which makes it a practice of covering this event.

We intend to invite to the award luncheon quite a number of outstanding persons in the journalistic and academic fields and would be happy to send invitations to anyone connected with your work. Please let me know their names and addresses as soon as possible.

May I also mention that you might be prepared to speak for not more than three minutes at the time you receive your award. The proceedings of the award luncheon will be broadcast and I will send you a copy of the speaking schedule in advance.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation, and I look forward to seeing you on April 25.

Sincerely yours,

Howard D. Samuel
Executive Director

cc: Oma Barton
Harold C. Fleming ✓
Harry S. Ashmore

RECEIVED
MAR 30 1961

March 29, 1961 - Certified Mail, RRR

Mr. Sylvan Meyer, Editor
The Daily Times
Press Radio Center
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Meyer:

I take great pleasure in informing you that by decision of our judges you have been chosen for a $500 Sidney Hillman Prize Award for your editorials in The Daily Times.

The Sidney Hillman Foundation Prize Awards were established in recognition of outstanding published or produced contributions dealing with the general subjects of trade union development, race relations, civil liberties, world peace and related problems. Awards for 1960 have also been voted to the following:

Davis McEntire, research director for the five volume study prepared for The Commission on Race and Housing and author of the final volume, Residence and Race (University of California Press).

Fred J. Cook, for "Gambling Inc", a special issue of The Nation.

Walter Peters and Marshal Diskin, producer and director respectively of the program, "Cast the First Stone", ABC-TV.

The judges were Buell Gallagher, president of the City College of New York; Lewis Gannett, former book critic of the New York Herald Tribune; and William L. Shirer, author and commentator.

The awards will be formally presented at a luncheon at the

Hotel Commodore in New York City, on Tuesday, April 25th. I am enclosing a check covering the cost of your transportation to New York City and return. If you wish, we will reserve a room at the Hotel Commodore for your accomodation while in New York.

I would appreciate it if you would regard the awards as confidential until April 25th.

Will you let me know as soon as possible that you will be able to attend, and meanwhile, please accept my sincere congratulations on your achievement.

Sincerely yours,

Jacob S. Potofsky
President

Enc.

cc: Oma Barton
Harold C. Fleming
Harry S. Ashmore

April 30, 1962

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Mr.Meyer:

Enclosed is a copy of an editorial, "Getting Out the Negro Vote," from the Richmond News Leader of April 19, 1962 which Mr. Dunbar has asked me to send to you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Executive Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

688-5453

Sylvan Meyer

editorial L. 63 er
Ap. 19, 1962
article c
Vep.

Y conference
Camp Aldersgate

Rac Cin & Pen
25

Communication?

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

Jerry Mann

[redacted]

Box 284

Hendrix College

Conway, Arkansas

Mailed 4/30/62 MS

1 Crisis + Lesson

25 copies Spearman-Meyer Waters

25 " L22

25 " July/Aug 1961 New South

December 21, 1962

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
The Daily Times
Press-Radio Center
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

We'll come to see you after you get tired of showing the slides.

We have sent the pamphlets to the two gentlemen in Ecuador and are sending you a few extra under separate cover.

Merry Christmas.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:bp

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

The Daily Times

Press-Radio Center, Telephone 532-6211

Gainesville, Georgia

Dec. 17, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. Bldg. SW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les,

I am back from South America and the Caribbean after a wonderful trip. Learned a lot and anxious to talk to you about the reactions there to Oxford, which happened while I was in Jamaica, and other things.

Promised a couple of people copies of Racial Crisis and the Press, but have only one copy left myself after giving away the rest there. Could you mail them for me from Atlanta?

To: Carlos A. Rodriquez S.
1242 Entre Olmedo y Manasi
Guayaquil, Ecuador

Dr. Segundo F. ~~xxxxx~~ Ayala , STD
Apartado 2096
Quito, Ecuador

Thanks very much. Come see us during the holidays. We'll show slides. I only have about 600.

Best wishes,

Sylvan

Newspapers, et. al.

September 19, 1963

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

Anne sent me your editorial and it is terrific. I liked also your column of the same day about HUAC, and the Cuban travellers who deserve each other as two sets of people ever did. If the Gainesville Daily Times is always this good, we really ought to read it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

The Daily Times

Press-Radio Center, Telephone 532-6211
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Les,

Here is Sylvan's editorial of Monday, about the Birmingham bombing. He asked me to mail it for him as he is out of town again for the TV show. It was so good seeing you and your charming frau at the Pauley's. If life ever stops being quite so hectic and confusing, we'll have to get together up here.

For the time being, though, my best to you both.

Anne

Newspapers, et al.

September 20, 1963

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

Anne sent me your editorial and it is terrific. I liked also your column of the same day about HUAC and the Cuban travellers, who deserve each other if two sets of people ever did. If the Gainesville Daily Times is always this good, we really ought to read it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File Newspapers, et. al.
Daily Times

MEMORANDUM May 18, 1964

To: BC

From: MMJ

Bernice,

Please mail forty (40) copies of RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS as soon as possible to:

American Press Institute
Columbia University Journalism Building
New York, New York
Attn: Mr. Sylvan Meyer

(Label attached)

thanx, mmj

NOTE: These are due in New York before ~~5~~ June 8 for a Seminar.

The Daily Times

TELEPHONE 532-6211 · AREA CODE 404 · 308 SPRING STREET, S.W. · GAINESVILLE, GEORGIA

May 14, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les,

I'll return to the land of the living one of these days!

Meanwhile, do you have 40 copies of "Racial Crisis and the Press" around. I need them for a seminar at Columbia University starting June 8. If so, please mail them to the American Press Institute, Columbia University Journalism Building, New York 10027.

Thanks.

Sylvan

Rec'd 3/19/65

File Newspapers, et al.

The Daily Times

TELEPHONE 532-6211 · AREA CODE 404 · 308 SPRING STREET, S.W. · GAINESVILLE, GEORGIA

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

March 18 (1965)

Dear Les,

Here is the talk I gave in Canada. It received an excellent response, although looking over it now I think it is awfully disjointed and tries to say too much in too little time. Nevertheless, since it incorporates the items I picked from your brains I thought you might like to see it. I don't need it returned.

You would like to know that James Dunlap, chairman of the bd of regents, drew heavy pressure regarding the meeting at the Georgia Center. He had promised Frances and me two years ago that properly handled an integrated session at the Center would be in order and not opposed. The guy is slick as a whistle, even if I do disagree with him often, and turned aside the criticism in a way that kept an issue from crystallizing. He is a man who can be worked with if not pushed too hard.

Best,

Sylvan

Quebec March 11, 1965
International Press Institute Bd.

Among the reasons why events in the South have been difficult to understand is that they have been regarded piecemeal, or through the eyes of partisans, or, and this is most confusing, through opposing quotes from the bitter opposites in the struggle there.

Taken incident by incident, as crises occur in time, the pattern is hard to see. And as a result, the world finally comprehends the pattern months and years after it has been established.

It is true that the civil rights front is quiet in Atlanta, rough in Selma, smouldering but improving in Mississippi.

For perspective, however, the scattered incidents must be viewed as a whole and some generalizations evoked. The basic generalization is that the central civil rights war is over. The central issues in controversy over constitutional rights, dating from the early 1950s, are decided.

The populace senses this in every Southern state, with the possible exceptions of Mississippi and Alabama where fundamental resistance is dead but doesn't know it yet. What remains of the war on constitutional principle, against the hardcore segregationist-white supremist faction is a mopping up operation. There will be more casualties as the light dawns late in small towns and in rural areas of predominantly Negro population, but the major struggle is on a new level.

Many Negroes and many whites don't yet realize they are still arguing points long ago settled. But the effective leadership recognizes it, and that includes the governor of Mississippi as well as the Rev. Martin Luther King. So some skirmishes, illustrated by Selma's recent problems, continue. These are pockets of anachronisms. They do not even qualify as rearguard actions because that cause is lost.

Bayard Rustin, who organized the March on Washington, said it very well.

He called on civil rights leaders to recognize that they are no longer leading a protest movement, but a political action movement. Their point is made: they have a national mandate, a national administration, an effective Civil Rights Act. Those figures of national stature who wanted to cling to a two-class South have practically surrended: Russell, Talmadge, Long---even Thurmond.

Sen. Talmadge, a Georgian whose father epitomized anti-Negro politics, not only recognizes that the war is lost. He knows that half-a-million Negroes will be voting in Georgia when he comes up for reelection.

So, we all have some steretypes to get rid of.

I would even go beyond what Rustin said. The revolution is over. Today's arena is not only political. It is social and economic, as well.

We need new definitions and re-stated principles. A year ago we might rely on strictly consitutional definitions and use them as the touch-stones for our observations and opinions on issues involving race relations in the South. Now, however, the situation has moved beyond the scope of such fundamental and simplistic tenets. "Equality under the law;" for example, no longer covers a situation in which Negroes, freed of legalistic discrimination, seek not only freedom of opportunity but social and economic equality; the kind of equality the law guarantees no one.

-More-

The mere absence of discrimination will no longer suffice for Negro leadership. The movement is toward advantages that will counter-balance ancient disadvantages.

Millions of Southern whites have matured since 1954. Millions of Negroes will suffer further indignities and disappointments before they themselves mature.

It is really rather ironic that yesterday's most bitter die-hards, whose fear of Negro freedom grew largely from social and economic concerns, were defeated by moderates and liberals who told them they were worried about a myth, that all the South had to do was conform to constitutional mandates.

Nevertheless, the new struggles will be less violent than those of the past. In the area of economic ambition, the Negro may even return to his natural ally, with whom he has not been joined since the early days of the Populists, the economically deprived Southern white. If class rapport has any validity, this will come about.

So, the resistance to change in the South has largely yielded--- to the pressure of the courts, the federal government, fear of international embarrassment, to its own costly and desperate efforts to educate everyone, unequally or not.

Other forces are at work, too. The prosperity of the South, the invasion of Yankee capital and Yankee management (while able Southerners were moving North to run the corporations, able Northerners came south as branch managers). Millions of Negroes moved from the South, reducing pressures to some extent but even more importantly proving the mobility of the Negro and his capacity in less restricted societies.

The old mystique slow lost its force over the South. When my wife and I celebrated our second anniversary, the banks closed in Gainesville. She was greatly honored until I reminded her that we had been married on Robert E. Lee's birthday. Several years ago the banks stopped closing: since we remain married, I can only surmise that Gen. Lee has somehow lost ground. Confederate Memorial Day is recognized largely by the UDC. Not even the Civil War centennial celebrations revived waning Southern chauvinism, despite the worry of some of us that they would do so.

Martyrs and heroes have played their roles. The chief philosopher of the South, Ralph McGill, continues to shape current history. Hundreds of volunteer groups, white Southern ladies in scores of organizations with acronyms like HOPE, OASIS, ASSIST, and so forth fought rednecks to protect public schools. The Kings, Merediths and the younger Negroes like Charles Lewis have played a key role. Much of the mechanics of change at the community level has been handled by people whose names have never been in a newspaper but who are the real engineers of progress where they live.

Now the more adtivist organizations are regrouping for a less clearly defined but to them even more crucial battle. The Civil Rights Act is not the signal for them to fold up, go home and redistribute their treasuries to the donors. For one thing, they face the task of mopping up in the backwashes of the main struggle. The outcome in Selma, we can now recognize, is a foregone conclusion but the police clubs are no softer than the billies in Birmingham, or Albany or Little Rock. Indeed, some of the cops are younger and stronger and the demonstrators older and more fragile.

To maintain our longrange perspective, however, Selma's eventual capitulation is certain. The repeated stupidities of Alabama sheriffs astound even the old hands at the business of covering Dixie's revolution. Sheriff Clark has played the scrpit as though Martin Luther King had written it and, though King certainly doesn't want to be beaten, he has been through the scenario enough to smile wryly and predict how the story will end.

Which brings us to another point about the South, and very likely about the North, too. It is the instructive value of crisis. The Mississippi murders, though brutal and needless, have a certain value; just as the freedom riders, the peace walkers (those poor fools---imagine walking through a South Georgia town wearing beards, sweatshirts, and open sandals--if the peace marchers had shaved and worn business suits and brogans, an entire incident of history might have been different)--- and Oxford, Miss. and Albany and the rest, moved thousands of people.

A modern community, dominated by its economic power structure and anxious for order, will not long tolerate chaos.

Eventually, people who don't want to see other people hit in the head or decent communities torn as under begin to speak out. They want their communities xxxx restored to normalcy. When the crisis begins to pass, as it always has, the pressure of decent citizens, of the courts, of the national will and of justice itself moves solutions in a constructive direction. I certainly don't advocate crisis, but Little Rock's tragedy prevented one in Atlanta; Oxford's prevented one in Tuscaloosa, Selma's will prevent others.

The question of who is in charge is important. The mayor of Nashville told me that when he realized what had to be done, he called the economic power structure together---his phrase. When they saw the light, he said, a solution was on its way.

Adjustments once begun move far more rapidly than many of us think. One area in which critics of the South were off base---and less than helpful---lay in their failure to recognize the speed of change toward constitutional conformity. They exacerbated any number of towns, and still do, well after the fact of trouble.

Atlanta's school desegregation in 1960 was peaceful but painfully won. No one really knew what would happen. Four years later the mayor of Atlanta went to Washington to testify in favor of the Civil Rights Bill. In 1958, Marvin Griffin became governor of Georgia on a states rights, bitterly anti-Negro ticket. In 1962, Carl Sanders became governor on a ticket concentrating on improving educational opportunities for all citizens of the state.

Of course, the principal harm done by the Sheriff Clark's and the George Wallace's today is that they keep the minds of their people off the larger problems of the South and the nation. They also let the people of the North find excuses for their own failure to build a completely non-discriminatory society and point to the degraded South again.

The speed of change, now, will vary from place to place. There is a shortage of Negro leadership, especially in the smaller communities where a lack of job opportunities drives qualified young people away.

Our paper did a study in conjunction with the school board four years ago and found that 90 per cent of the Negro high school graduates of

-More-

classes four years before the study date were no longer in our city.

The new Negro middle class, deeply concerned about racial image, must show more patience and empathy toward the Negro poor and ignorant. Indeed, increased stratification of the Negro community is one of the new problems, or at least, is a problem becoming apparent in the new situation. It is one of the issues on the new plateau.

The new issues are no easier than the old ones. Indeed, just shifting gears on problems is a problem.

The Negro is searching for a new principle to justify such actions as bussing children across school district lines in order to achieve integration. This is quite different from non-discrimination. It raises not only constitutional questions, from the other end you might say, but feeds the white backlash idea. It produces concern in whites who have just made one, for them, difficult and somewhat exalting adjustment that the Negro will use race for advantage rather than equality.

A new tone of political libertarianism overlies this aspect of the new situation. A liberal must now be pro-Negro, not merely pro-justice for individuals.

We saw in Atlanta, when Martin Luther King's SCLC joined striking workers at Scripto, the issue of civil rights in a labor dispute. The workers were largely Negro, but this was the first incident that I know of in which a working, on the scene relationship between the labor and civil rights movements won a wage issue on a picket line.

Most important is the Civil Rights Act itself and the changed posture of the federal establishment. Before the Act the federal government moved through political pressure, moral suasion, the courts and constitutional legalisms, and these were often broadly misinterpreted and misunderstood. It could investigate, under certain circumstances; it could mobilize marshals or even soldiers in cases of desperate crisis.involving federal court action.

The Civil Rights Act puts the U.S. directly into the picture now. The government can administer programs of reform. It has legislated itself out of the position of referee and into the position of participant.

Through administrative regulation of schools, public accomodations, employment and any project using federal funds, and that's most of them.

There have been some embarrassing slipups:
1. release of school regulations delayed
2. Ga. schools signed compliance, wrong way to do it

But there has been remarkable acceptance of its mandates.

I favored the CR Act before it passed and favor it now. I think any bureacracy requires close watching and frequent confrontation with the realities. It is unfortunate that a simple, straightforward law must run the gauntlet created by its own administrative apparatus, but there's no help for that, only the need for close monitoring of application of the law. And that's a job for the press, I suppose.

Additionally, the federal government has moved, almost at once, on the entire field of social and economic reform. The Ec. Opp. Act, another possible victim of its own bureaucracy (but that's another speech), will try to move the disadvantaged Negro and white out of a hopeless cycle of porverty

and ignorance and in the process will expose hundreds of thousands of Southerners to constructive, integrated experiences. If the opportunities program becomes large enough, it could have social effects in this wise approaching those of World War II. The Appalachia program is another example of federal action at the fundaments of our society, seeking for the switch to the machinery of social and economic progress. Reapportionment of state legislatures will also alter directions of state action.

So here, you might be thinking, is a guy standing on a shaky deck in a raging sea dreaming of the balmy days ahead. No such thing. I merely think that this is the inevitable course of events in the South, given enough time and the luck to avoid a depression or a major international conflict.

Allow me one more observation. I recently resigned after seven years service as chairman of Georgia's Advisory Committee to the US Commission on Civil Rights. I felt no longer needed. The Act is now law. The dialogue is no longer challenging. The nature of the whole effort for the south that should be, while it still needs its adherents, made that particular volunteer job largely administrative.

I am distressed, and have been for some time, that an authentic, honorable conservatice voice in the South has all but disappeared. The only respectable group left with an iota of intellectual honesty is the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, of which our colleague, James Jackson Kilpatrick is vice-chairman. It has spoken thoughtfully, though I think inaccurately, on a number of related subjects: on the 10th amendment, right to work laws, extensions of federal power, the one-man, one vote issue and even Presidential disability.

The others-KKK and WCC are ignorant rabble rousers, full of obscenities and garbage. Perhaps we are so right, so true in this new course of the New South that there are none who disagree but the inarticulate, disaffected remnants of an old order that never was. The lack of sound, vigorous opposition--not to individual human rights--but to the new activist elements who purport to seek an enlargement of those rights, I find undefinably distrubing and without making any particular point of it, merely wish to call this phenomenon to your attention. I regret the absence of responsible dialogue.

The headlines haven't ended; the time of crisis and trouble and injustice isn't over. The focus has changed somehow in the past 15 or 20 years, a western democracy, in my view, has managed to guide, control, contain and even inspire a social revolution of great magnitude without tearing itself apart in the process. I regard this as a remarkable achievement and in it find reasons for xcontinued hope.

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HCP - PA
FBB - JC
MF

harold, here's that article; you'll note traces of the conversation you and pop and i enjoyed a couple of months ago...good to see you at the dinner..all invitations still hold. niemans will hold board meeting at dinkler sat-sun this week...ring us up and we'll have a couple.

s

Sylvan Meyer
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Ga.

THE SOUTHERN MODERATE---

STRONGER THAN EVER

The word went out shortly after Little Rock; magazines repeated it and commentators emphasized it---the Southern moderate is dead.

When federal troops surrounded Central High School, said these reports, the "man in the middle" in the South's racial integration issue stood dismayed and dismounted. He had to advocate immediate integration or affirm with so many of his Southern brothers that the line would never, never be crossed.

Like so many generalizations about the South, this assumption was without foundation then, and now that the crisis has passed at Little Rock the man in the middle, his leading spokesmen stoutly maintain, holds his ground not only unbattered but strengthened.

Why? How? For one thing, says Harold Fleming, director of the Southern Regional Council, Little Rock impressed on even the most intransigent segregationist the inevitability of the change at some time. Little Rock wrote in red letters underlined and circled that when the courts finally order integration, there will be either integration or insurrection. No Southerner has been adamant enough to advocate the latter.

There are deeper reasons arising from the attitudes of the moderates themselves and from the inner feelings of all Southerners

-more-

who don't have as difficult a time telling themselves the truth as writers from the "outside" sometimes think. Few Southerners---and we are discussing the Deep South, the slow-changing South of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina---when suddenly accosted for a statement say what they really feel about racial matters. And those Yankee questions rarely bring forth an answer that reflects careful weighing of the eventual alternatives in the racial issue.

The moderate or "gradualist" or what you will is not annihilated. He has moved in his thinking further along the road to legal equality for every one in the South; he has progressed a few notches along his time table. Since the confusion and the great silence of 1955-56 in the South, the moderate has become more articulate. His position in the issue can be more closely defined. His tribe has increased.

As before, several different stages of moderation can be found among the people of the Deep South. The 80 per cent Negro counties may have one or two flaming liberals who mutter, when they can't be heard, that "it wouldn't be too bad". More evenly populated counties are beginning to produce bolder statements from pulpit and press. Still others in the Deep South have reached a level in their thinking that parallels somewhat the currents of opinion held in the border states of the South last year or two years ago. While no statistics exist to prove it, from organized groups and independent individuals flows a strong current of persuasion regarding racial peace, the gradual lifting of legal discriminations and constant reiteration of appeals to reason, justice, economic stability and religious ethics.

There is a conscious though unorganized and unarticulated approach to the problem through emphasizing that change must come

-more-

by self-regulation and local decision rather than outside pressure; that legal (as opposed to cultural) desegregation can be engineered without loss of face and without violence. The need for civil order is a moderating argument against emotionalism.

However much time this method may require to bring compliance with the school desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court, it does represent action rather than either passivity or retrogression. Unquestionably school desegregation will come after golf courses and buses and parks. The point is, a reconditioning of the Southern attitude is underway and to a great extent the Southerner himself is impelling the change.

Since observers began trying to classify segregation opinion in the Deep South, three categories have been popular: the integrationist who wants complete change now; the segregationist who rants against change at any time and proclaims that change will never come; and the moderate who concedes that change is necessary at some time in the future and hopes to create a climate in which that change will not cause chaos.

The body of folks who make up the reluctant dragon of moderation march along pretty much together, the head readier for the change than the tail, the body firming up its opinions as it goes. Since Little Rock the entire dragon has advanced a few stages: the head is articulating a policy that might condition the South for change; the tail is beginning to face some revealing truths; the body's opinions are crystallizing and finding expression.

No great surge to comply with the Supreme Court's ruling should be construed from this argument. We are describing a piecemeal dragon whose various parts are scattered and whose progress is dependent on what area and what time we are talking about.

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A subtle change may be noted in the very tone and substance of arguments. Except for the same fringe of extremists who ranted long before the 1954 decision, segregationists now base their approach on issues of constituionality and states' rights rather than the alleged inferiority of the Negro. From "nigger, nigger" the cry has progressed to dignified, intense espousal of constitutionalism. Such subject matter lends itself to thoughtful speeches whether the conclusions are wrong or not. Thoughtful and rational argument encourages listeners to think, to search their minds logically and not emotionally. The moderate observes this phenomenon, realizing that logic even in the South can lead to but one conclusion.

Although no hordes of suddenly converted Southerners have appeared backing a drastic post-Little Rock doctrine, more members of the clergy, the press and the public generally come to the rostrum preaching basic democracy, seeking an atmosphere of love instead of hate.

After all, Southerners read publications of national scope. They see the Wall Street Journal articles reporting conflicts between angry segregation policy and the sweetness and light of industrial development pitches. Though recession has touched the South more lightly than other areas of the country, local businessmen and professional men who exert final influence in their communities don't want dissension on top of depression. Agitation isn't good for business and right now business is important.

However strong the Southern mystique may be, it has been made diffuse by immigration and the section of the South in which it operates absolutely is shrinking as though tightened by a giant

-more-

drawstring. Time is on the side of law and worthy motivations. Human beings tend to move away from pressure and toward release; the perseverance of the mob cannot equal that of organized, law-abiding society.

Perhaps authors of the notion that moderation is a lost cause have been paying too much attention to force segregation bills erected as last ditch measures by Dixie legislatures. These are certain targets for future court action and are enacted not with hope but desperation. Each politician merely hopes the whole extra-legal structure will hold together while he is in office and tells himself and his constituency he is the man who can furnish the glue. He is kidding himself and the voters know it.

He tries to use Little Rock to prove his point and all the time he's really telling fellow Southerners the federal government, driven to a final extremity of action, will make him out a liar.

And Southerners themselves, what do they believe most? Will they choose chaos rather than law? Will they choose to destroy public education rather than suffer, in most cases, a few Negro children in the back of a classroom?

Threats to public education in Georgia, for example, have made vocal people not willing to be identified previously as moderates, much less integrationists. These people spoke for the view dammed by political leaders as "integrationist", the worse epithet in the professional vote-getter's lexicon.

A measure before the Georgia General Assembly in the January-February 1958 session would repeal the state's compulsory school attendance laws. Since the law demands that every child stay in school until he is 16, the law obligates the state to provide schools

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for him to attend. Since another law would close Georgia schools in the event of integration, the repeal of the attendance law was needed to avoid a legal contradiction. It failed to pass. The Georgia Interracial Cooperation Committee (yes, there's an active one) said, "We believe that Georgians are law-abiding citizens who are capable of adjusting to changing social patterns."

Some of the state's staunchest segregationists fought the measure and defended the public school system, all the while protesting their unchanging loyalty to the old order.

The Savannah Morning News, to whom the word moderate is anathema, backed the moderates in spite of itself. When the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People filed a suit in Atlanta that indirectly attacked school segregation, the Morning News recognized the existance of the moderate:

"The moderates who have argued that Georgia's racial problem could be settled in the years ahead if common sense prevailed on both sides have had the rug yanked from beneath (by the NAACP action)."

This is the first paragraph of the editorial. It goes on to say that the NAACP action will turn the heat on moderates---an assumption similar to that which followed the Little Rock anger.

But the News feared more the threat to the compulsory school law: "While we realize," it said, "that there will be new increased pressure from extremists...we hope common sense will override hysteria and hatemongering insofar as the compulsory school attendance law is concerned, for without this law, the cause of education in Georgia will be dealt a damaging blow".

Like so many Southern voices and a few determined Northern ones on the opposite side, the News snipes at moderates. Then it joins the

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moderates, advocates reason, supports the common sense it spoofed in its first paragraph and foregoes extremism. It presents a moderate argument, one that appeals to hopes and beliefs even more fundamental in Southerners than those emotions aggravated by thoughts of integration.

This is a fairly typical bit of subconscious conversion to moderation.

While the situation in Little Rock now offers no cause for elation, it could hardly be said that moderation has succumbed even there, where the bomb exploded. Harry Ashmore, editor of the Little Rock Gazette, is no less a moderate than before. Although extremists threatened the Gazette with advertising and circulation boycotts, the paper still has advertisers and readers. Ashmore is a perceptive observer as well as a participant in the Southern trauma. New South quotes a speech of his saying that polar attitudes in the South demand compromise. He said, "In Louisville, the basic attitude of whites toward Negroes hasn't changed, but a greater measure of equal opportunity has been offered."

True enough. But the white attitude toward Negroes' individual rights has changed, otherwise no change would be noticed in opportunities. Louisville isn't Charleston or even Atlanta; by the same reasoning, Louisville isn't the Louisville of 10 or 15 years ago, either. In Louisville, people became used to something new and then it was no longer new. The moderate observes that Louisville approached change for several years and that when change came, it came to people whose attitudes had also changed.

Item after item suggests that moderation in the South may be tempering panic. Mississippi, for instance, recently became the fourth Deep South state to reject a law calling for labeling of blood for transfusions according to the donor's race. Legislators spoke against

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this proposal and in so doing had to risk identification with anti-segregation forces. They learned in the process that they can so do and breath remains in their bodies, the sun rises each morning and the voters in their home counties aren't as excitable as they had thought.

In Atlanta, 80 ministers signed a moderate manifesto appealing to reason on the basis of religious belief and the Judeo-Christian ethic. Their statement received wide acceptance and criticism even from the never-never faction was subdued. Other ministerial groups endorsed the manifesto.

From several quarters Southerners have been urged to examine the "despicable" Supreme Court desegregation rulings for the meat of their meaning to the region. The decision did not order forced mixing of the races; it merely demanded that there be no legal discrimination in the selection of students for a particular school. The impression of this understanding is moderating in that it lessens fear.

Last December the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans delayed desegregation in Dallas, Tex., until "after such time as may be necessary to the admission of students on non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed". Whereas this finding may have delayed what the reckless integrationist would call progress, its more lasting effect lies in that it points to the fallacy in repeated assertions by the needless segregationist that the courts are compelling Americans to live out some sort of weird social experiment instead of upholding the individual rights of members of a minority group.

Twelve South Carolinians distributed a pamphlet, "South Carolinians Speak, A Moderate Approach to Race Relations." Though each of the dozen

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authors of the pamphlet is of slightly different persuasion, all ask for understanding and calm and deplore emotionalism. Those worried whether all of America can ever live an ideal Americanism should be concerned less with current statements of peoples' ultimate ambitions than with their methods. If such influential citizens as the South Carolina 12 constantly appeal to reason, hysterial viewpoints will be moderated; Americans, Southern ones, can be appealed through reason to things they believe in most---perhaps even more than they believe in white superiority.

One of the 12 wrote:"We must move slowly because we are dealing with human beings within the framework of a democracy. We must move surely because our social conscience and Christian ethic leave us no alternative."

Prodded no doubt by less patient ideologies, the moderate has produced results. The American Civil Liberties Union reports a study showing that from 1940 to 1955 the percentage of Southerners who do not regard the Negro as mentally inferior to whites changed from 17 per cent to more than 50 per cent.

Last fall eight Southern editors, representing about every shade of Dixie opinion, spoke in a series of lectures at Emory University in Atlanta. The sizeable audience, admittedly intellectual, warmed to the moderates and chilled perceptibly to old-line views. In regional newspapers easing editorial opinion, whether a result of defeatism, submission or changing editorial minds, reflects increased willingness to grant such fundamental prerogatives as freedom of speech and thought on racial subjects.

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A field worker for the Young Men's Christian Association whose job takes him to college campuses across the Southeast reports that students, where they show any interest in topical affairs at all, shrug off the race issue and indicate that it makes no difference to them personally.

This hardly implies a compulsion to democratic action on the part of college students. It does establish evidence of some acceptance of a new order.

In Dallas, where school desegregation seemed imminent, Little Rock shocked the city's power structure. Leaders prepared their city with the slogan, "No Little Rock in Dallas", and began training police to forestall mob action and adjusting minds for the change.

Except for Dallas, none of these instances reflect a sudden reversal of viewpoint as a result of Little Rock. Little Rock is but an incident, although a critical one, in the social shift.

Perhaps, in some ways, Little Rock was a turning point. Atlanta's Ralph McGill sees it so. The New York Times' John Popham, who knows the South and its ways intimately, told me, "I wouldn't say that Little Rock taught Southern cities a lesson that will prevail, but it spelled out a little more the price of resistance."

Little Rock startled many of the South's inert moderates into recognizing the consequences of their inaction. The mob shocked them. They became dimly aware that they face a new problem in leadership and must find methods of using their power to see that transition in their own communities does not bring the same chaos it did in Little Rock.

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If one sought examples to show that anti-integration feeling was intensified by Little Rock, no doubt plenty could be cited.

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No mere list of incidents or instances will prove conclusively that a general attitude on race relations prevails throughout the Deep South. Besides, examples must be judged qualitatively according to what they reveal about regional thinking, not by their numbers.

The second thought about Little Rock, its consequences and implications, has moved Southerners to a different plateau, if you will, of consideration regarding the fundamental issue of the individual rights of the individual Negro. With this second thought, the Southerner is moved, consciously or not, by other great social and economic changes shifting the ground beneath his feet. All of the forces of industrialization and urbanization, of out-migration by the Negro, even of the soil bank and its depopulating affect on rural areas, combine to alter the atmosphere.

Little Rock strengthened the emotional if not the logical appeal of the segregationist. Yet it helped lift his arguments into the realm of constitutional debate, a moderating influence in the long run. Judge Learned Hand's talks at Harvard in which the distinguished jurist indirectly confirmed arguments of states' righters and provided them a reputable sourche of quotations alleging that the Supreme Court now usurps legislative powers provided further fuel for segregationist delaying machinery. Judge Hand has damaged the moderate position, if it can be damaged, far more than Little Rock.

But Little Rock also scared the segregationist. He may praise Orval Faubus, but he wouldn't swap places with him on a bet.

Americans are indoctrinated from birth with repeated pledges to liberty and justice, to democracy and freedom. So far, Southerners who have had to make their choice on a point so basic that these

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tenets were forced into consideration have not rejected their heritage.

The future depends, as one observer put it, on "how the cat jumps". Perhaps because of Little Rock, the newly articulate moderate will accept more responsibility in making him jump in the direction of legal impartiality for all American citizens.

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Statistics
carter

February 8, '54

Dear Mr. Carter,

Many thanks for your letter of February 3.

The report and recommendations I thought excellent, and I am sure carefully calculated to get as much response as possible. I would add, when you feel strong enough, the recommendation that a capable and courageous and representative Negro citizen be appointed or elected to the County school board; I'm pretty sure that's the wise next step. If they are in on all the planning they will agree to the little concession, from major program, that avoid useless friction.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Miss Stoney did send the publication, I believe. Appreciate the two dollars, which helps!

Mr Franklin H Carter
Greenville Alabama

January 14, '54

Dear Mr. Carter,

Our good friend Mr. Lewis Deer, who used to be head of the Arkansas Division of SRC, wrote us that he had sent you copies of the Schools and the Courts and of the Check List. I do hope they will prove helpful. We've been delighted with the wide range of orders from Church groups for either or both of the p amphlets, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Lutherans, the Episcopalians, and so on, besides labor groups and teacher groups - all in all theyive bought nearly 30,000 copies of Q and A, and sent them out. We hope that the little booklet has had some influence in building a better public opinion hereabouts.

The Alabama Division will be mee ing at Ala. State College in Montgomery February 4 - from about te in the morning on. Do come up if you will. Never any great crowd (we have only perhaps 250 members in the whole State), but good people, who are sincerel. Whitsett, at Sylacauga, is the Chirman.

I put in a leaflet about the Council, and hope you will care to join it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

December 20, 1956

Mr. Hodding Carter
Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hodding:

I wrote Father Sheridan at once, and cited some five or six authorities on these matters from among the Jesuit Order, here at home. We sent him:

New South for 1955 and 1956 (all issues)
Changing Patterns
Three Views of the Segregation Decisions
New South, Oct-Nov. '53 (Negro Family Income in the Southern States)
Integration North and South
Southern School News, November and December, '56

The pamphlet material, shaved for a lump purchase, came to $4.95; and the postage to $4.29, so when there is a likely time for Mille. thy secretary to get you to write a check, we will be grateful. But we would willingly bear the cost, as appreciation for you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

HODDING CARTER
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

RECEIVED DEC 20 1956

JOHN T. GIBSON
GENERAL MANAGER

The Delta Democrat-Times

Greenville, Mississippi

December 18, 1956

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Would you get off airmail and bill me for it, all material that you might think pertinent for an article which a Jesuit friend of mine, now studying in England has been asked to write for a Jesuit magazine in England on the race situation in the South. He is a very fine person and is over studying at the University of London in philosophy and psychology. His address is:

Rev. Edward A. Sheridan, S.J.
114 Mount Street
London, W. 1

As Father Sheridan says, "I have my own ideas but want all facts and figures I can get". His ideas, I might ass are excellent.

I would greatly appreciate your doing this.

Cordially,

Hodding Carter

Hodding Carter

HC:lr

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RADIO GREENVILLE - WDDT - 1,000 WATTS 900 KC

"Center of dial"

May 23, 1957

Mr. Hodding Carter
Delta-Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Carter:

Enclosed you will find a collection of materials related to your phone request of the 22nd. Two copies of each of these materials have been sent to Dean Rex. In addition, we are sending him a copy of our special report on resistance groups. This report is now being revised and we will forward to you and to Dean Rex the more current copy in the next several days.

There is no substantial cost involved. We are happy to be in a position to help in this very important work of your committee.

If we can supply any additional material, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Encl.

May 31, 1957

Mr. Hodding Carter, III
332-1901 Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Carter:

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd. We are pleased that we could be of help and look forward to having a copy of your thesis.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Sent Under Separate Cover:
Special Report on Pro-Segregation Groups In the South.

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL

July 26, 1957

Mr. Hodding Carter
Camden,
Maine

Dear Hodding:

Here is what the News and Courier ran. You will note the juxtaposed box stating their editorial prerogatives -- and the way the prerogatives were used to cut out the parallels, including the references to Waring himself.

I suppose Waring would argue that anybody ought to be able to rebut a charge of subversiveness in 200 words. But I think his position would be stronger if he (or his subordinates) had left in the comments about his own vulnerability to smear.

If you decide to do anything on this, please let me know. I wouldn't want to miss it.

Thanks and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - Editorial from THE NEWS AND COURIER
HCF Ltr. of reply to Thomas Waring
Firing Line Analysis

HODDING CARTER
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

RECEIVED JUL 26 1957

JOHN T. GIBSON
GENERAL MANAGER

The Delta Democrat-Times

Greenville, Mississippi

Use this address

Camden, Maine
July 22, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Did the Charleston News and Courier print your rebuttal to Waring's editorial? Please let me know. If they didn't run your letter, I'd like to write an edie condemning editorial dishonesty and cowardice and use Mr. Waring as an example.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Hodding

Hodding Carter

HC/jm

Hugh Waring sees the light

The Delta Democrat-Times

HODDING CARTER
Editor and Publisher

JOHN T. GIBSON
General Manager

Greenville, Miss., Sunday, August 25, 1957

Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.
—Thomas Jefferson

The Editor's Prerogative

ONE of the easiest—and most dishonest — ways to assail someone's character is through the "guilt association" route. One of the easiest — and most dishonest — ways to win an argument is to censor the answers of the person assailed.

A case in point is the recent exchange between the editor of the News and Courier of Charleston, S. C., Thomas Waring, and the Southern Regional Council, of which Harold C. Fleming is executive director and the editor of the Delta Democrat-Times is a director.

Editor Waring fired a broadside at the Southern Regional Council, intimating it was Communist-inspired because "sixteen former and nine present directors of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare,' and quoting the American Legion magazine, Firing Line, as a source of information that the Southern Conference was a "defunct communist front organization," noting that the Southern Regional Council "has received many thousands of dollars from the Fund for the Republic, a Northern foundation that acts as paymaster for integration in the South."

Editor Waring also said, mockingly, that "Mr. Fleming and the Southern Regional Council are moderate only if one believes the NAACP is also moderate. The objectives of the SRC and the NAACP are the same — an end to separate schools in the South"

Mr. Fleming replied that on the basis of Waring's kind of argument "the News and Courier can be no more moderate than the Ku Klux Klan, since both have the objective of maintaining a completely segregated school system," but Editor Waring chose to delete this when he printed the letter in his newspaper.

In fact, out of ten paragraphs, the News and Courier only printed four in reply to its own completely unfair, vicious editorial which attempted to link the Southern Regional Council to the defunct and unsavory Southern Conference on Human Welfare.

May we emphasize here that we hold no brief for the Southern Conference, which, like many such organizations, started out with some directors, supporters and members of good intent but fell into bad hands. These men dropped out of the organization when they began to learn of its true motivations.

The News and Courier should have printed Mr. Fleming's letter in toto if it believes in fair play The paragraphs deleted were cut out with what one can only assume was malicious intent because they were the ones that gave the whole letter meaning.

What remained was an innocuous denial filled with generalities such as "This charge is utterly false and is supported by 'evidence' of the most dishonest sort."

What Editor Waring censored were vital bits of evidence in behalf of the Southern Regional Council:

1. The Fund for the Republic has also supplied money to Southern Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians and Catholics. One of the beneficiaries was the Southern Association of Neiman Fellows and Editor Waring was granted, and accepted, a fellowship under this Fund-financed program. We wonder if his fingers felt as ditry then as his conscience must now.

2. South Carolina Governor James F. Byrnes was a prominent speaker at a dinner staged by that now defunct Southern Conference for Human Welfare in 1945. ("Is one to believe that Mr. Byrnes is a carrier of the dread disease you ascribe to nine of SRC's 80 board members?" asked Fleming. The question was omitted in the News and Courier).

3. One of the past SRC board members, indicted by the Firing Line was the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, who also served on the board of the Southern Education Reporting Service along with Editor Waring of the News and Courier. Mr. Waring also gets money for that too—from the same Ford Foundation that established the Fund for the Republic. (We hope that in gratitude for what might be called a double-tit situation, Mr. Waring at least is driving a Ford or maybe a Mercury). Mr. Fleming wondered if "this means that the SERS and the worthy editor are tainted by this "definite trend of interrelationship"?

4. Another Southern Regional Council director was the late Dr. Howard W. Odom, the South's most noted sociologist, and one of the chief authorities relied upon by Attorney Robert McC. Figg in defending the Clarendon County school authorities who resisted racial integration of their schools in one of the cases involved in the original Supreme Court decision on school integration.

The deleted paragraphs of Mr. Fleming's letter would have made Editor Waring at least as guilty by his associations as he attempted to make Mr. Fleming. As a matter of fact, Editor Waring is guilty only of a very special kind of yellow journalism.

Hodding Carter editorial from DELTA-DEMOCRAT-TIMES 8/25/57 sent to:

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Harry S. Ashmore - Arkansas Gazette
Harry Golden - Carolina Israelite
C. A. McKnight - Charlotte Observer

August 29, 1957

August 29, 1957

Mr. Hodding Carter, Editor
DELTA-DEMOCRAT-TIMES
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hodding:

Your editorial on Tom Waring is a fine corrosive job and gladdens our hearts. I am sending copies to a few select people and I have little doubt that Waring will see it. I will send you a copy of anything he may publish in rebuttal that comes our way.

With warm appreciation and regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

December 9, 1957

Mr. Hedding Carter
Editor
The Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hedding:

Many thanks for your letter accepting re-election to the board of the Council. Your continued membership means a lot to us.

I wonder if I can impose on you for a word of advice. Among those proposed at our annual meeting for invitation to membership was William Faulkner. My job is to see that he is appropriately invited, but mutual friends tell me he seldom answers letters and I have no prospect of seeing him. (Of course, I recognize that, however approached, he may well say no.)

Would you be willing to say a word to him, by letter or telephone at our expense, in favor of acceptance? I would follow up, of course, with a letter of invitation and background information, if it seemed indicated.

The latest election strengthened the Council, adding among others Paul Green and Irving Carlyle of North Carolina and Bell I. Wiley of Georgia. James M. Dabbs of South Carolina was elected president. The members at the annual meeting felt Faulkner would add considerable luster.

It's good to know that your book on Reconstruction is nearly finished. I'm sure it will be a fine contribution to the nation's understanding of that unhappy and myth-distorted period.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

January 8, 1958

Mr. Hodding Carter
Delta-Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hodding:

Many thanks for taking time at such a busy period to write Faulkner about the Council. I have written him as enclosed, sending a few descriptive materials. Let's hope he breaks the rules and opens both letters.

With appreciation and best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - Copy of Ltr. to William Faulkner

HODDING CARTER
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

JOHN T. GIBSON
GENERAL MANAGER

RECEIVED JAN - 2 1958

The Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

December 29, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have been very dilatory about my correspondence during these last weeks of the Reconstruction book. However I finally got around to writing William Faulkner today. I am not positive that he will open either my letter or yours which I have promised him you would write. In this letter I think it would be wise to outline the purpose and function of the Council.

I agree with the other members of the Council that Faulkners name would be a valuable addition.

Best wishes for the New Year.

Cordially,

Hodding

Hodding Carter

HC:ev

August 14, 1958

Mr. Hodding Carter
Editor
The Delta Democrat-Times ✓
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hodding:

I do indeed think an icy letter from your attorney to the Standard-Times would help. The apparent sense of impunity of these birds is as irksome as anything else, and such a letter might at least jar them a bit.

For your private information, I enclose a copy of my letter to Virginius Dabney. I'll let you know what his response is. If he does what he should and sets the record straight, we'll have an exhibit from the increasingly conservative Times-Dispatch with which to explode this myth from now on.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
encl. - 1 (HCF ltr. to Virginius Dabney, dtd. 8/14/58)

HODDING CARTER
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

JOHN T. GIBSON
GENERAL MANAGER

The Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

December 1, 1959

RECEIVED DEC 4 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter and especially for the list of my fellow Reds.

In a way I am glad the thing happened. It is good to find out I have as many friends in Mississippi as I do. It is even more encouraging that 25 of our principal citizens here in Greenville not only issued a statement in my defense but gave the Committee hell for its ~~similar~~ SNEAK tactics. This is the first time such a challenge has been made.

Sincerely,

Hodding

HC:IBL

Hodding Carter

RADIO GREENVILLE · WDDT · 1,000 WATTS 900 KC
"Center of dial"

December 29, 1959

Mr. Joseph A. Franko
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Franko:

Thank you for returning the photostat and for the copies of the Delta-Democrat Times.

We are especially grateful for your generous article on the Council.

I am asking our information department to place you on their pressmailing list. You may find some of the material of interest.

If in the future we can be of any service to you, please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Dec. 9, 1959

Dear Mr. Anthony,

I am returning the photostat copy of "The Southern Patriot" as you requested in your letter of Nov. 18. Please accept my apologies for being tardy in returning it. Thank you very much for the use of it and the other documents you sent. They proved to be very helpful and, I hope, effective.

Also I am sending four editions of the Delta Democrat-Times that dealt at lenght with the attack on Mr. Carter and the SRC.

Thank you again for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

JAF

Joseph A. Franko

via air mail

March 7, 1960

Mr. Hodding Carter
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hodding:

Our files are pretty unhelpful on the 1950 Conference on Discrimination in Higher Education held at Atlanta University. Although we must have had them once, I can't find the preliminary mailings sent out by SCEF.

As of some slight value, perhaps, I'm enclosing copies of an Atlanta Journal advance story on the conference -- which lists some of the main participants -- and an attack on SCEF by the rabid American Legion Firing Line. The latter, just so you can see the worst picture of this sort that can be painted.

It is noteworthy that, at least as of 1957, SCEF was not listed as a communist-front by the Attorney General or the House Un-American Activities Committee. The characterization by the Eastland Committee, quoted in the Firing Line, is the only official citation we can find.

If you decide to issue a public rebuttal, it seems to me the best answer is that you never joined, contributed to, or attended any meeting of SCEF -- including the conference in question. I gather it

is further true that you have no recollection of committing yourself to SCEF to sponsor a meeting of theirs, but that you may have consented to one of the reputable individuals involved that your name could be used in connection with a conference of this type.

We expect to have further information on the conference and its participants tomorrow, in which case I will send it along at once.

Let me know how we can help further.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

HODDING CARTER
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

JOHN T. GIBSON
GENERAL MANAGER

The Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

March 14, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you very much for the information.

I am following your suggestions and replying to a few good friends who expressed concern. But I am not going to issue any public denial because the action has been almost universal in my favor. The broadside which those folks put out was anonymous and that helped.

I think they wanted just to keep me on edge as much as possible in the hopes that they will make me give up or shut up or something. That time is a long way off.

Meanwhile, thanks for your help.

As ever,

Hodding

HC:IBL

Hodding Carter

RADIO GREENVILLE - WDDT - 1,000 WATTS 900 KC
"Center of dial"

April 1, 1960

Mr. Hodding Carter
The Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hodding:

I am glad to know that the anonymous broadside has had the reaction it deserves. It's hard to imagine that anyone whose opinion would matter to you could take that sort of smear seriously.

I just read a news story quoting at length from your editorial on the church property bill. Your usual good, hard-hitting job. I'd hate to have the assignment of intimidating you into silence!

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

HODDING CARTER
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

F.Y.I. JC ✓ LD ✓ PR ✓ MF

JOHN T. GIBSON
GENERAL MANAGER

The Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

April 4, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks a lot for your letter but it should have been written to young Hod who actually wrote the editorial. The wire services neglected to check. He is doing a great deal of the editorial writing these days and I am very proud of him. So proud, in fact, that next month I am going to make him editor and bask in the title of publisher.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Hodding

HC:IBL

Hodding Carter

RADIO GREENVILLE · WDDT · 1,000 WATTS 900 KC
"Center of dial"

May 19, 1960

Mr. Hodding Carter
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hodding:

I am sending you separately such material as we can muster on the private school question. Unfortunately, there seems to be practically nothing in the way of statistics on private school enrollments, establishment of new private schools, or the increase in parocial school activity.

Anyway, I hope the material will be of some help to you in preparing the article. As you get into it, if questions arise that you feel we might be able to help further on, don't hesitate to call on me.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- I didn't include one or two legal analyses, since I didn't feel that they were particularly pertinent for your purpose. If you need more on the legal aspects, we can supply it.

December 4, 1963

Mr. Hodding Carter, III
Editor
Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hodding:

Just a word of admiration for your editorial of November 24.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File
Newspapers, et al
Delta Democrat-Times

August 12, 1965

Mr. Hodding Carter, III
Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Dear Hodding:

Pat has shown me your letter to him. One of the gratifications of the response to Encounter has been that so many people, ranging upward and downward from SNCC who have personal involvement in what that pamphlet talks about, have taken the time to write, and have uniformly expressed respect for it.

Congratulations on your Neiman Fellowship. You may have heard that I am leaving SRC, so this is a permissible time for me to do something which I have had a rule against here, and that is neither to praise nor to criticize the writers of editorials. I think over the last year I have read the editorial page of your paper more frequently than any other southern paper (except the one that comes to my house.) Not only editorially, but reporting also, the Delta Democrat-Times has been one of my sources of instruction, and I thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

AIRMAIL

July 25, 1956

Miss Nancy Balfour
The Economist
22 Ryder Street
London, S.W.I., England

Dear Miss Balfour:

I was happy to get your letter of July 20th and to find that your estimate of the Georgia situation coincides with my own.

By all means, call on me whenever I may be able to do something for The Economist. You can be sure that I will let you know of any ideas that occur to me.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

TELEPHONE: WHITEHALL 1511 • TELEGRAMS AND CABLES: MISTECON LONDON

The Economist

22 Ryder Street, St. James's, London, S.W.1

Mr Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta,
Georgia,
U.S.A.

20th July, 1956.

Dear Mr Fleming,

Thank you very much for your letter of July 12th. My own feeling was that there was little more to say about the present political situation in Georgia than we could get into a note written here. But I felt that I must consult you about it as we had corresponded earlier on the possibility of an article. In the circumstances, however, I think we had better leave it, but I hope you will let me appeal to you again when I feel that the time has come for us to give more detailed coverage to Georgia. I would also be grateful if, if at any time you feel an article needs to be written, you would draw my attention to the situation.

Yours sincerely,

Nancy Balfour

To open cut here

from the
editorial office *of*

COMMENTARY

RECEIVED JUL 11 1957

The editors of Commentary think that you will be interested in this article from our current issue.

34 WEST 33rd ST., NEW YORK 1 • LONGACRE 4-4064

DESEGREGATION AND THE NEGRO RIGHT TO VOTE

New Legislative Effort on Capitol Hill

KEITH KYLE – Correspondent for London Economist

IN ITS own Southland the United States confronts the classic predicament dreaded by Otto von Gierke and other great legal thinkers: the need to impose law that does violence to the moral sense of the governed. The issue is complicated by the Federal system. Moral, or, if you will, visceral conviction can be, and now is, clothed with the legitimizing raiment of state law and high-sounding constitutional doctrine. Law is resisted, or better still side-stepped, not only under color of an outraged sense of fitness but under color of law. The doctrine of interposition, of the standing forth of the state to shield its people against Federal coercion, is a fact in the Deep South, however anachronistic it may be as a theory. School trustees and county supervisors—the little people in local public office suddenly expected by their white neighbors to strike heroic attitudes in the face of expected visitations from the FBI or even, it was rumored, the American army—have seen much of their burden assumed by the more imposing structure of governor, state legislature, and Constitution. Surely all this could not crumble before nine black-robed men in Washington?

FOR the last three years, ever since the 1954 Supreme Court decision banning segregation in public institutions of learning, the attention of the nation—and indeed the world—has been riveted on the South's schools. Now with the administration pressing its civil rights bill in Congress, the focus has been enlarged to embrace the Southern Negro voter, who is virtually disfranchised and powerless to exercise his political rights. KEITH KYLE, who is British-born, Oxford-educated, and a former talks producer for the BBC, has been the Washington correspondent for the London *Economist* since 1953. This is his first appearance in COMMENTARY.

The priority given to ending school segregation was symbolically fitting but tactically awkward. This was because of the central role played by the public school in the American mythology and its special significance in the rehabilitation of the South. The public school is one of the most admired as well as one of the most abused of American institutions. A hundred years ago, when, as Henry Pelling has pointed out in his recent study of *America and the British Left,* to be an English radical was to be an idolator of things American, the public school was the symbol of what was most right about the New World. Now, after two generations of anti-Americanism on the British left, Anthony Crosland, one of the brightest intellectual stars of the British Labor party, has published 550 pages on *The Future of Socialism,* nearly all of which may be summarized in a single sentence: "Socialism means making Britain more like America." The wheel has come full circle. For Mr. Crosland as for John Bright it is the public school which capsules the purity of the American idea.

The school, in short, is anti-snob. It is the crucible through which each generation is to pass, so that it shall start out without inherited ideas of hierarchy. Psychologically, the system is supposed to achieve the same object as 100 per cent inheritance taxes would achieve materially in an ideal community. In many parts of the country, but not in the South, it is an indispensable part of the mechanism by which the melting pot melts. Hyphenated Americans go to school and are there equipped to shed the outer semblances of the hyphen. Combined with this is what many foreign observers regard as an excessive preoccupation with "life adjustment" as opposed to learning,

and a predisposition, now becoming less fashionable, to discourage an intellectual elite. As with most institutions, the performance is less than ideal. The educational standards of American public schools are heavily under attack just when their social purposes are again being admired abroad.

In the South the school has played a special part as both a symbol and an instrument of the region's long drag out of the ruin of civil war. Enthusiastic campaigns throughout Southern states to build up a school system as a means of overcoming Southern backwardness are remembered by many Southerners now living. In some areas the movement encountered opposition among the ruling elements, who preferred the traditional system of private academies; and in Virginia, where this was particularly the case, the main obstacle encountered today by the Defenders of States Rights and Constitutional Liberties, the local version of the White Citizens' Council, has been the suspicion that its leaders were glad of a chance to jettison the public schools. But although until very recently the poverty of the region meant that the schools remained inferior to the national average, they were the occasion of quite exceptional local pride and, especially in the rural areas, they were a center of communal activity.

They contrasted, however, with schools in many other parts of the country in that they were instruments for excluding the Negro from "the community" rather than drawing him into it. Since the South is overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon, the Southern schools did not in any case have the task or experience of assimilating immigrant waves from Europe. Class assimilation was important, almost more so than elsewhere because of the greater incipiency of a European type of class feeling. But while schools started off gentry and poor white on a footing of equality, they did so on a basis of their common whiteness and were the means of separating the children of both from the colored boys and girls who had been their earliest playmates. By demanding integration of schools, Negroes were asking not merely to be in the most modern buildings with the best teachers (in some instances, including the test case area of Prince Edward County, Virginia,* these are now to be had in the Jim Crow schools), they were asking to be included as full members in the whole cycle of assimilation, life adjustment, and everything else that is supposed to go with an American education.

To the whites, for whom ethnic assimilation on this heroic scale was something which may have seemed "American" to others but which was decidedly "un-Southern," this meant acknowledging an unacceptable because an "unnatural" end. Was it honest, was it even kind, to set up for the Southern Negro a mocking imitation of the way Italians, Russians, and Greeks were absorbed into the American mainstream when there was no intention to allow Negroes to be anything but different? Linked to this were two supporting emotions. The first was the fear that, magically, the public school melting pot might indeed work only too well, so that children would grow up together color blind and mixed marriages would debauch the race. The second fear was a highly practical objection by parents, even the liberally inclined, to having the educational standards of their child's school, already none too high, drastically diluted by large infusions of ill-prepared Negro pupils. This is a feeling that makes sense to many parents in the North who have no emotional reaction whatsoever to the few well-dressed, well-behaved Negroes who attend their own schools. From a tactical point of view it was unlucky that the two test cases in the Deep South, which the NAACP was obliged to take up at a late stage, were from areas where a switch from segregation to integration would be most difficult—from a Virginian county where Negro children are in a slight majority, and from a South Carolinian county in which they outnumber the white children by nine to one.

*See James Rorty's "Desegregation: Prince Edward County, Va." in the May 1956 issue of COMMENTARY.

THE issue of school integration *united* the white community in the Deep South because its moral sense of outrage coincides with practical arguments, while the policy's enforcement presents problems of conscience to many in the North, not least because of all functions of government that of running schools is most closely tied by sentiment to the local community. By contrast—and here we come to the main subject of this article—the Negro's right to vote is a principle that *divides* white Southerners, leaving many of them morally uncertain, while its validity seems irrefutable outside the South and its enforcement natural. Most important of all, concentration on the right to vote offers the Federal government the prospect that, by intervening on a single ground, and that ground the most defensible, it may not have to intervene in the South again. If the Negroes could secure their full voting rights and use them, the remaining issues of racial adjustment might be settled locally and, as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP genially observed to a Southern Senator during the Senate Subcommittee's hearing of the present bill, the Negroes would become champions of states' rights in the South.

The full logic of race segregation can no more be carried through in the South than immediate universal enforcement of the Supreme Court's ruling on school integration can be carried through fully. Too many Southerners have guilty consciences about the failure to provide Negroes with equal though separate education, and about the denial of the elementary right of franchise to American citizens. For a while they can rationalize the second by arguing that universal adult suffrage was never in the South's tradition for *any* race. Voters have to be literate and pass some basic test of citizenship, such as an understanding of the Constitution. But the more feverishly the Southern states attempt to bolster the "separate but equal" principle by running up shiny new Negro schools, the more impossible it becomes to keep down Negro voting to its present levels by valid educational tests. And the more Negroes vote, the more impossible it will become to maintain any symbols of separation.

For the white Southerners there is absolutely no way out of this impasse. For the moment all they can do is to cheat—by manipulating the registration of voters so that as few Negroes as possible pass the educational tests. But the more Negroes become educated, the more farcical and scandalous the tests appear. When I was in Alabama last year I asked State Senator Sam Engelhardt, who heads the less extreme of the two rival White Citizens' Councils, whether, since he believed in Negro education and in "qualified" Negroes voting, he would welcome a Negro or two in the state senate once the educational process had created suitable candidates. He replied he would not, because the Negro senator would be entitled to bring his wife to the capitol on certain occasions and that would oblige Mr. Engelhardt to get up and leave the room. As a matter of fact, Mr. Engelhardt would not be around at the time if this episode occurred, since of all Alabamian counties his own, Macon, is the one most likely to unseat a white man by a Negro. Not only is its population 80 per cent colored but, since it contains Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute, it has a quite unusual concentration of Negro intellectuals. Of the three thousand voters, two thousand are white, and, since even the most obtuse registrars could hardly fail to admit that a great many of the Negro applicants were eminently qualified to vote, the whites have been reduced to the desperate expedient of refusing to serve on the board of registrars, thus depriving it of a quorum. Senator Engelhardt's parting word to me was that, as a demonstration of his "sincerity," he had introduced stand-by legislation to split the county five ways among its neighbors if Negro registration ever passed the halfway mark.

By giving priority to the right to vote, the Federal government would be inserting its knife in the most vulnerable spot. Voting is not by and large a Southern habit. While 77 per cent of the electorate of

Idaho voted in the last presidential election, the figure in Mississippi was 22.1. Nor was this exceptional—all the Deep South states are bunched at the bottom of the list. But the Mississippi figure was not entirely due to the fact that one per cent of the adult Negroes go to the polls; only a third of the whites bothered to go there either. A restoration of the vote to the Negroes—they had it, with rather unpleasant consequences, during Reconstruction—would probably rouse Southern politics out of its one-party stupor. Even if it did not, the fragmentary character of Democratic party politics would give bloc-voting Negroes very considerable weight in the choice among the many competing candidates in the primaries. Negroes could exact promises and hold politicians to them. Their presence on the registers would encourage moderates to come out into the open and campaign against racial extremists.

THE administration's civil rights bill has passed the House of Representatives without serious amendment and has gone straight onto the Senate calendar as the result of a smart parliamentary maneuver which has sidetracked the Southern-led Judiciary Committee. Although this has reduced the number of possible filibusters from four to two, this does not alter the fact that one filibuster with all the Southerners taking part is quite enough to kill the measure unless the sixty-four votes can be found for cloture. Since no more than twenty-four Democratic votes at the outside can be expected for cloture, this requires forty out of the forty-six Republicans to line up against the vital interests of what are for most of them their oldest political partners. Bearing in mind that every absence counts as a negative vote, it is clearly going to be a very narrow thing.

With every conceivable vote in favor of cloture counting so weightily, the marginal Senator's bargaining power over amendments will be high. It is to him that the Southerners are directing their argument about the right to a jury trial. Under the bill swift equity proceedings could be taken by the Justice Department against voting registrars and others (such as White Citizens' Councils) interfering with Negroes' right to be registered and to vote. These proceedings would be instituted when they could do some good, before the election took place, instead of attempting criminal proceedings after it is all over. The Attorney General would seek an injunction from a Federal court and failure to obey it would naturally be punished by the judge as contempt. The Federal court would not be bound by the usual rule whereby it does not take any action until local and state administrative remedies have been exhausted. Thus the Federal government would be able to make its will felt on local officials at an early stage in the game, without having to persuade a grand jury to indict prominent people with whom the jurors are completely in sympathy and without needing a verdict from petit jurors in case such people have ultimately to be punished.

The resort to injunction to coerce the South, founded as it quite openly is on a distrust of Southern juries, has opened the skies to prodigies of Southern oratory about King John, who is frequently but inaccurately pictured as going down on his knees before Magna Carta. And many of the liberal supporters of the present legislation are embarrassed by having sponsored the principal precedent—to which Southerners do not fail to appeal—for requiring jury trial: the provision of jury trial in the case of injunctions against trade unions.

The impact of the Southern attack on this feature may be somewhat abated by Senator Paul Douglas's revelation that in many parts of the South the jury lists are based on the very electoral rolls which it would be the purpose of the Federal government's intervention to attaint. It is possible that some compromise to satisfy wavering Senators could be derived from the distinction made by Telford Taylor between a broad injunction against classes of people, when a jury might be needed on the facts of viola-

tion, and a narrow, specific order to particular persons, where a jury hearing would be quite inappropriate.

In any case, it is unrealistic to expect that ordinary procedures will work where, as in the South, there is an absence of consent on the part of the general political community. The virtue of the present approach is that it seeks to incorporate the Negroes into the political community for whose consent the law pines. Their absence is the real ethical flaw of Southern resistance. But political responsibility, it is well to remember, is not simply a matter of securing legal rights. Once the excuse of oppression has been relaxed, Negro communities will have much to do on lines pioneered by Martin Luther King in Montgomery to equip and discipline themselves to use the rights that Americans have.

ALBERT EINSTEIN ON THE VIOLIN

LEO HABER

DAVID sang "holy" with his harp,
I with my violin.
He would string melancholy apart,
I would let sadness in.
He didn't even know Mozart,
I didn't know *T'hillim.*

David played fast with the girls,
I with atoms grew wild.
He would explore love's rules,
I would encompass a field.
Both battled God like fools
To tie Him to our shield.

This then the sweetest art,
Music unparalleled:
To question God from the start
Until from this chamber compelled
And to the future life depart
Where discordant formulas jelled.

LEO HABER took degrees at CCNY and Columbia, and is a graduate also of the Herzliah Hebrew Teachers Institute. His first appearance in COMMENTARY (and in print) was with the poem "The Khazar Poet" (April 1956).

January 3, 1969

Mr. Andrew Knight
The Economist
Washington Office
609 National Press Building
Washington, D. C. 20004

Dear Andrew:

Thank you so much for the magnificent Diary. I sincerely appreciate it.

Tentatively, I plan to be in Washington on January 24. When this is confirmed I will let you know and will give you a call on my arrival.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

The Economist

609 WASHINGTON OFFICE
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004
TELEPHONE: 783-5753
TELEGRAMS AND CABLES:
MISTECON WASHINGTON

PUBLISHED WEEKLY
IN LONDON, ENGLAND

Monday, July 8th 1968 Washington DC

Dear Paul, I have finally arrived back in Washington, and the first thing I want to do is to write you with many many thanks for your guidance and for the names you gave me, all of which turned out to be very useful. I saw, and I think got on well with, Paul Johnston, Lucius Pitts, Bill Becker (Ispoke to Jim Youngdahl who was just about to leave town), Helen Mervis-- all very useful and (a tribute to you) going out of their way to be hospitable. Claud Ramsay was unfortunately away the day I arrived in Jackson, and the next day was the Mississippi convention at which both of us were fully occupied in our different ways: however I did see his deputy Tom (?) Knight.

Thank you for all of them. Can I now make two further requests. Please when you are next here will you call me up. I owe you some hospitality, but also, you can guess, have a number of specific questions I would like to ask your guidance on again. Second, could your librarian send me the 1966 School Desegregation study, and the 1965 one and Black Belt schools: Beyond desegregation; also What happened in the South, 1966 and any further statistical material you have on negro voting.

Yours ever,

Andrew

Andrew Knight

P.S: You also gave me Arnold Leibowitz's name. I have not looked him up yet, but will.

Coles

publications mailed 7-9-68 KM

MORNING EVENING SUNDAY

THE SUN

THE A.S. ABELL COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
BALTIMORE-3, MD.

RECEIVED SEP 28

September 24, 1953

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have not had much time since receiving your good letter to give to preparations for my Southern trip. I wanted you to know, however, that I have read your letter several times and have made note of many of the things which you said. My trip will not permit me to visit all of the places or all of the people you mention, but I expect to see some of them. I shall certainly try to see Clarence Poe and if I get to Columbia, which I hope to do, I will see Mr. Earle Britton and I am hopeful of seeing several of the people you mention at Tuskegee. I have tried to arrange a meeting with Mr. Gordon in Washington but have not been successful. Those people are very busy right now and I have had little time to get over there myself. According to my present plans I expect to spend the 19th or 20th of October in Atlanta. I hope to see you on one of those dates and will communicate with you more definitely to that end as my plans develop.

This letter is just to express my great appreciation for the thoughtfulness and care with which you responded to my appeal.

Sincerely yours,

Newton Aiken

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sorry
enm

P.S. I note that the Regional Council has published a pamphlet on the public effects of the Supreme Court ruling on the school segregation issue. Would it be possible for you to send me a copy of the pamphlet? Thank you. N.A.

October 16, 1953

Mr Newton Aiken
THE SUN
Baltimore 3, Maryland

Dear Mr Aiken:

I am at your service for luncheon on October 19 and look forward to it.

Give me a call when you are in Atlanta, and we can arrange the time and place.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm:t

MORNING EVENING SUNDAY

THE SUN

THE A. S. ABELL COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
BALTIMORE - 3, MD.

RECEIVED
OCT 12
Southern Regional Council

October 8, 1953

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your further courtesies and for your letter of September 29. Since you have a meeting on the 20th I think we had best arrange a talk on the 19th. I am hoping to arrange some appointments in the Federal Reserve Bank in the afternoon of that day. I will call your office and see what time we can arrange when I get to Atlanta. Would it be possible for you to have lunch with me? If so, it might save some time for you.

Thanking you again, I am

Sincerely yours,

Newton Aiken

Newton Aiken

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

December first, 1953

Mr Newton Aiken
THE SUN
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mr Aiken:

I hasten to send you our latest issue on Negro income.

Meanwhile, the warmest thanks for your articles which I will read with care and the greatest interest.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure - 1

MORNING EVENING SUNDAY

THE SUN

THE A.S. ABELL COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
BALTIMORE-3, MD.

Clips to A N

RECEIVED
NOV 23
Southern Regional Council

November 20, 1953

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing clippings of the articles which have so far appeared. I have a school piece which is coming out very shortly and some others. I will try to see that you get all of them. You were very helpful in giving me information not only about conditions in the South but about people to see, and I feel that you had a big part in the preparation of these pieces.

One of the articles deals with income in the South and refers to the Negro income as being low along with that of the farm population. I should like very much to have any ideas that may occur to you on this subject as, it seems to me, it is highly important for the South's future.

Sincerely yours,

Newton Aiken

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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GEORGE S MITCHELL SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

THANKS YOUR LETTER. TIME FOR ARRIVAL MONDAY UNCERTAIN BUT WOULD LIKE LUNCH WITH YOU IF I GET IN BY ONE OCLOCK. THIS MIGHT SAVE YOU TIME. WILL CALL ON REACHING DINKLER-PLAZA=

NEWTON AIKEN BALTO EVE SUN=..

RECEIVED 11/6/54 Southern Regional Council

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

November 2, 1954

Dictated October 29

Mr. Newton Aiken
The Sun
Baltimore 3, Maryland

Dear Mr. Aiken:

Delighted that you are coming. I will be here. My best time with you would be November 8th, as the annual meeting of our Board of Directors comes up November 10, and we have state staff people in on November 9 and 11. So, come and see me November 8th as early in the day as is workable with you, and we can talk.

William Gordon is an able young man for you to talk with. He is an editor of the Atlanta Daily World. Was a Neiman Fellow. His address is 210 Auburn Avenue, where the telephone is WAlnut 1495.

Otherwise, and in addition, you might try to see Mr. William Boyd, state president of the NAACP for Georgia, who lives at 604 Beckwith Street, S. W., ALpine 0630 (on leave from Atlanta University this semester, so likely to be at home), or Dean B. R. Brazeal of Morehouse College, whose office is at 223 Chestnut Street, S. W., with telephone WAlnut 1173. Or, if he will be available, President B. E. Mays of Morehouse College, 223 Chestnut Street, S. W., MAin 4223. In addition, Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton formerly Secretary of the Atlanta Urban League, is now assistant director of SRC and may be reached in this office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MORNING EVENING SUNDAY

THE SUN

THE A.S. ABELL COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
BALTIMORE-3, MD.

RECEIVED
10/29/54
Southern Regional Council

October 27, 1954

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I expect to be in Atlanta on a busman's holiday for several days beginning November 8. I should like to have a talk with you and if possible with one or two Negro leaders in Atlanta. Could you give me some suggestions as to whom to see? And will you be in Atlanta yourself on those days?

With thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Newton Aiken

Newton Aiken

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 8, 1955

Mr. Newton Aiken
The Evening Sun
Baltimore 3, Maryland

Dear Mr. Aiken:

Many thanks for your letter of June 3rd, and the wise editorials.

Baltimore has done a very great thing, and we all look confidently for Maryland to move along into line, mostly this Summer. I had been working with some of the people in Montgomery County and was delighted to hear of that county's plans to move ahead.

We continue confident that in all except a few most difficult areas the South will move speedily toward compliance. The Court's decision was wise and has reduced the tenseness a lot.

Instead of cracking down the Court challenged the Couth to come around voluntarily. I think that in as short a period as three years we will all be surprised to see how many counties and cities will be behaving.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

cc & clippings to HCF

MORNING EVENING SUNDAY

THE SUN

THE A.S. ABELL COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
BALTIMORE-3, MD.

HCF

JUN 6 1955

June 3, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have been quoting you in our editorial discussions about the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling. I thought you might like to see the enclosed editorial clippings. I thought the excerpts from Southern papers that we ran were fine.

It was a great pleasure to see you in Atlanta last fall and I hope that if you come this way you will let me know.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Newton Aiken

Newton Aiken

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

I have marked the quotes so

I can not tell from the few quotes here if they are yours or someone else's. No credits are given.

Jah

MORNING EVENING SUNDAY

THE SUN

THE A.S. ABELL COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
BALTIMORE-3, MD.

RECEIVED JUL 19 1957

July 17, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Would you be good enough to tell me when the New South last published figures on the number of Negro citizens registered to vote in the Southern States? Our file is incomplete and so I am enclosing twenty cents in stamps for a copy of the issue in which this information is given. Should the tabulation be dated several years back, I wonder if you would advise me whether in your opinion any large increase in registration has taken place in the intervening years and, if so, where?

Thank you for your courtesy in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Newton Aiken

Newton Aiken
Editor
The Evening Sun

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 26, 1957

Mr. Newton Aiken, Editor
The Evening Sun
Baltimore 3, Maryland

Dear Mr. Aiken:

Many thanks for the tearsheets showing your editorial and cartoon on Negro voting.

It is heartening to see our materials put to such effective and timely use.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MORNING EVENING SUNDAY

RECEIVED JUL 26 1957

THE SUN

THE A.S. ABELL COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
BALTIMORE-3, MD.

July 24, 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am very grateful to you for sending me the two reports which the council has just issued. They came at an appropriate time. We had scheduled a cartoon on voting rights for yesterday and we were planning an editorial to go with it. Your reports gave us exactly the material we needed, and so we got the editorial out. I am enclosing two tear sheets of the page showing both the cartoon and the editorial.

Again please accept our thanks.

Yours sincerely,

Newton Aiken

Newton Aiken
Editor
The Evening Sun

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

July 5, 1956

AIRMAIL

Mr. Emmet Hughes
Fortune Magazine
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Dear Emmet:

I have had some trouble tracking down an extra copy of our draft report on desegregation since May 1954. The extra copy I thought I had got away. So I am having one of our erstwhile researchers in Washington send her carbon to you directly. Bear in mind that it has not been edited or even proof read. If you should want to make emphatic use of any specific items from it, it might be well for you to drop me a note so that I can verify their accuracy as stated.

When you have finished with the draft, I would appreciate it if you would have your secretary send it back to us. No hurry.

It was a pleasure seeing you when you were here and comparing notes on Bob Kieve. I expect to see him in a week or so and will pass along your regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

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		-	Southern Regional Council 63 Auburn Avenue N.E. Atlanta, Ga.	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

(Addressee can be reached by
phoning Cherry 9-4971)

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
520 Ocean Beach Front
Neptune Beach (Jacksonville) Florida

August 7, 1956

Phone Miss Elizabeth Hawley collect Wednesday morning, Judson six one two one two. She is researcher for Emmet Hughes and wishes verification on items he quotes in article he has written for publication. Regards.

Mildred B. Oster

Newspapers
Fortune

November 12, 1957

Miss Susan Hunter
Fortune Magazine
Time-Life Building
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.

Dear Miss Hunter:

I am enclosing the material which you requested this morning in our telephone conversation. The single most important document is probably Integration North and South; starting on page 46 is a description of desegregation in the South since the 1954 schools decision. I have checked on several issues of New South articles that may be of particular interest to you. I am also enclosing our pamphlet The Negro Voter in the South. There is much material in it which will lend itself to graphic interpretation. In the pamphlet Next Steps in the South you will find a population map of the South which should be of interest to you. I hope this material will be helpful to you in preparing the American exhibit at the International Fair in Brussels.

It is important for those of us who believe in democracy to interpret to the rest of the world the progress that is being made in this nation. It is important that the people of Europe fully understand that the demagogic politician who occasionally creeps out in the South is not representative of our people.

I would suggest two books that might also be helpful to you: The Negro Potential, by Eli Ginzberg (University of Columbia Press) and Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow, by Swanson and Griffin (University of North Carolina Press).

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
(Dictated by Mr. Routh but signed in his absence)

FBR:fcl

January 24, 1958

Miss Susan Hunter
Art Department
Fortune Magazine
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.

Dear Miss Hunter:

Many thanks for your kind letter of January 21st. The Southern Regional Council is always happy to cooperate with any of the national magazines. We were particularly interested in Fortune's project at the Brussels International Fair. We believe that it is important that though we acknowledge our shortcomings we also point out the significant progress that is being made in the South. The best answer to Communist propaganda against the United States is the simple truth that we are making progress and that there are dedicated white and Negro Southerners who are working for a more democratic society. Fortune magazine is to be congratulated for its sensitivity in including more than industrial and business expansion in its interpretation of the United States at the Brussels International Fair.

We would appreciate any photographs you might take at the pavilion at the Fair. Does Fortune intend to run a special article on the Fair? We would be interested in this, if so.

I am glad that you found a useful way of disposing of the literature. The morgue of Time magazine is an extremely live spot and I am sure that further use will be made of it for background purposes.

If we can be of help at any time in the future please feel free to call on us.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

FORTUNE

9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.

January 21, 1958

Dear Mr. Routh:

I want to thank you for the prompt and good help you gave us in connection with the pavilion that FORTUNE has designed for the Brussels International Fair. Integration North and South and The Negro Voter in the South were invaluable to us in the making of the charts that we used on these subjects, and we were very grateful for your suggestions of other references. We have sent your literature on to the TIME, Inc. morgue, which was extremely glad to get it. We have sent the finished design and layouts to Brussels, and hope that it will be a report on the progress of American democracy that is both honest and accurately hopeful.

Again, many thanks for all your help.

Cordially,

Susan Hunter

Susan Hunter
Art Department

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

July 30, 1958

Miss Susan Hunter
Art Department
Fortune Magazine
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Miss Hunter:

Way back in January of this year we sent you some materials for Fortune magazine's project at the Brussels International Fair. At that time I said that we would appreciate any photographs which might be taken of the display.

This letter is to raise that request again. We are interested in what was actually used at the fair and what if any reactions you have had from those who saw it. We are still interested in any photographs which might have been taken. Also we are interested in any special articles which Fortune may have run about the fair.

Would you please take a few minutes out of your busy schedule to give me this information.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

FORTUNE

Miss P. Delaney
Fortune Editorial

RECEIVED
JUL 10 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

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TIME INC.

Rockefeller Center

New York 20

Please return this manuscript with your comments.

BUSINESS AND THE NEGRO -- Silberman, Delaney (Ways)
(1st draft)

7/3/63 rh

> "So long as we read about revolutions in books, they all look very nice -- like those landscapes which, as artistic engravings on white vellum, look so pure and friendly: dung heaps engraved on copper do not smell, and the eye can easily wade through an engraved morass."
>
> -- Heinrich Heine

Businessmen aren't reading about revolutions in books any more; they're up to their elbows in one, and they'll soon know, if they don't already, the acrid smell of the dung heaps every revolution produces. It has become clear in recent months that this country no longer is grappling with a "Negro problem"; it is face to face with a Negro revolt. And businessmen are in the thick of the battle. They have been the targets of Negro demands for the desegregation of lunch counters, wash rooms, and other public facilities in Atlanta, Georgia, Birmingham, Alabama, Greensboro, North Carolina, and countless other cities. And businessmen, in even more cities -- Austin, Texas, Spartanburg, South Carolina, Raleigh, North Carolina, Knoxville, Tennessee, among others -- have taken the initiative to urge the desegregation of public facilities and to persuade city officials to come to terms with the Negro protest leaders.

Businessmen haven't seen anything yet! Indeed, few executives realize the extent of their involvement, which is far

deeper than any but a handful have yet faced, or even admitted to themselves. Until the spring of this year, the Negro revolt had been concentrated in the South and directed mainly at desegregating lunch counters, bus stations, rail terminals, golf courses, etc., and at increasing the registrations of Negro voters. But the mass of lower-class Negroes (and most Negroes in the U.S. are lower class) are more concerned with where they work than with where they eat; winning the right to eat at a desegrated lunch counter is small consolation to men who can't afford the cost of the meal. Negro protest movements are shifting their emphasis, therefore, from "civil rights" to jobs, and the shift will gain momentum. The pressure to open up job opportunities for Negroes will encompass every level, from apprentice to foreman to the executive suite. The methods used will run the entire gamut from polite moral suasion to legal action to boycotts, picketing, and sit-ins. And the pressure will be at least as strong in the North as in the South, perhaps stronger; more than half the Negroes of the U.S. now live in the big cities of the north and west, where they constitute a large and rapidly growing proportion of the population. (See "The City and the Negro," FORTUNE, March, 1962.)

American business, in short, is going to be the main target of the Negro revolt. Indeed, businessmen are going to bear the brunt of the attack against evils for which the whole of American society is to blame, and they will have to carry

a disproportionate share of the burden of change. They can't bear it all; the U.S., as President Kennedy told the nation last June, is confronted with a moral crisis which demands action in government, in business, "and above all, in all of our daily lives." Fair or not, however, businessmen cannot avoid the pivotal role in racial change. They may lament the fact, but it is a fact nonetheless, and one with which they'll have to learn to live. Accepting the reality (and the justice) of the Negro revolt doesn't mean surrendering to it. It does mean accommodation.

For example:

Businessmen will have to sit down with Negro leaders not of their own choosing and negotiate terms of settlement, much as they were forced to do during the early days of trade unionism. Negroes, like the unionists, want recognition of their power as well as jobs per se.

Corporations, both large and small, will have to turn their hiring and promotion policies completely upside down in order to employ more Negroes. Unless a company actively recruits Negro employees, Negroes are not likely to apply; they'll assume that a company is biased until they see positive evidence to the contrary. And unless a company modifies its requirements for skilled and technical jobs, most Negroes will be ineligible; they haven't had the opportunity to acquire the usual background and experience.

Corporations will have to practice discrimination in reverse, hiring Negroes for many jobs not because they're competent but because they're Negroes. They'll have no alternative; the price of forestalling a boycott or mass picketing will be an agreement to hire specified numbers of Negroes for specified jobs in a given period of time.

Businessmen, as a result, will frequently find themselves caught in the middle between Negro activists on the one side and a resistant trade union or angry employees on the other. They'll have to learn to walk a tight rope.

For their own self-preservation, businessmen may have to accept -- in some cases, even to demand -- FEPC legislation. Without some form of compulsion, a kind of Gresham's Law operates in which firms continuing to discriminate make it much harder for those who wish to change.

To avoid disillusionment and regret, however, businessmen should know in advance that none of these actions will give them immunity from attack. On the contrary, they should be prepared for the fact that nothing they do will be enough, so far as Negroes are concerned. Indeed, the closer Negroes come to equality, the more their anger and impatience will grow. This is not a quirk of Negro character but a basic characteristic of all revolutions. As the Harvard historian Crane Brinton pointed out in Anatomy of Revolution, revolutions stem from hope, not despair; from progress, not stalemate. And the nearer

triumph the revolutionaries get, the tougher they become.*

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* Brinton's conclusions were based on a study of the similarities between the English, American, French, and Russian revolutions. The Greek historian, Thucydides, preceded Brinton in this view by some twenty-three hundred years. "When troubles had once begun in the cities," Thucydides wrote, "those who followed carried the revolutionary spirit further and further, and determined to outdo the report of all who had preceded them. . .Reckless daring was held to be loyal courage; prudent delay was the excuse of a coward; moderation was the disguise of unmanly weakness. . .Frantic energy was the true quality of a man."

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Businessmen must move rapidly to expand employment opportunities for Negroes, in short, not because doing so will insure racial harmony -- it won't -- but because failure to act will guarantee bitter conflict. The events of this past spring and summer, beginning with the demonstrations in Birmingham in April and May, represent a major watershed in the history of race relations in the U.S. Birmingham, and its aftermath in a hundred cities around the country, demonstrated, so that no one could doubt it any longer, the depths of Negro discontent, the extent of Negro anger and hate, and the ease with which it can flare into

Montgomery
Albany
Greenwood

violence. More important, Birmingham profoundly altered the direction and temper of the Negro revolt, for it brought the Negro masses into the struggle for the first time. Until this spring, the Negro revolt had been waged almost entirely by small disciplined cadres of middle-class Negroes. But when the police dogs were unleashed in Birmingham, every Negro in America felt the fangs in the marrow of his bones. The explosion of anger and hatred that resulted has overcome the traditional apathy of the Negro masses: they are now eager to demonstrate, and they are contemptuous of the philosophy of non-violence that has dominated the struggle so far. And so the Negro masses are now bringing pressure to bear on their leaders, instead of the other way around.* Indeed, Negro leaders, in the

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* Thus, Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., whose distaste for mass demonstrations is well known, felt obliged to fly to Jackson, Mississippi in June to get himself arrested.

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image of the old joke, now find themselves running down the street crying, "I'm the leader. Which way did my people go?"

Increasingly, therefore, failure to meet at least some of the Negroes' demands will mean violence as well as disruption of business. Whether they accept the essential justice of the Negro demands or not, therefore (and the demands, in

essence, are just), businessmen have no choice but to try to create job opportunities for Negroes in advance of any attack. Hard-headed realism suggests no other course. "I'm not an integrationist," says Sidney Smyer, the real estate executive who headed the white negotiating team in Birmingham, "but I'm not a goddam fool, either."

There's another reason for businessmen to seize the initiative themselves: because jobs are so important, they exert a powerful lever on the Negro position in American society. Businessmen may also be able to move the dialogue between black and white to a new and more productive plane. The slow pace of desegregation since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision on public education has undermined Negroes' faith in the efficacy of law and the integrity of white leadership. That faith must be restored if there is to be a rapprochement between the races. By acting on their own to create jobs for Negroes, businessmen may be able, in the phrase of Edmund Burke, to "make the Revolution a parent of settlement and not a nursery of future revolutions."

Sidehead Koming

Businessmen will be the main target of the Negro revolt for two principal reasons, one political, the other economic. Negro activists generally place a great deal of faith in the power of government to eliminate discrimination. But Negro organizations are finding their power to influence government impaired by their close ties to the Democratic Party; roughly 00 percent of American Negroes regularly vote the Democratic line. In a number of cities and states, therefore, Democratic politicians feel free to resist the Negro demands because they think they have the Negro vote sewed up. By the same token, a good many Republican leaders have concluded that since the Negro vote is lost to them anyway, they have more to gain by appealing to whites who are disaffected by the Negro revolt. As a political strategem, therefore, the Negro groups are shifting their attack from government to business, in the hopes of forcing business executives in both parties to bring pressure to bear on the politicians to grant the Negro demands.

More fundamentally, however, the Negro revolt is focusing on business because Negroes are angrier about their poverty than about denial of their civil rights. If one has to be poor, John Kenneth Galbraith has quipped, he should at least pick a period of history when everybody else is poor, for there is comfort in numbers. Negro Americans, however, have the galling

misfortune of being poor in an affluent society; indeed, they are the first minority poor in history. Contrary to popular impression, moreover, Negroes' economic position has deteriorated over the last ten years, relative to the white. Negroes did make enormous advances during World War II and the boom years that followed, for the shortage of labor drew them into factory and white collar jobs that had always been barred to them. As a result, Negro income increased HOW MUCH faster than white income, and the median income of Negro families jumped from only 37 percent of white income in 1939 to 57 percent in 1952. But this relative advance came to a halt with the slowdown of the economy after the end of the Korean War. The slowdown has hit Negroes harder than whites, and so the median income of Negro families has dropped from its high of 57 percent of white income in 1952 to 53 percent in 1961.

This decline is relative, of course; in absolute terms, Negro income has continued to increase. (The number of middle and upper income Negro families has increased quite spectacularly, thus making the Negro market a significant factor in the demand for a good many consumer goods.) But the great mass of Negroes are still mired in poverty. Two out of three Negro households earn less than $4,000 a year, and one Negro man in nine is out of work -- a rate two and one half times the unemployment rate among white men. (In the late 'Forties, Negro unemployment was only two-thirds higher than white.) The future

is even bleaker than the present, for automation is rapidly reducing the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor. It is no exageration to say that Negroes are on the verge of a major economic crisis.

To be sure, Negro poverty and unemployment are due in part to causes beyond business' ability to remedy or ameliorate -- particularly the low level of education and skill among Negro men, which consigns them to the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs that are being automated out of existence. But lack of education and training do not, by themselves, explain Negro poverty. On the contrary, the Negro unemployment rate is higher than the white rate in <u>every</u> occupational group. Among craftsmen and foremen, for example, Negro unemployment runs to 9.7 percent, compared to 4.8 percent for whites; among clerical workers, 7.1 percent vs. 3.8 percent. While a great many Negroes can't find jobs because they lack the necessary skills, all too many Negroes who do have the education and training are unable to put their knowledge and training to work.

The unpleasant fact is that the great majority of firms employ Negroes only in a limited number of job classifications, usually of a menial nature. In the South, employment of Negroes is limited by the tradition that Negroes never be permitted to work on an equal status with whites,* and that they never be

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* Negroes frequently will be paid less than whites performing the same job. Although the number is rapidly diminishing, a good many union contracts provide separate lines of seniority for Negro and white workers.

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placed in a supervisory position over whites. In the North, by contrast, exclusion of Negroes from non-menial jobs stems less from conscious corporate decisions to discriminate than from the conscious or unconscious biases of the personnel officers, the foremen, the executives, i.e., all those involved in hiring and promoting. At the heart of this kind of unconscious discrimination, management consultant John Perry has suggested, is the concept of "place," i.e., the notion that certain jobs and certain situations are appropriate, others inappropriate, for Negroes. In almost every company, that is to say, whether through accident or choice, tradition has reserved some jobs almost exclusively for Negroes and some almost exclusively for whites ("Negroes wouldn't be happy there," "Negroes wouldn't fit in there"; "I'm not prejudiced, but my customers might object.")

Because discrimination is so endemic, Negro youngsters all too often see no point to finishing high school or going on to advanced training; they drop out at the first opportunity, and they shirk their studies while they are in school. "Education is a difficult enough process under any condition," Dr.

Carl Hansen, Superintendant of Schools of Washington, D.C., has explained, "because educational effort is primarily an expression of hope on the part of the student. . .The Negro pupil is obliged to be more hopeful than the white student. He is asked to have faith and confidence which at the moment he is in school seems unreasonable and unjustifiable."

"They mean something else"

Job discrimination, in short, is the fulcrum. Without access to decent jobs, Negroes will remain trapped in hopelessness and despair; their economic position will worsen, and their anger will mount. Fortunately, a number of distinguished corporations have already taken the initiative in hiring Negroes for non-menial jobs. For example, American Telephone & Telegraph hired its first Negro telephone operator in 1946, now has 15,000 Negroes in non-menial jobs; A. T. & T.'s public relations manager, Ramon Scruggs, is Negro. Pepsi-Cola has a Negro vice president, Harvey Russell, in charge of sales promotion to the Negro market; Levi Jackson, a famous football player at Yale, is in charge of industrial relations for a Ford assembly plant; Pitney-Bowes, one of the first companies to hire Negroes (chk) has a great many Negro salesmen; Bowery Savings Bank, largest U.S. mutual savings bank, has several Negro officers (chk); I.B.M. has recently hired Negro salesmen to call in their corporate trade.

In the aggregate, however, corporations' voluntary actions have fallen desperately short of what needs to be done to increase Negro employment. Indeed, the evidence suggests that despite management's insistence that voluntary methods work better than compulsory ones, some form of compulsion is necessary to evoke a real change. The "Plans for Progress" program of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity provides a perfect case in point. Over one hundred defense contractors have signed Plans for Progress "reaffirming" and "reemphasizing" their commitment to equal employment opportunity and, more important, promising to "undertake a program of affirmative action" to recruit Negroes and train them for employment and promotion. The President's Committee has the power to force compliance with the Plans, but so far it has emphasized the virtues of voluntary compliance.

The virtues are hard to find. While total employment of Negroes has increased since the program began, only a handful of contractors account for the bulk of the increase. Most firms have done nothing, or virtually nothing, to redeem their pledges. Last winter, for example, the highly respected Southern Regional Council studied the action taken by the Atlanta branches of some twenty-four companies whose presidents or board chairmen had signed "Plans for Progress" agreements. Only seven firms of the twenty-four could produce any evidence at all of compliance, and only three -- Lockheed, Western Electric, and

why not Tuck?

Goodyear -- had really gone out of their way to create job opportunities for Negroes. The most important of these was Lockheed, whose actions have been highly praised in the business press as evidence that "the voluntary approach" works best. Lockheed deserves a good deal of credit for the many steps it took to recruit, train, and employ Negroes in jobs previously barred to them. But the Lockheed case is no testimonial to the voluntary approach: on the contrary, the N.A.A.C.P. had filed a series of complaints against the firm, charging violation of Executive Order 10927, which requires government contractors to eliminate discrimination on penalty of loss of contract. As the Southern Regional Council report pointed out, Lockheed -- because of the N.A.A.C.P. complaints -- had begun hiring Negroes for non-menial jobs well before it signed the Plan for Progress.

The fact that so few firms have fulfilled their commitments under the Plans for Progress program does not necessarily imply insincerity on the part of the signers. In a good many cases, at least, the Plans have been snagged because top management failed to communicate its intention to abolish discrimination and, equally important, because it failed to take the sometimes drastic measures that are required to overcome inertia and prejudice down the line. Edgar Kaiser, for example, is a member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity as well as a participant in the Plans for Progress pro-

gram, and his goodwill is attested to by the most militant Negro leaders in Oakland, where Kaiser's home offices are located. Yet Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical's Atlanta division made no attempt at all to open jobs to Negroes before the Southern Regional Council Study was published; the division manager saw no reason to do so. "It would strike me as rather ridiculous to hire (a Negro) for an outside sales responsibility," he told the Regional Council in explaining his inaction. "If we had a lot of Negro customers, we would have a Negro salesman." Henry Ford II has also established his good intentions. But an official at Ford's Atlanta assembly plant was quite surprised when he was asked last winter if there were any Negroes among the plant's 250 salaried employees; the idea had obviously never occurred to him. Executives of other companies excused their failure to hire Negroes by the fact that their work was very technical, implying thereby that Negroes are incapable of performing technical work. And some managers had never even heard of the Plans for Progress. "I have other things to worry about, like selling merchandise, rather than what Mr. Kennedy says," one manager explained. When told that the president to his company had signed a pledge to create job opportunities for Negroes, he had a ready answer. "They don't mean regional divisions like us. They mean something else."

Sidehead Koming

If company presidents and board chairman are to convince their subordinates that they do not "mean something else" -- that on the contrary, they intend to hire and promote qualified Negroes -- they can't just issue a directive and then sit back and congratulate themselves on having broken the color line. As the Atlanta experience demonstrates, such a directive is likely to be disregarded unless top management goes out of its way to make clear to supervisors at every level that it expects the directive to be followed. Under the best of circumstances, inertia alone would tend to stymie a directive calling for the reversal of <u>any</u> long-established corporate practice. And these are not the best of circumstances; whether maliciously or not, a good many foremen, personnel officers, and the like are bound to interpret a directive calling for employment of Negroes in the light of their own prejudices, unless management's intentions have been communicated clearly. And the best form of communication is example. Some employees may balk even when management makes its intentions clear; many companies will have to shake up their personnel departments in order to effect a change.

Management must communicate its new policy to the Negro community as well as to its own subordinates; if a company simply desegregates its hiring and promotion, it will receive very few Negro applicants. To avoid being hurt, Negroes will

generally assume that a firm discriminates until they see some positive evidence to the contrary. And because they have been rebuffed so often in the past, they need a lot of evidence. Adding a "We Are An Equal Employment Opportunity Employer" tag line to its want-ads, therefore, is not enough to convince Negroes that a firm is really sincere. To get a flow of Negro applicants, a company must actively seek Negroes by recruiting at Negro colleges, high schools, and employment agencies; by advertising in Negro newspapers and over Negro radio stations; and by using the services of the National Urban League, which has branches in sixty-five cities. (By the same token, however, Negro colleges and high schools in Negro areas have a responsibility to do a far better job of counseling Negro students about the new opportunities open to them.)

Most important of all, corporations must revamp their hiring policies and rewrite their job descriptions to eliminate requirements that disqualify Negroes or discourage them from applying. Under existing policies, Negroes can't qualify for a good many jobs because they've never been permitted to acquire the experience that is a condition of employment; discrimination thus perpetuates itself. ("White folks seemed always to expect you to know those things which they'd done everything they could think of to prevent you from knowing," Ralph Ellison sardonically remarks in Invisible Man, perhaps the best novel written by an American Negro.) For example, a large merchandising firm (FYI:

J. C. Penney) recently approached the National Urban League for help in hiring Negroes for a number of jobs, including store managers. But the firm required ten years of merchandising experience with the chain as a condition for promotion to manager! Since the chain had never employed Negroes in non-menial jobs, the requirement obviously made it impossible for Negroes to qualify for at least ten years. The Urban League therefore suggested that the firm develop some methods of testing managerial ability in a shorter time if it were sincere about hiring Negro managers. Because of past discrimination, moreover, there's bound to be a shortage of qualified Negroes even when the requirements are modified. To increase employment of Negroes, therefore, corporations will also have to develop special training courses to prepare Negroes for more highly-skilled positions.

They'll also have to persuade Negroes already working for them that promotion is possible if they are qualified. To do so, they may have to change their promotion policies; unless changes are made, Negroes are likely to assume, however irrationally, that access to better jobs is blocked. When the Negro boycotts were underway in Philadelphia last year, for example, the president of one large corporation decided to take a look at his company's hiring and promotion policies in advance of any attack. (FYI: The Philadelphia Inquirer. We're trying for permission to name.) He discovered that his Negro employees --

200 out of 2,000 -- were all at the bottom rung, although the company had no overt biases. Upon further examination, it developed that Negroes stayed at the bottom because they never took the written exams which the company used to measure qualifications for promotion; they simply took it for granted that the tests were designed to give the company an excuse for not promoting them.* The Negro employees' suspicions of the

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* Tests frequently are used in this way, e.g., as a device to keep Negroes from voting in the South. Negroes tend to be fearful of tests, moreover, because of the inadequacies of their own education. Negro colleges, and Negro elementary schools and high schools in the South, generally are too starved for funds to afford the commonly-used standardized tests.

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tests may have been irrational -- but no more so than the Personnel Department's use of them. Indeed, a number of job openings were unfilled because white as well as Negro applicants were intimidated by the battery of tests, which bore little relation to the job functions involved. As a result, the president ordered the written tests replaced with job performance tests, and on-the-job training -- and seventy Negroes were upgraded.

"The doctrine of the debt"

And this is only the beginning! Negroes are not interested in equal opportunity any more; they are demanding preference, or "positive discrimination" in their favor. More and more Negroes are espousing "the doctrine of the debt," which holds that the U.S. owes the Negro something for 250 years of slavery and 100 years of discrimination -- and that the debt is long past due. The Black Muslims are arguing this doctrine, of course -- but so are the most respectable and moderate Negro leaders. "The back wheels of a car cannot catch up with the front wheels unless something special happens," Whitney Young, the brilliant young director of the National Urban League argues wherever he goes. "If those who make the decisions in this country are really sincere about closing the gaps," he adds, "we must go further than fine impartiALITY. We must have, in fact, special consideration if we are to compensate for the scars left by 300 years of deprivation, which actually represented special consideration of another sort." Hence Young is demanding special priority in employment, suggesting as a precedent the ten-point preference given veterans on civil service exams after World War II. The popularity of this "doctrine of the debt" is a measure of the change in the Negro mood. Just a few years ago, Negro activists were insisting on "fine impartiality," on color blindness -- hence the various city and state laws for-

bidding employers from asking race on a job application. Now they are insisting on color censuses, to determine the number of Negro employees as a means of forcing employment of more.

Negro demands will go considerably beyond a request for preference in employment, however; business firms will be bludgeoned into hiring Negroes whether they are qualified or not, simply because they are Negroes. In effect, business will be called upon to subsidize Negro employment by hiring unqualified Negroes and training them on the job; because of past discrimination, painfully few Negroes are able, or willing, to compete with whites. Unquestionably, such subsidization will cut into profits, 'though many firms may be able to pass the cost on to consumers. But it will be cheaper for business and consumers to pay a direct subsidy of this sort; the alternative would be to pay the money out in taxes for welfare and unemployment compensation -- or for police to quell riots.

In point of fact, businessmen will have less and less choice in the matter, for Negro organizations are developing a good deal of muscle to back up their demands for preferential hiring. The most widely used technique is the boycott, or "selective buying campaign," as Negroes prefer to call it. "Don't buy where you can't work" campaigns were frequent during the 1930's, but sporadic and only occasionally effective. The contemporary use of the weapon began three years ago in Philadelphia.

The campaign was organized and directed by a group of Negro ministers (some 400 ministers cooperated) with no formal organization; in fact, the leaders kept changing, to make it more difficult for whites to exert counter-pressure, although the chief architect continues to be Rev. Leon Sullivan. So far, the ministers have won concessions from twenty-three companies. Their technique is to approach one company at a time, picking a manufacturer or distributor of consumer products for which a number of competing brands are available, e.g., bakeries, dairies, oil companies, supermarket chains. If the company refuses to negotiate with the ministers, it is given an ultimatum to hire a specified number of Negroes in specified job classifications before a given date. If the demands have not been met by that time, a boycott ensues; with 400 ministers using their pulpits to announce the boycott, a substantial portion of the Negro population is involved. A number of firms, e.g., Pepsi Cola, Coca Cola, have come to terms without a boycott. Others held out -- but generally not for long; Gulf Oil capitulated in twelve days, Sun Oil in three months. The technique has spread to Boston, New York, Atlanta, Detroit, and a number of other cities, and is bound to be widely imitated. As Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Martin Luther King's chief lieutenant, puts it, "Not every Negro is able to go to jail, but every Negro can stop buying a particular brand of bread or milk or gasoline."

Now, however, the boycott is being supplemented by the

use of mass picketing where a consumer product is not involved. Here again, Philadelphia established the pattern that is being followed elsewhere. In June, the Philadelphia chapter of N.A.A.C.P. organized mass picketing to block white construction workers from access to a public school construction site; the unions involved did not hire Negroes. After a good deal of violence -- fifty people were injured -- the mayor ordered construction stopped until the contractor hired a number of Negroes. The technique undoubtedly will spread, for it is well-suited for the construction industry, where union discrimination is a major factor in keeping Negroes out of skilled jobs.

Companies facing a boycott or picketing can expect no quarter. Negro demands frequently will be unreasonable, e.g., to hire Negroes for particular jobs for which there are no vacancies, or in which men are actually being laid off; to find Negroes for skilled jobs in a very brief period. The tragedy of race relations in the U.S. is that the nation has long since passed the point at which it can expect Negroes to be reasonable. And reasonableness, after all, may depend on which side of the table a man is at. Negroes take a highly cynical view of the reasons corporations generally give for being unable to meet their demands. In Philadelphia, for example, one company reported back to the ministers that it had been unable to find the required number of Negroes, and asked the ministers help in re-

cruiting. The ministers coldly told the firm that finding the Negroes was its problem, not theirs -- whereupon the company managed to find the men, after all. And when managers object to hiring men on the basis of their color, professing devotion to the principle that ability should be the sole criterion, Negroes regard the complaint as one more instance of white hypocrisy. They know too many examples of incompetents in high positions; Negroes, they argue, should have the same right to incompetence as whites.

Sidehead Koming

The most difficult adjustment businessmen will have to make will be to accept the fact that Negroes are not just demanding jobs; they are insisting on a share in managerial power. Negro leaders are determined that what they uniformly refer to as "the power structure" -- in government as well as in business -- recognize them and negotiate with them. "I don't care how many Negroes are appointed to public office or even who they are," D.G. Gibson, the canny Negro political boss of Oakland, California likes to tell visitors. "What concerns me is how they were selected."

Gibson's point is subtle and exquisitely sensitive. The aspect of Negro-white relations that has rankled many Negroes the most has been white "power structure's" traditional prerogative of picking the Negro leaders with which

it wants to deal. Negro leaders thus have tended to be accommodating and ingratiating; many have had a financial stake in maintaining segregation. Gibson's insistence that he select or pass on Negroes appointed to public office represents considerably more than an attempt to enhance his own power, therefore ('though certainly this plays a role). More fundamentally, it represents an insistence that whites give up the luxury of picking their own Negro leaders and instead recognize the leaders selected by the Negro community, whoever they may be. For the Negro revolt is directed as much against the traditional Negro leadership as it is against the white leadership.

Businessmen will ignore this fact at their peril. In Oakland, for example, an attempt to bypass the grass roots Negro leadership is nullifying, and may very well destroy, a program that a group of local industrialists is developing to expand Negro employment. The businessmen are to be credited for recognizing that employment is the key to a good many other Negro problems, and that acting voluntarily is the best way to ease racial tensions and avoid Negro demonstrations and boycotts. But they made a fatal error. When it came time to sit down and discuss alternatives with a group of Negro leaders, the businessmen curiously did not call upon the Negroes who would be most likely to organize a boycott or begin the picketing. "We didn't want any of those emotional fellows from the

N.A.A.C.P.," one executive explained. "We wanted sound men who would be willing to ignore the past and just concentrate on the future, so we asked Mr. X to get a group together. He's a sound man," the executive added. "In fact, he's the whitest Negro we have in town." The result was as predictable as it was unfortunate. D. G. Gibson and the other indigenous Negro leaders in Oakland interpreted the move not as an attempt to help Negroes, but as a plot by a group of businessmen to attract Negroes to the Republican Party.* For

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* The reaction has some basis in fact. Two weeks after the business group submitted a proposal to the Ford Foundation's Oakland project, the Republican Party (chk if local or state) issued a statement on Negro employment which repeated the research proposal almost verbatim.

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if the program works -- if it does create job opportunities -- Mr. X, "the whitest Negro in town," would replace D. G. Gibson as the man to see when a Negro was in trouble. Instead of gaining the support of the Negro leadership, therefore, the businessmen have aroused their bitter anger and violent opposition.

Businessmen should recognize the legitimacy of the Negro's quest for power not just out of self-interest, but because it is a crucial part of the struggle to overcome the devastation that the past 350 years have wrought on the Negro's personality. In

a recent New Yorker cartoon, one overstuffed tycoon was complaining to a friend, "Trouble is, you start treating people like equals and pretty soon they begin believing it." The converse is also true: Negroes have been treated as inferiors in the U.S. for more than three centuries, and they've come to believe it. The apathy, the aimlessness, the disinterest in education that characterize the Negro lower classes stem from their sense of dependency and powerlessness -- their conviction that "Mr. Charlie" controls everything, and that he's stacked the cards so that Negroes can never win. Negroes must gain a sense of power and potency if they are to be able to move into the main stream of American life. And power has to be taken; the nature of power is such that it can never be received as a gift. Thus, the very militancy and stridency that whites find so upsetting is a necessary part of the Negro's growing independence. When whites express a longing for "responsible" Negro leadership, the question has to be asked, "Responsible to whom?"

And so businessmen -- and civic leaders and government officials -- will have to take their Negro leadership where they find it; they'll have to sit down and negotiate with the leaders the Negroes appoint. There is an important precedent: in many ways, the current racial conflict resembles the conflict over trade unionism during the 1930's. Businessmen then resented the unionists' demands to share in managerial power; they re-

sented having to sit across the table from men of inferior education and training; and they resented having to hire and promote and retain employees on criteria other than ability. But the U.S. averted class warfare because large corporations, when the chips were down, decided to recognize trade union power and accommodate themselves to it, i.e., negotiate with it. The nation has had no cause to regret that decision.

The analogy can be pressed too far, of course; there are important differences, the main one being that trade unions could purport to speak for all of a firm's employees, while Negro organizations generally represent only a few. In trying to accommodate to Negro demands, therefore, businessmen will find themselves caught in a crossfire between Negro organizations on the one side and outraged employees and trade unions on the other. A good many companies, for example, have contracts with unions that bar Negroes or keep them in segregated locals; the white members are not likely to surrender their job monopoly without a fight. To be sure, these unions will be under attack, too; the N.A.A.C.P. is seeking court orders decertifying the unions as the legally recognized bargaining agent. But because unions present a more elusive target than corporations, Negro groups are trying to place the main responsibility for change on corporate management. For their own self-preservation, therefore, executives may need F.E.P.C. legislation.

The more serious problem lies in a less tangible area: what heppens to the morale of white employees when a firm begins to discriminate in favor of Negroes? The chances are that morale will suffer; anything that persuades employees that achievement doesn't count, that promotions are based on favoritism rather than merit, will tend to lower morale and disrupt productivity. The problem is extremely subtle: what counts is not whether management is guided by merit alone, but whether employees think it is. (Humans being as irrational as they are, no firm has been able to entirely abolish subjective judgments of a prejudicial sort.) Businessmen will need all the ingenuity they can muster to persuade white employees that they are not being penalized because of their color. They will also need to keep in mind the fact that as businessmen, they are now involved in something far greater than a business problem.

"The politics of repair"

What this means is that businessmen will have to learn the art of politics, in the highest sense of that term, for they are engaged in what the British political scientist Michael Oakeshott calls "the politics of repair." Businessmen like to think of themselves as conservatives; they now have an opportunity, such as they've never had before, to conserve American society by changing what has to be changed. For whether

the United States can withstand the strains of racial conflict -- whether, in James Baldwin's phrase, we can "end the racial nightmare" and so achieve our full promise -- will depend in good measure on what businessmen do in the stormy years that lie ahead.

When all is said and done, however, business must take the initiative not because it is expedient, nor even because it is necessary, but because it is right. "I tremble for my country," Thomas Jefferson wrote, "when I recall that God is just." Nor can there be any question about the moral issue involved, unless we are to discard the Judaeo-Christian tradition altogether. "Unlike any other social problem religion has ever had to come to grips with," Rev. Will D. Campbell of the National Council of Churches has written, "here is one on which there is no room for argument. . . It was settled for the Jews in the wilderness when they were admonished to accept the Ger, the sojourner, the stranger within their gates; . . . and it was settled for Christendom at Pentecost when members of every race and nation and tongue were 'altogether in one place hearing the mighty works of God.'" The question, therefore, is no longer what to do, but whether there is still time left in which to do it.

-END-

June 25, 1963

BCC MMJ

Bernice,

Please send eight (8) copies of PLANS FOR PROGRESS.... to Mr. Charles Silberman (Fortune Magazine) - label attached.

Note: These are an additional eight copies -- we sent eight to him on June 19.

thanx, mmj

June 19, 1963

Mr. Charles E. Silberman
Fortune Magazine — file
Time-Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York, New York

Dear Charles:

The petroleum firm referred to on pages 10 and 11 of our Houston pamphlet is Crown Petroleum.

You may be interested in the enclosed correspondence re our Plans for Progress report.

Under separate cover we are sending eight (8) copies of the Plans for Progress report as your assistant requested. — additional 8 copies mailed 6/25/63. mmj

It was good hearing from you again. Let me know how the article comes along, and how we can help.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

June 19, 1963

BCC MMJ

Bernice,

Please send (first class) eight (8) copies of our Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey to Mr. Charles E. Silberman (label attached).

thanx, mmj

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MR. CHARLES SILBERMAN
FORTUNE MAGAZINE
TIME-LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

IT'S A FINE PIECE.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

September 6, 1963

Mr. Ralph Delahaye Paine, Jr.
Publisher
FORTUNE
540 N. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois, 60611

Dear Mr. Paine:

Please advise as to the cost of reprints of the article appearing in the September issue of FORTUNE Magazine entitled "The Businessman and the Negro," by Charles E. Silberman.

We think the article is an excellent one and are desirous of ordering a rather sizable number of reprints for our office. We would appreciate your immediate attention to this matter.

Thank you kindly.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

FORTUNE *Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York 20, New York*

VJ - did we order? — Yes

September 9, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MJ - file

25¢

Dear Les:

Thanks a million for your wire; your kind words were much appreciated. The reaction so far has been quite good -- lots of requests for reprints, including Coca Cola, which ordered 2,000 copies. To burn, do you think?

Best regards.

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Cordially,

Charles

Charles E. Silberman
Board of Editors

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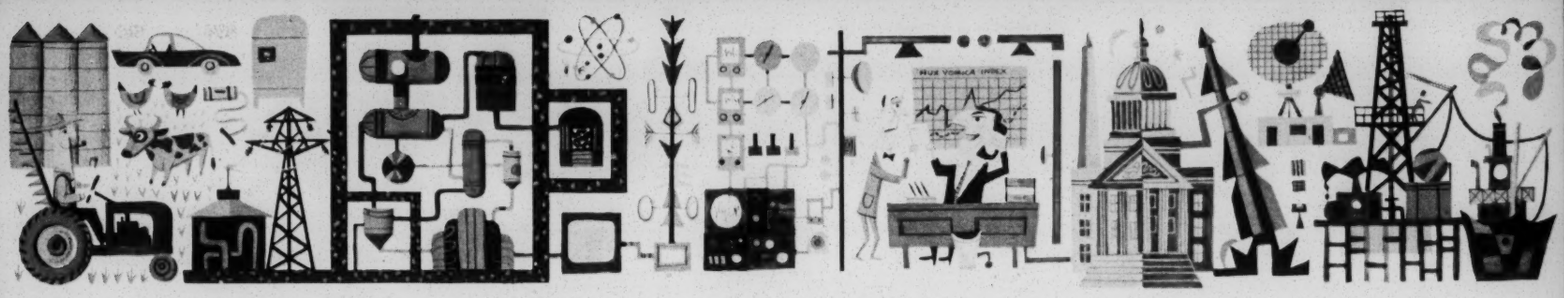

FORTUNE

September 1963

The Businessman and the Negro

by Charles E. Silberman

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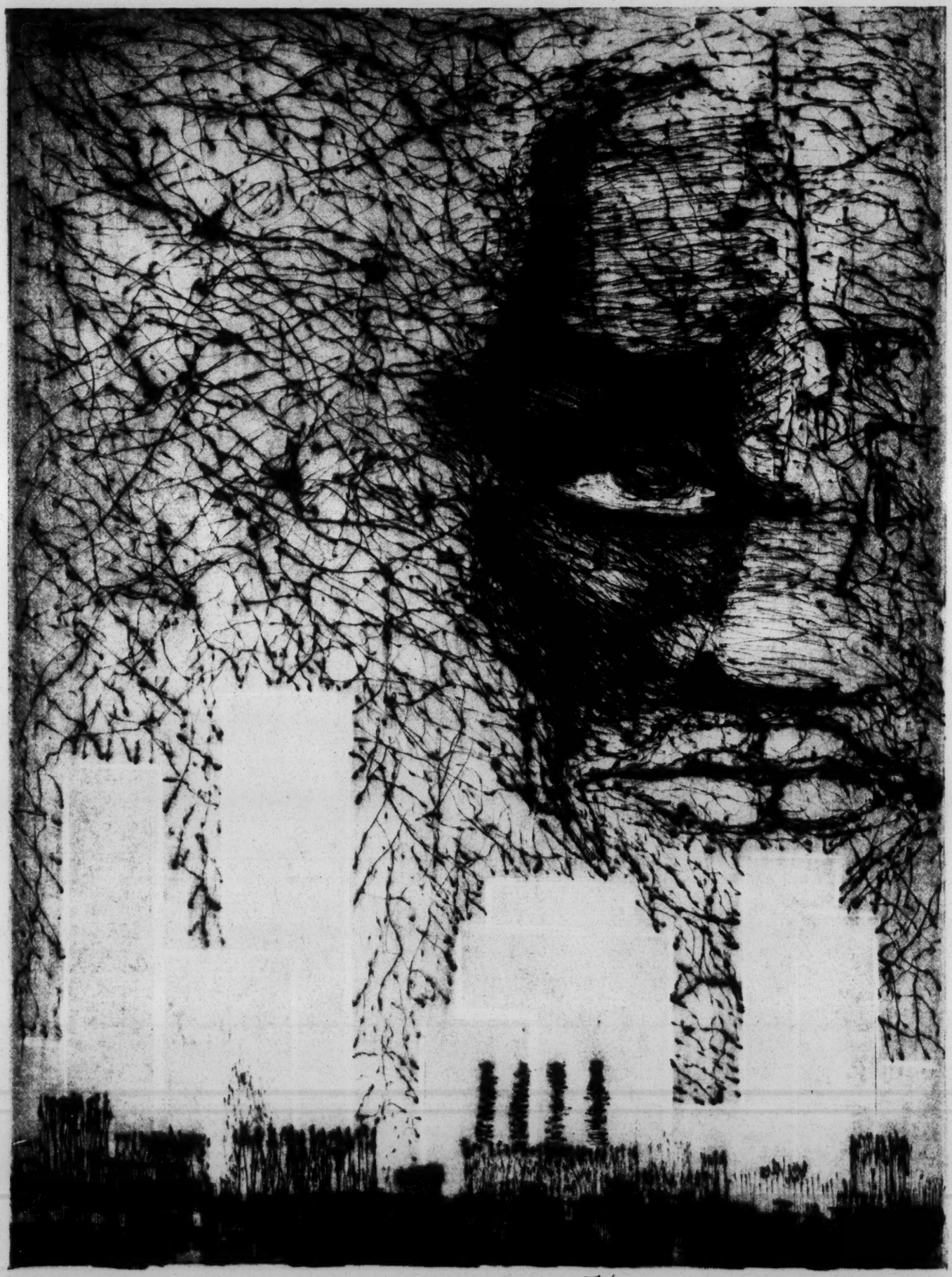


Hammer imp. 1963

The Businessman and the Negro

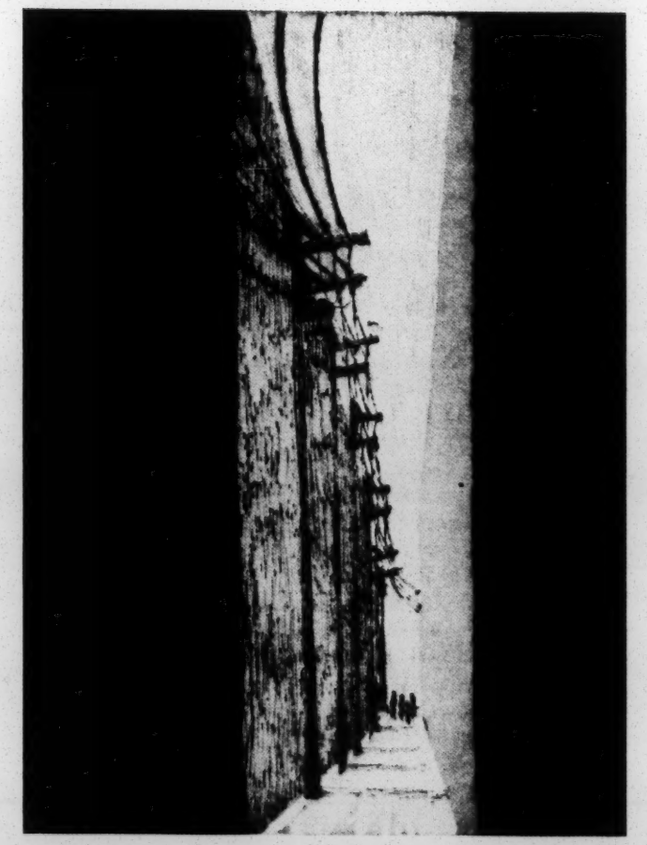
by Charles E. Silberman

The events of this past spring and summer, beginning with the demonstrations in Birmingham in April and May, represent a major watershed in the history of U.S. race relations. Birmingham, and its aftermath in a hundred cities around the country, demonstrated, so that no one could doubt it any longer, the depth of Negro discontent, the extent of Negro anger and hate, and the ease with which it can flare into violence. Politics, churches, schools, and all aspects of American life will be affected by this anger. Businessmen in particular will be involved more deeply and painfully in the racial struggle.

To be sure, businessmen have been in the fray for some time. They have been the targets of Negro demands for the desegregation of lunch counters, washrooms, and other facilities in Atlanta, Georgia; Birmingham, Alabama; Greensboro, North Carolina, and countless other cities. And businessmen throughout the South—in Austin, Texas; Spartanburg, South Carolina; Knoxville, Tennessee, among others—have taken the initiative in urging the desegregation of public facilities.

The great mass of Negroes, however, are more concerned with where they work than with where they eat: winning the right to eat at a desegregated lunch counter is small consolation to men who can't afford the cost of the meal. The great majority of Negro Americans are still mired in poverty. Until the Birmingham crisis, however, these lower-class Negroes were imprisoned by apathy and despair, and they left the protesting to small, highly disciplined cadres of educated, middle-class Negroes. But when the police dogs were unleashed in Alabama, every Negro in America felt their fangs in the marrow of his bones. The explosion of anger and hatred that resulted broke through the traditional apathy of the poor and created an almost universal desire to act.

The entrance of the poor into the Negro protest movement has profoundly altered its direction and temper. Jobs, not civil rights, will be the key issue; boycotts, sit-ins, and mass picketing, not "moderation," will be the principal weapons; the streets, and not the courts, will be the major forum. Indeed, Negroes of every income level are now eager to demonstrate. They are increasingly intolerant of "moderation," and the poor, in particular,



Prints by Sid Hammer

are contemptuous of the doctrine of nonviolence that has dominated the struggle so far. (Within a single week this summer, the Reverend Martin Luther King was pelted with eggs in Harlem, James Meredith was publicly rebuked for being a "moderate," and the Reverend Joseph H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, largest Negro church group, was booed off the platform at an N.A.A.C.P. rally and threatened with bodily harm for having called for a halt to anti-segregation demonstrations.) The Negro rank and file are now bringing pressure to bear on their leaders, instead of the other way around. Indeed, the Negro leaders' position recalls Mahatma Gandhi's famous remark, "There go my people. I must catch them, for I am their leader."

The verge of crisis

Underlying this shift in goals and tactics is the fact that two out of three Negro households earn less than $4,000 a year, and that one Negro male in nine is out of work. This poverty and insecurity are particularly galling to the Negro, who sees the white society that surrounds him grow increasingly affluent while he remains tied to his slum. Contrary to popular impression, Negroes' economic position has actually deteriorated over the last ten years, relative to that of whites. Negroes did make enormous advances during World War II and the boom years that followed, for the shortage of labor drew them into factory and white-collar jobs that had always been barred to them. As a result, Negro income increased 80 percent faster than white income, and the median income of Negro families jumped from only 37 percent of white income in 1939 to 57 percent in 1952. But this escalation came to a halt with the slowdown of the economy after the end of the Korean war. As a result, the median income of Negro families dropped from its high of 57 percent of white income in 1952 to 53 percent in 1962.

The future is even bleaker than the present; it is no exaggeration to say that Negroes are on the verge of a major economic crisis, for the gap is widening between Negro education and training, on the one hand, and the requirements of the labor market, on the other. Automation, new management techniques, and changes in consumer spending patterns are all reducing the demand for unskilled and semiskilled labor and increasing employment in professional, managerial, clerical, and sales jobs, many of which require considerable education and training. These white-collar occupations account for no less than 97 percent of the total increase in employment that has occurred since 1947. The professionalization of the labor force accelerated during the mid-Fifties, and will pick up more momentum in the decade ahead. But Negroes are badly prepared for this change. Three Negro men in five now work in unskilled or semiskilled blue-collar jobs, compared to three out of ten white men, and more than half the Negro men over the age of twenty-five (vs. 21 percent of white men) have had less than a grammar-school education. Small wonder that in northern industrial centers one out of every three Negro workers has suffered unemployment in the last several years, or that in some Negro neighborhoods the unemployment rate may run as high as 40 percent.

But Negroes' lack of education and training and their concentration in unskilled occupations—conditions produced by past discrimination—do not entirely account for Negro poverty. On the contrary, the Negro unemployment rate is higher than the white rate in *every* major occupational group. Among craftsmen and foremen, for example, Negro unemployment runs to 9.7 percent, compared to 4.8 percent for whites; among clerical workers, 7.1 percent vs. 3.8 percent. While a great many Negroes can't find jobs because they lack the necessary skills, all too many Negroes who do have the education and training are unable to put their skills to work.

Many firms employ Negroes only in a few job classifications. In the South, employment of Negroes is limited by the tradition that Negroes not be permitted to work on an equal status with whites, and that they never be placed in a supervisory position over whites. In the North, exclusion of Negroes from the better jobs stems less from conscious corporate decisions to discriminate than from the conscious or unconscious biases of the personnel officers, the foremen, the executives, i.e., all those involved in hiring and promoting. At the heart of this kind of unconscious discrimination, management consultant John Perry has suggested, is the concept of "place"—i.e., the notion that certain jobs and certain situations are appropriate, others inappropriate, for Negroes. In almost every company, that is to say, whether through accident or choice, tradition has reserved some jobs almost exclusively for Negroes and some almost exclusively for whites ("Negroes wouldn't be happy there"; "Negroes wouldn't fit in there"; "I'm not prejudiced, but my customers might object").

Because discrimination is so endemic, Negro youngsters all too often see no point to finishing high school or going on to advanced training; they drop out at the first opportunity, and they shirk their studies while they are in school. "Education is a difficult enough process under any condition," Dr. Carl Hansen, Superintendent of Schools of Washington, D.C., has explained, "because educational effort is primarily an expression of hope on the part of the student . . . The Negro pupil is obliged to be more hopeful than the white student. He is asked to have faith and confidence which at the moment he is in school seems unreasonable and unjustifiable."

"The politics of repair"

Jobs are the fulcrum, therefore, on which Negro progress rests, and to which Negro protests will be directed. Businessmen will be in the thick of the fray. Corporations of every sort will be served with demands to hire more Negroes in non-menial positions and to train them for promotion. The pressure to open up job opportunities will encompass every level, from apprentice to foreman to the executive suite, though the emphasis will be on the broad middle range. The pressure will be at least as strong in the North as in the South; more than half the Negroes of the U.S. now live in the cities of the North and West, where they constitute a large and rapidly growing proportion of the population. The methods used will run the entire gamut from polite moral suasion to legal action to boycotts, mass picketing, and sit-ins.

Thus, the problem of race relations may become a major—at times *the* major—preoccupation of top management for a number of years to come. As J. W. Putsch, president of the National Restaurant Association, told his members in June, "American businessmen are now involved in something greater than a business problem."

Charles E. Silberman, a member of FORTUNE'S *board of editors, wrote "The City and the Negro"* (FORTUNE, *March, 1962*). *The present article is based on a chapter in his book,* Crisis in Black and White, *soon to be published by Random House.*

They are, in fact, engaged in one of the most far-reaching and important changes in the nation's history: an attempt to liquidate, in one generation, the consequences of 250 years of slavery and 100 years of discrimination and neglect. To do so, needless to say, will require difficult and heroic decisions on the part of civic and political as well as business leaders; it will require changes in the behavior of Americans in every walk of life.

But businessmen occupy a peculiarly strategic position, and they may, as a result, be called upon to bear more than their proportionate share of the burden of change. In the opinion of Ray Eppert, president of Burroughs, however, businessmen "recognize both the justice and the inevitability of this movement" and are prepared to accept responsibility for carrying it along. But whether or not they recognize the justice of the changes, a good many businessmen are willing to grant their inevitability. "I'm no integrationist," says Sidney Smyer, the real-estate executive who headed the white negotiating team in Birmingham, "but I'm not a goddam fool, either."

If businessmen are to do more than just float with the tide, if they are to play a constructive role, they will have to look beyond the usual rules and canons of business management. Pressed by demands from angry Negro activists on the one side and resistant white workers, trade unionists, and executives on the other, managers will find themselves involved in an unending process of accommodation, mediation, adjustment, and persuasion. Executives, in short, will need to learn the art of politics in the highest sense of that term, for they will be engaged in what has been called "the politics of repair." Businessmen like to think of themselves as conservatives; they now have a rare opportunity to conserve American society by repairing what has to be repaired and changing what has to be changed. The slow pace of desegregation since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision on public education has brought to the surface and magnified Negroes' basic distrust in the efficacy of law and in the integrity and good faith of white leadership. By acting on their own initiative to create jobs for Negroes, businessmen may be able to convert that distrust into some degree of confidence and so, in the phrase of Edmund Burke, "make the Revolution a parent of settlement and not a nursery of future revolutions."

"They mean something else"

So far, however, business has done little more than react to pressure from Negro groups. A few companies, to be sure, are making conscientious efforts on their own to break the color line—among them, R.C.A., I.B.M., American Telephone & Telegraph, and Thompson Ramo Wooldridge—and their experience is highly relevant. But in the aggregate, corporations' voluntary actions have fallen desperately short of what needs to be done to increase Negro employment. Indeed, the evidence suggests that despite management's preference for voluntary methods some form of compulsion is necessary to evoke a real change. The "Plans for Progress" program of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity provides a perfect case in point. Over 100 corporations have signed Plans for Progress, promising to "undertake a program of affirmative action" to recruit Negroes and train them for employment and promotion. The President's committee has the power to force compliance with the plans, but until very recently it emphasized the virtues of voluntary compliance.

The virtues are hard to find. While total employment of Negroes has increased since the program began, only a few contractors account for the bulk of the increase. Most firms have done very little to redeem their pledges. Last winter, for example, the highly respected Southern Regional Council studied the action taken by the Atlanta branches of some twenty-four Plans for Progress signers. Only seven of these firms could produce any meaningful evidence of compliance, and only three—Lockheed, Western Electric, Goodyear—had really gone out of their way to create job opportunities for Negroes. A FORTUNE survey in July of Plans for Progress signers in twelve cities around the country revealed the same pattern. In Detroit, FORTUNE's correspondent reported, "Businessmen regard President Kennedy's 'Plans for Progress' program as that big business integration program in the sky." They "applaud the lofty ideals and worthy goals of the program," but they haven't done very much to reach those goals. Nor have firms in other cities; the most common reaction FORTUNE received was that since the company had never really discriminated, the Plans for Progress agreement was a pure formality.

The fact that so few firms are carrying out their commitments under the Plans for Progress program does not necessarily imply that the signers are insincere; it does suggest a lack of realism on their part about what they have to do to carry out the program. "You can have all the talk in the White House or the front office you want," C. W. Robison, personnel director of Thompson Ramo Wooldridge in Cleveland, suggests, "but until you bring the message right down to the front line, you're just talking." (After T.R.W. had signed the Plan for Progress, Robison personally "hand-carried the message" to each one of the corporation's forty-two plants.) And in fact a good many of the cases of noncompliance reflect top management's failure to communicate its intent, or to take the sometimes drastic measures that are required to overcome inertia and prejudice along the line. Edgar Kaiser, for example, is a member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity as well as a participant in the Plans for Progress program, and his good will is attested to by the most militant Negro leaders in Oakland, where Kaiser's home offices are located. Yet at the time of the Southern Regional Council study, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical's Atlanta office had made no attempt at all to open sales jobs to Negroes: "It would strike me as rather ridiculous to hire [a Negro] for an outside sales responsibility," the sales manager explained. "If we had a lot of Negro customers, we would have a Negro salesman." The personnel manager of Martin Marietta's Chicago branch told FORTUNE's correspondent that he'd never heard of Plans for Progress, and wondered why it should concern him, anyway. The manager of another company's branch in Atlanta was even more explicit. "I have other things to worry about, like selling merchandise, rather than what Mr. Kennedy says," he told the Southern Regional Council. When reminded that the president of his company had signed a pledge to create job opportunities for Negroes, he had a ready answer. "They don't mean regional divisions like us. They mean something else."

"They just don't apply"

Most executives contacted by FORTUNE had heard of the Plans for Progress program, however, and most seemed willing enough to hire more Negroes. The problem, they

said, was that qualified Negroes just didn't seem to come around. "We would hire Negroes," the manager of Du Pont's sales office in Atlanta explained, "but we have no opportunity to do so. On the one occasion that we needed clerical help, we advertised, and our ad stated that we had signed the equal-opportunity agreement. But we had no Negro applicants. They just don't apply."

Of course they don't; the door has been closed too long. Three hundred and fifty years of exclusion from American society have persuaded Negroes that there's no point in applying, that "the man" (the white man) has stacked things so that Negroes can't get ahead, and that there is, consequently, no use in trying. Hence Negroes will assume that a firm discriminates until they get positive reassurance to the contrary.

Merely adding a "We Are An Equal Employment Opportunity Employer" tag line to a company's want ads, for example, will not persuade Negroes that the way is open to them. "Industry has to do more than just sit and wait for Negroes to come to their doors," J. J. Bricker, personnel vice president of I. B. M., argues. It has to beat the bushes to find them, by recruiting at Negro colleges, high schools, and employment agencies; by advertising in Negro newspapers and over Negro radio stations; and by using the employment services of the National Urban League, which has representatives in sixty-five cities.

A number of companies are doing just this. Thus, I. B. M. now visits seventeen Negro colleges to recruit engineers, mathematicians, scientists, and sales and management trainees. McDonnell Aircraft of St. Louis has developed a slide presentation for predominantly Negro high schools, showing Negroes working alongside whites at every job level. (McDonnell employs Negroes in 127 job classifications.)

The best recruiting in the world, however, would still leave corporations short of qualified Negro applicants; Negroes have had neither the incentive nor the opportunity to acquire the qualifications that business firms are now demanding. It would be unrealistic to assume that Negroes *would* be qualified. "White folks seemed always to expect you to know those things which they'd done everything they could think of to prevent you from knowing," Ralph Ellison sardonically remarks in *Invisible Man*, perhaps the best novel written by an American Negro.

A number of factors have conspired to keep Negroes from acquiring the education and skills they need for non-menial jobs:

▸ Negro high-school students in the South are generally offered vocational education only in traditional Negro occupations. In Houston, for example, the sole vocational high school, which is restricted to whites, offers three-year courses in air conditioning and refrigeration mechanics, automotive mechanics, drafting, machine shop, photography, printing, radio, television, and welding. None of these courses are given in the five Negro high schools. As school officials explain it, "It would be wasteful . . . to educate a student for admission to a craft or trade that is not open to him."

▸ Trade unions are equally culpable. In a number of occupations, workers can qualify for employment only by completing an apprenticeship-training program, which is usually controlled by the trade union involved. Negroes have generally been barred from access to apprenticeship programs run by the plumbers, sheet-metal workers, steam fitters, lathers and plasterers, and electricians, among others.

▸ At Hughes Tool in Houston, for example, Negro as well as white employees are now permitted to receive a tryout for promotion to skilled jobs that open up. But since Negroes, until now, have been restricted to menial jobs, like sweeping, very few qualify for better jobs. As FORTUNE's Houston correspondent put it, "The past practice of keeping Negroes from running the machines has proved effective in continuing to keep them from running the machines."

▸ Most important of all, years of slavery and the discrimination that followed destroyed Negroes' self-confidence, and thereby limited their aspirations and their willingness (and ability) to compete. They are understandably fearful about trying to "make it" in the white world, especially the impersonal world of business.

Are tests necessary?

To end this vicious circle that keeps Negroes untrained and unemployed will require patience and imagination, and, in many cases, a break with corporate tradition. How can it be done? I.B.M. now includes mathematics and science professors from Negro as well as white colleges in the summer programs it runs at several computer centers; the program explains to the professors the career opportunities that are available for their students and the requirements for those careers. Texas Instruments, the Dallas electronics manufacturer, has gone further. It helped establish guidance councils at two nearby Negro colleges where scientists, engineers, and executives from firms in the Dallas area* have been helping the colleges overhaul their obsolete curricula and beef up their inadequate placement services.

A few companies have tried modifying their employment and promotion procedures. When the Negro boycotts were under way in Philadelphia last year, for example, the president of one major corporation decided to take a look at his company's position in advance of any attack. He discovered that his Negro employees—200 out of 2,000—were all at the bottom rung, although the company had no overt biases. Upon further examination, it developed that Negroes stayed at the bottom because they never took the written exams which the company used to measure qualifications for promotion; they simply assumed that the tests were designed to give the company an excuse for not promoting them. Since the tests bore little relation to the job functions involved, the president ordered them replaced with job-performance tests and on-the-job training. As a result, seventy Negroes were upgraded. "I'm convinced that we'll have to do some innovating in order to hire more Negroes," says I.B.M.'s Bricker; re-examination of corporate testing procedures, in his view, is a good place to start. He feels that there are a great many positions where on-the-job training can be given Negroes who fail the usual qualifying tests.

If Negro employment is to be increased, moreover, firms will have to find substitutes or shortcuts for the experience they now demand as a prerequisite in certain jobs. A large merchandising chain, for example, recently asked the National Urban League for help in hiring Negroes for a number of jobs, including store managers. But there was an unintentional catch; the firm required ten years of merchandising experience with the chain as a condition for promotion to manager. Since it had never employed Negroes in merchandising jobs before, the requirement obviously made it impossible for them to qualify for at least another ten years. The Urban League suggested that the firm develop methods for testing managerial ability in a shorter time.

**Including Ling-Temco-Vought, General Dynamics, Collins Radio, Bell Helicopter, Ford, G.M., and Procter & Gamble.*

The doctrine of the debt

All this sounds like a demand for special treatment for Negroes, and that is precisely what it is. Negroes are not content with equal opportunity any more; they are demanding preference, or "positive discrimination" in their favor. Negroes liken their position to that of a runner who is kept at the starting line until his opponents in the race are halfway to the finish line; merely "freeing him" to run will not enable him to catch up. More and more Negroes, therefore, are espousing "the doctrine of the debt," which holds that the U.S. owes the Negro something for 250 years of slavery and 100 years of discrimination. "If those who make the decisions in this country are really sincere about closing the gaps," Whitney Young, the brilliant young director of the National Urban League, argues, "they must go further than fine impartiality. We must have, in fact, special consideration if we are to compensate for the scars left by three hundred years of deprivation, which actually represented special consideration of another sort." Hence Young is demanding special priority in employment, suggesting as a precedent the ten-point preference given veterans on civil-service exams after World War II.

The Urban League is proposing that when a Negro and a white have equal qualifications for a job, the former should be given the preference. Militant Negro organizations are demanding considerably more; they are insisting, in effect, that business firms hire Negroes not because they are qualified but because they are Negroes. And they are developing a good deal of muscle to back up their demands for preferential hiring. The most widely used technique is the boycott, or "selective patronage campaign," as Negroes prefer to call it. "Don't buy where you can't work" campaigns were frequent during the 1930's, but they were sporadic and only occasionally effective. The contemporary use of the weapon began three years ago in Philadelphia. The campaign was organized and directed by a group of Negro ministers (some 400 ministers cooperated) with no formal organization. The ministers' technique is to approach one company at a time, usually a manufacturer or distributor of consumer products for which a number of competing brands are available—e.g., bakeries, dairies, oil companies, supermarket chains. If the company refuses to negotiate with the ministers, it is given an ultimatum to hire a specified number of Negroes in specified job classifications before a given date; if the demands are ignored, a boycott ensues. With 400 ministers using their pulpits to announce the boycott, a substantial portion of the Negro population takes part. A number of firms—e.g., Pepsi-Cola, Esso—have come to terms without a boycott. Others held out—but generally not for long; Gulf Oil capitulated in twelve days, Sun Oil in three months. All told, the ministers have won concessions from twenty-four firms so far. The technique has spread to Boston, New York, Atlanta, Detroit, and other cities, and is bound to be widely imitated. As the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, Martin Luther King's chief lieutenant, puts it, "Not every Negro is able to go to jail, but every Negro can stop buying a particular brand of bread or milk or gasoline."

Cracking the "power structure"

Now the boycott is being supplemented by the use of mass picketing, which is better suited to industries that do not make any consumer product. This summer, for example, a coalition of civil-rights groups has been picketing construction sites in New York City in an effort to enforce their demand that Negroes make up at least 25 percent of the work force on all governmentally financed construction projects.

Negroes are demanding more than jobs, however. Their leaders are determined that what they refer to as "the power structure" recognize them and negotiate with them—that business and civic leaders, in short, come to the bargaining table not as patrons but as equals. Negroes have long been rankled by the white "power structure's" traditional prerogative of picking the Negro leaders with whom it wants to deal. They are insisting that whites recognize the leaders selected by the Negro community, whoever they may be or however distasteful the whites may find them.

When businessmen (or civic and political leaders), as is their wont, talk to the eight or ten most prosperous or most politically sophisticated Negroes in town, they aren't really talking to the Negroes at all, and they can be badly misled as to the temper and desires of the Negro community. In Oakland, for example, failure to recognize the grass-roots Negro leadership is nullifying, and may very well destroy, a program that a group of local industrialists has been developing to expand Negro employment. The businessmen wanted to ease racial tensions and avoid Negro demonstrations and boycotts by developing a program in advance of Negro demands. But when it came time to sit down and discuss alternatives, the businessmen did not call upon those Negroes who would be most likely to organize a boycott or call out the pickets. "We didn't want any of those emotional fellows from the N.A.A.C.P.," one executive explained. "We wanted sound men who would be willing to ignore the past and just concentrate on the future, so we asked Mr. X to get a group together. He's a sound man," the executive added. "In fact, he's the whitest Negro we have in town."

The result was as predictable as it is unfortunate. The grass-roots Negro leaders in Oakland, all of whom are Democrats, interpreted the move not as an attempt to help Negroes, but as a plot by a group of businessmen to attract Negroes to the Republican party. For if the program works—if it does create job opportunities—Mr. X, "the whitest Negro in town," would replace D. G. Gibson, the Negro Democratic boss, as the man to see when a Negro was in trouble. Instead of gaining the support of the Negro leadership, therefore, the businessmen have aroused bitter anger and violent opposition.

Negroes' insistence on recognition is more than just a play for power; it is a crucial part of the struggle to overcome the devastation that the past 350 years have wrought on the Negro's personality. The apathy, the aimlessness, the lack of interest in education that characterize the Negro lower classes stem from their sense of dependency and powerlessness—their conviction that "Mr. Charlie" controls everything, and that he's stacked the cards so that Negroes can never win. Negroes must gain a sense of potency if they are to move into the mainstream of American life.

And power has to be taken; the nature of power is such that it can never be received as a gift. Hence when businessmen say they're willing to grant some of the Negro demands, "but not if we're pushed too hard," they're missing the point. Negroes want to achieve their aims by their own efforts, not as a result of white beneficence. Thus, the very militancy and stridency that whites find so upsetting is essential if the Negro is to shuck off his traditional dependency and become truly free and equal, if he is to learn to respect himself, and to be respected by whites.

The years ahead may be harsh and painful but a necessary prelude to the peace that will follow, it is to be hoped. But it would be fatuous to pretend that any set of policies adopted by business and government can bring racial peace within

the next few years. For one thing, Negroes' impatience, bitterness, and anger are likely to increase the closer they come to full equality. This is not a quirk of Negro character but a characteristic of all disadvantaged groups: the closer they are to their goals, the harder it is to understand or justify the disparities that remain. Indeed, it is a commonplace of history that revolutions (and the Negro protest movement resembles a revolution in many ways) stem from hope, not despair; from progress, not stalemate. And the nearer to triumph the revolutionaries get, the tougher they usually become. Corporations will find, therefore, that there is no magic formula, no safe and sure way of buying immunity from racial conflict. Indeed, firms that have taken the initiative in employing Negroes may still find themselves the object of attack, perhaps the victim of internecine warfare between competing Negro groups.

Redressing the injuries done to Negroes in the past, moreover, will involve some heavy costs in the present. Granting Negro demands for more jobs, for example, may mean fewer jobs for whites, or at the very least, an end to the monopoly that white employees have thus far enjoyed in many job classifications. Executives can expect to be attacked from both sides, therefore; they will need all the political art they can muster to persuade white employees that "reverse discrimination" is socially necessary and for the greater good. And businessmen may find, to their surprise, that they actually *want* an F.E.P.C. law forbidding all businesses to discriminate in employment or in customer service; such a law would protect them against employees, trade unions, and hostile elements in their communities.

The cost will be high

Efficiency may be lowered by the costs of hiring unqualified Negroes and training them on the job. Even more damage to efficiency may be done by the blow to the morale (and consequently to the productivity) of white employees when firms begin to discriminate in favor of Negroes.

To be sure, no corporation is completely consistent in its adherence to the principle of merit; all kinds of subjective and irrational judgments enter into the selection and promotion of employees. But deliberately departing from the merit principle is something else again, and there is no point in pretending that corporations won't pay a heavy price for doing so. The cost of not discriminating in favor of Negroes, however, will be considerably greater, both to business and to the community at large. "Make no mistake about it, we're going to have to subsidize Negro employment for some time," one industrialist told FORTUNE. "But it will be a lot cheaper to do that than to pay it out in welfare"—or in the cost to the community of racial violence.

It will be far easier to do these things, of course, if the present business expansion continues and the economy returns to full employment. During the labor shortages of World War II, and again during the Korean war, business learned that it can put "unqualified" men and women to work by teaching them on the job, reorganizing the work where necessary to require less skill.

During World War II, for example, U.S. optical manufacturers assured naval procurement officers that it was impossible to manufacture more than a few thousand prism binoculars a year; there was a shortage of lens grinders, and it took a number of years to train one. By breaking the lens-grinding operation into several steps, however, the Navy was able to get the training time down to a few weeks—and to get output up to a half-million binoculars a year. More recently, industry has had to meet its need for engineers through on-the-job training and upgrading. Between 1954 and 1957, for example, industry increased its employment of engineers by 100,000, or 27 percent. In the same period only 70,000 engineers were graduated by all American colleges, and not all of them went to work for industry. Clearly, corporations supplied the difference through upgrading, promotions, and transfers from other work.

Some U.S. corporations that operate in the underdeveloped nations have had to be even more ingenious in upgrading unqualified workers; employing native workers may be the price of staying in the country for any length of time. Aramco, for example, used to import virtually its entire labor force from the U.S.; it seemed "obvious" that illiterate Saudi peasants could never cope with the complex technology of oil drilling and transportation. Faced with the long-range danger of expropriation, however, Aramco discovered that the Saudis could be taught after all. The company now uses Saudi drilling crews directed by Saudi foremen; roughly one-quarter of the labor time Aramco pays for is spent in education and training of some sort.

Broadening the labor pool

Negro Americans, needless to say—even those from the rural South—are quite a few notches above the Saudi tribesmen. If given the chance, they can learn as well as whites; the expense of training them represents a cost of broadening the labor pool. There are present or potential shortages in a good many skilled jobs, partly because of skyrocketing demand, but in good measure because union training regulations artificially restrict the supply. The pressure to hire more Negroes in skilled jobs may give industry the opportunity to take a fresh look at obsolete training requirements.

There are other precedents for the actions business is being urged to take. In many ways, the current racial conflict resembles the conflict over trade-unionism during the 1930's. (The analogy can be pressed too far, of course; there are important differences, the main one being that trade unions could purport to speak for *most* of a firm's employees, whereas Negro organizations speak only for a minority.) Businessmen then resented the unionists' demands to share in managerial power; but the U.S. averted class warfare because large corporations gradually came to accommodate themselves to trade-union power, i.e., to negotiate with it.

When all is said and done, however, business must take the initiative not because it is expedient, nor even because it is necessary, but because it is right. "I tremble for my country," Thomas Jefferson wrote, "when I reflect that God is just." Nor can there be any question about the moral issue involved, unless we are to discard the Judaeo-Christian tradition altogether. "Unlike any other social problem religion has ever had to come to grips with," the Reverend Will D. Campbell of the National Council of Churches has written, "here is one on which there is no room for argument . . . It was settled for the Jews in the wilderness when they were admonished to accept the Ger, the sojourner, the stranger within their gates . . . and it was settled for Christendom at Pentecost when members of every race and nation and tongue were 'altogether in one place hearing the mighty works of God.' " The question, therefore, is no longer what to do, but whether there is still time in which to do it. END

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September 27, 1963

Mr. Charles E. Silberman
FORTUNE
Time-Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Silberman:

We are very anxious to get reprints of your article appearing in the September issue of Fortune Magazine entitled "The Businessman and the Negro."

Please let us know the cost of at least 1,000 reprints, at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

September 30, 1963

Mr. Brooke Alexander
Assistant to the Publisher
Fortune Magazine
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Alexander:

We would like to order 250 reprints, at 20¢ per reprint, of Charles Silberman's article, which appeared in the September issue of the Fortune Magazine, entitled, "The Businessman and the Negro."

We will use these reprints as a part of our general distribution to key figures and organizations in the South, as well as for our own research purposes.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

FORTUNE *Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York 20, New York*

September 11, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

In reply to your letter to Mr. Paine of September 6th, reprints similar in format to the sample attached will be available within a few days at a price of 20¢ apiece. For policy reasons we would appreciate knowing, should you decide to place an order, the nature of your distribution plans.

Thank you for your interest,

Brooke Alexander

Brooke Alexander
Assistant to the Publisher

BA:jr

Enc.

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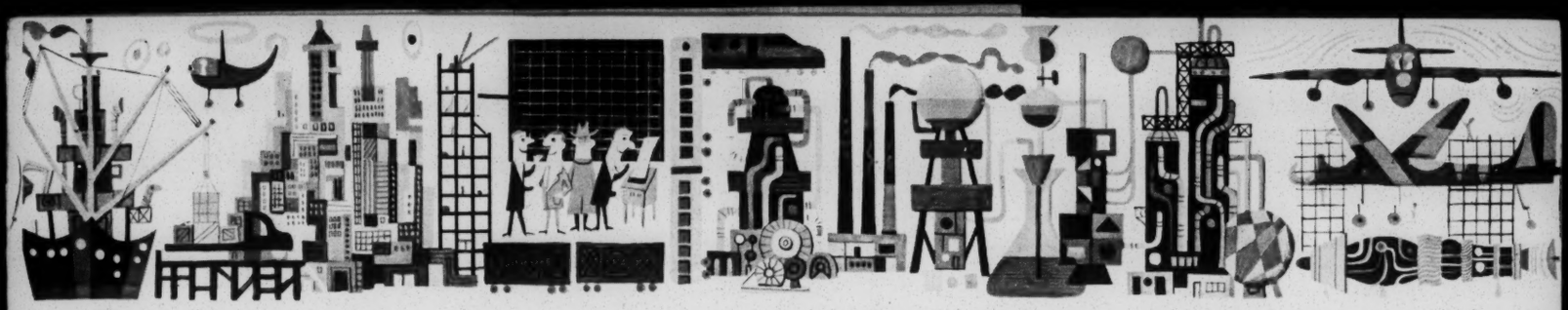

FORTUNE

November 1962

The Salesman Isn't Dead – He's Different

by Carl Rieser

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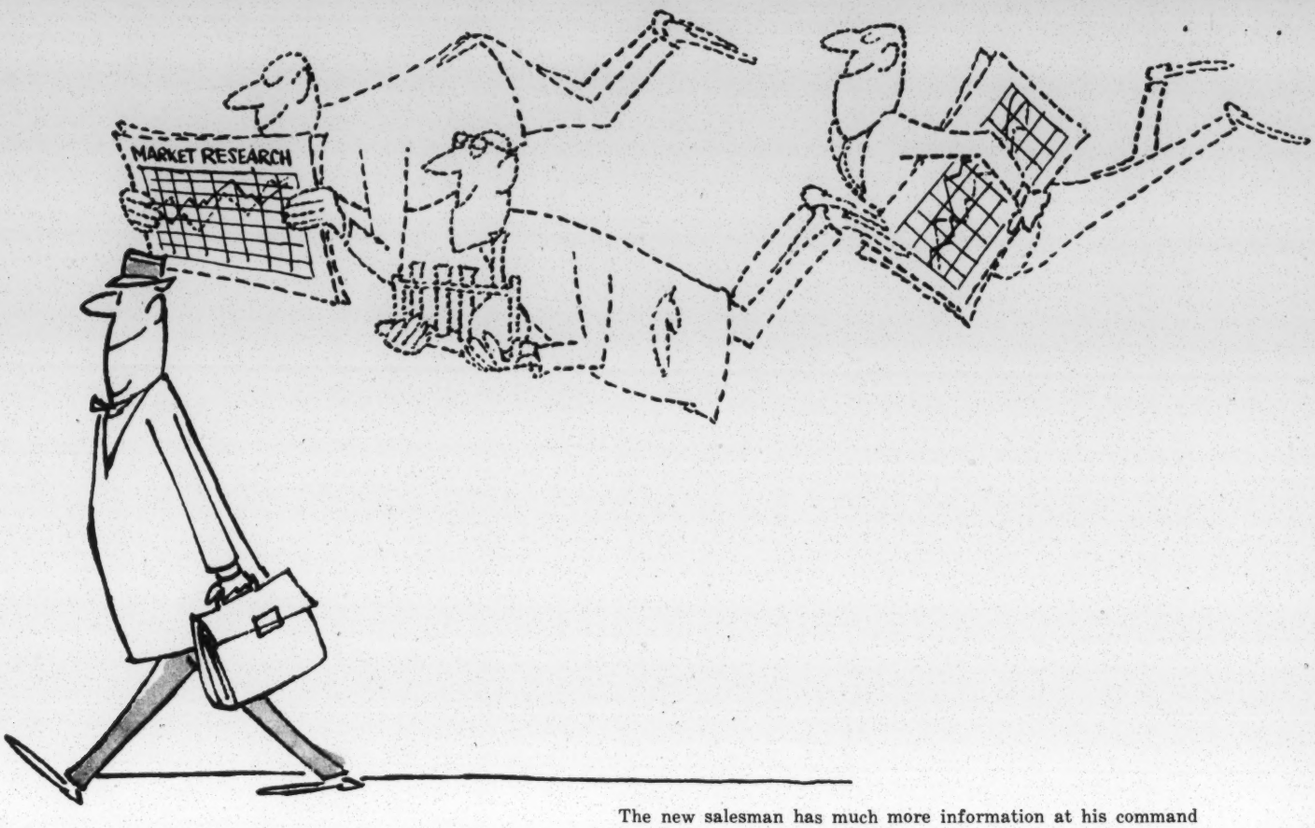


The new salesman has much more information at his command

The Distribution Upheaval V

The Salesman Isn't Dead – He's Different

by Carl Rieser

There is no more abused figure in American life than the salesman. One group of critics scorns him for certain qualities that another group sneers at him for losing. To many novelists, playwrights, sociologists, college students, and many others, he is aggressively forcing on people goods that they don't want. He is the drummer, with a dubious set of social values—Willy Loman in the Arthur Miller play. The second group of critics, which includes the Secretary of Commerce and many business executives all over the U.S., charges the salesman with lacking good, old-fashioned, hard-hitting salesmanship. He was spoiled by the postwar days when competition was easy. If only he would get up off his duff, and get out and *sell*, the goods would move and business would be in fine shape.

Both sets of critics are swatting at a target that doesn't matter much any more. The plain fact is that, as one Boston sales executive recently said, "The old drummer type of salesman has gone by the board." Nor are his talents especially needed in today's economy. To be sure, there are plenty of aggressive, hard-hitting salesmen still around, and there will always be a place for their brand of selling. But this kind of man is no longer the archetype.

From bits and pieces of evidence in all sectors of U.S. business, it is now possible to discern the emergence of a new dominant type, a man with a softer touch and greater breadth, a new kind of man to do a new—much more significant—kind of job. Whereas the old-time salesman devoted himself primarily to pushing a product, or a line of products, the new-era salesman is involved with the whole distribution pipeline, beginning with the tailoring of products to the customer's desire and extending through their promotion and advertising to final delivery to the ultimate consumer.

The salesman has been cast in his new role by "the marketing concept," a term that originated at General Electric around 1950 and has gained wide currency

recently. It means essentially that companies are orienting their organization and effort toward the market, toward the ever changing needs of the customer, and the ever shifting calculations of their own production costs and opportunities. The emphasis is less concentrated on the isolated point-of-sale; it is spread forward, into the buyer's operations, and backward into the seller's operations. The profound consequences of this trend have been suggested by Orm Henning, marketing manager of industrial products at Texas Instruments:

"One should remind oneself that selling is only part of marketing—particularly in the scientific-industrial world. Marketing is communicating back to your factory your individual customer's needs and particular problems. When you realize and practice this, you open an entirely new vista in the area of sales. You cannot afford to sell a product, a static product—not in our business."

And what's true today in the electronics business—and many others—is going to be true of more and more businesses tomorrow.

The great change in selling affects practically all industries and all kinds of goods, whether they are what the marketing profession calls "pull-through" or "push-through" products. Pull-through refers generally to mass-produced consumer items, where a sort of siphon is already working. Pull-through products and services are presold by the manufacturer to the final consumer by mass advertising and promotion, which in effect creates a demand that almost literally pulls the goods through the distribution pipeline. Push-through products are wholly new consumer goods for which the siphon has not yet begun to work or, more commonly, they are industrial materials and equipment. Since the latter are usually highly technical in nature, they must be explained to the buyer and they require more personal selling so as to generate in the buyer the idea that he needs the product.

The old-time drummer has been replaced by a new kind of salesman. He doesn't sell the product; he sells service. He knows the customer's business almost as well as his own. He is troubleshooter, marketing expert, executive, all in one.

The distinction between pull-through and push-through is becoming less important. The retailer now stocks Kleenex tissues, for example, because he is persuaded that Kimberly-Clark Corp. will maintain public recognition of the brand and will see to it that thousands of boxes are siphoned rapidly and profitably right through his warehouse and off his store shelves. The job of the Kimberly-Clark salesman is to service the account so that the buyer will keep buying. He expedites and consolidates the shipments, keeps track of the retailer's inventory, sees that the goods get the greatest display and promotion possible, keeps himself available in case of any trouble or emergency. The job of the man who sells computers is much the same. The computer is one element in a whole system of mechanical devices and programing techniques, which is sold on the basis of what the customer is persuaded it can do for him.

The salesman's responsibility becomes greater as technology advances and producers offer products of ever mounting complexity. "We are tending toward the marketing of systems and services," says James Jewell, marketing vice president of Westinghouse. "The customers want to buy greater production—not equipment. We take the full responsibility for engineering and installing, and we are moving further into servicing."

This orientation toward the customer's needs is pointed up in a recent book that has received wide attention in the trade—*Innovation in Marketing,* by Theodore Levitt, a management consultant and a member of the faculty of Harvard Business School. Levitt, who speaks for a new generation of believers in "the marketing concept," states flatly that "a strictly sales-oriented approach to doing business can be suicidal. The difference between selling and marketing is more than semantic. Selling focuses on the needs of the seller, marketing on the needs of the buyer. Selling is preoccupied with the seller's need to convert his product or service into cash; marketing with the idea of satisfying the needs of the customer by means of the product or service and by the whole cluster of customer-getting value satisfactions associated with creating, delivering, and finally consuming it."

In this quotation Levitt seems to be oversimplifying the contrast between selling and marketing. Any implication that "the marketing concept" isn't motivated by the seller's desire for profits is, of course, mistaken. While his motives remain the same, the seller now sees marketing as a more elaborate link between production and consumption, a link that has to be carefully constructed and maintained.

Two situations may illustrate the change. In the past, a factory would overproduce the market and unload on the sales force the responsibility for unloading the goods on the customers. In the other situation, the salesmen kept their volume up by selling those products in their line that were easiest to sell—even those that were the least profitable. The incidence of both these cases tends to be diminished by the new trend with its more delicate alignment of markets and production, and its careful analysis of product profitability. The salesman is less often stuck with the necessity of a fast, hard sell. But he is steadily pressed to make the sales where the profit lies. Altogether, the marketing concept has played a vital role in developing the enormous velocity in the flow of goods, a phenomenon that has been described earlier in this series as the "short-order economy" (FORTUNE, August, 1962).

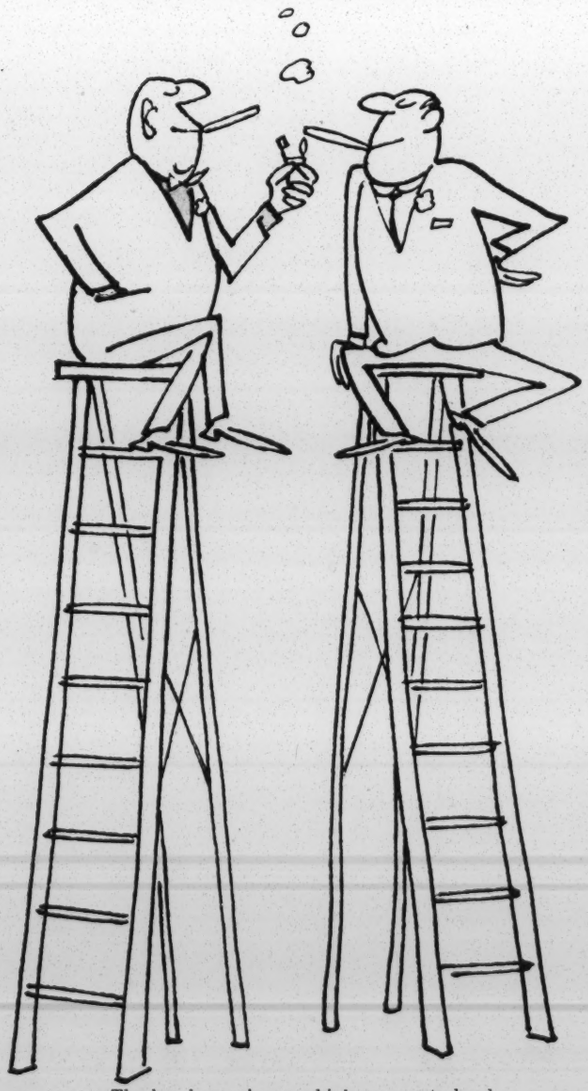
The mirror of the markets

There is little doubt that the impact of "the marketing concept" has reduced the stature of the sales manager in scores of companies. He has lost his former autonomy and now reports to the marketing vice president rather than directly to the president. He has less say over such vital matters as pricing and credit policies. The sales force must fit its work into an over-all corporation marketing policy. Furthermore, over the decade, the autonomy of the sales manager has been further trimmed in many companies by the creation of the job of product manager, who has both line and staff authority for a given product or group of products and coordinates production with advertising, research, and field selling.

The marketing concept has had very decided and significant structural effects on sales forces. This can be seen very clearly at General Electric, father of the marketing concept. G.E.'s salesmen used to be essentially

product specialists, each selling only the line of a specific manufacturing department, even though it went into a variety of markets. It took time for G.E. to orient its sales forces toward markets rather than products, but this process finally began seven years ago in the company's electrical-apparatus business. Instead of specializing in one product, e.g., cord sets, fan motors, push buttons, the salesman began selling a whole group of products to a particular market—for example, the air-conditioning industry. Early this year more than a dozen separate departments selling G.E.'s biggest single customer, the government, were reorganized into one defense sales force. In other words, instead of being product-oriented, the sales organizations have become "mirrors" of the markets G.E. serves.

Recently, Westinghouse reorganized its entire 13,600-man field sales organization along somewhat similar lines, in accord with what the company calls the "province concept." The company wants to be represented wherever possible by a "Mr. Westinghouse" rather than by a confusing bevy of different salesmen from various production divisions. (Significantly, in reorganizing, Westinghouse also seized the opportunity to put more salesmen in jobs where they actually meet customers and eliminated virtually an entire "staff" layer of some 104 sales managers who never called on customers.)



The key buyer is on a high corporate level

The same kind of reorganization has gone on in scores of companies in such diverse fields as motor trucks and optical equipment. At American Optical Co., for example, salesmen who used to be product specialists now sell a line that includes every piece of furniture and equipment for the doctor's office, from lenses to tables.

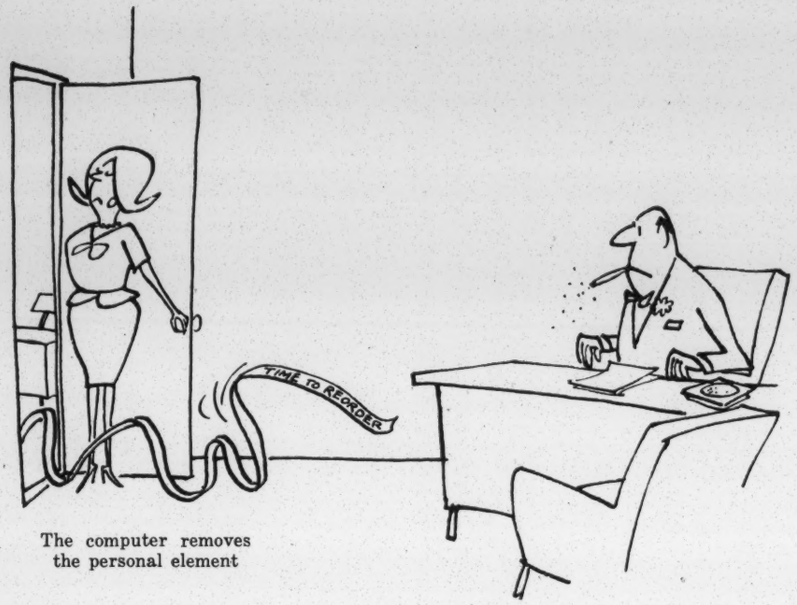
Thus the kind of man needed for this new kind of sales job has to be a generalist. The trend is away from the "sales engineer," the technically trained salesman, of a few years ago. His successor is a man capable of absorbing stacks of information churned out by the marketing department, and of applying it to his customers' problems. He goes forth armed with a tremendous amount of data on his customers' needs, their products, their corporate organizations, and their supply and delivery schedules.

He is also a man with more executive ability than the salesman of yesterday. A Boston sales manager describes the new salesmen as simply "businessmen who travel." One Milwaukee executive notes that increasingly the new salesman is being given the authority and stature to make important decisions in the field without having to go back to corporate headquarters for an O.K. General Foods has adopted a new title of prestige for its senior salesmen, each of whom lives with one food-chain customer and attends to its needs. They are called "account executives" and they command the services of junior salesmen, who do the routine housekeeping chores of servicing the customers' stores.

In the new order of things there is obviously still a need for hard-selling, aggressive salesmen to open up new accounts, to introduce new and untried products, to sell the wares of new companies that have no national reputation. Since the service-oriented sales staff has turned away from this kind of pioneering effort, the door has been opened to a new kind of specialist, typified by a New York firm called the George N. Kahn Co. This company provides a crew of highly aggressive young salesmen who open up new territories for companies that don't want to retrain their own sales forces for such sporadically necessary missions. (Kahn is not a manufacturer's representative; it works on a flat-fee basis rather than a commission and, after pioneering the sale of a product, expects that the manufacturer will take it back for handling by his own sales staff.) There is now some thought in the top management of a number of companies that the way to deal with this basic problem is to set up special sections of sales staffs with the specific function of going after new business. Thus what has been commonly thought of as the primary function of all salesmen is now becoming the specialty of a few.

The service troops

The new salesman has a tremendous advantage over his predecessors. Not only does he have access to much more information about his customers, but he is also backed up by formidable technical and other kinds of assistance. For example, in reshaping its inorganic-chemical sales recently, FMC Corp. (formerly Food Machinery & Chemical Corp.) has beefed up the number of its technical people directly behind the salesmen by some 20 per cent. The present ratio: one technical man to every four salesmen. The great pioneer in this development was du Pont, which years ago saw the close connection between selling and customer service. Today, at Chestnut



The computer removes the personal element

Run, outside Wilmington, du Pont has an impressive $20-million, campus-like complex of laboratories and workshops, employing 1,700 scientists, technicians, and others devoted to providing sales literature, solving technical problems, providing all kinds of services for customers or potential buyers of du Pont products, and otherwise aiding the sales effort. Companies selling all kinds of goods have developed similar assistance, though, naturally, the more complex the technology, the more elaborate the technical backup.

The development of sophisticated electronic data-processing systems, which was described earlier in this series, is revolutionizing inventory handling, ordering, warehousing, and other physical aspects of marketing. This, in turn, relieves the salesman of a great deal of detail that used to absorb valuable hours of his time—writing up orders and reports, checking whether goods are available and how soon they can be delivered, and performing other niggling drudgery.

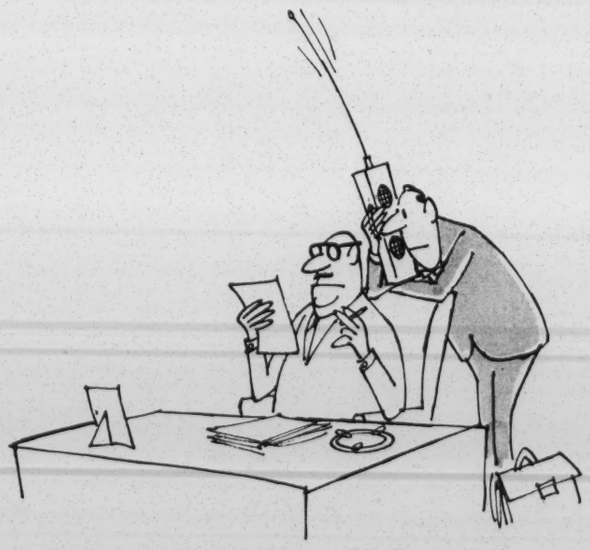
At the same time, the computer also introduces an element of impersonality in the relations between a seller and a buyer. Much of today's ordering of goods and materials, from packaged foods to industrial chemicals, is done, as it were, by a computer, which tells the buyer when to reorder; the transaction is handled routinely and a salesman never enters into it. This disencumbering of the salesman releases him to function on a new level of performance, to use his time more creatively. At Allis-Chalmers, which has just set up a department of marketing, an executive says, "Now our salespeople won't get bogged down in a lot of detail that goes hand in hand with selling, like the preparation of presentations, charts, convention exhibits, and whatnot. We'll do all the work, including the training of salesmen, in cooperation with company divisions."

"You lose one of the big babies . . ."

The rise of the new salesman is the result of changes in the marketplace that have drastically altered the relationship of buyer to seller. One of the most significant developments has been the growing importance of the big customer. In almost every line of business, fewer and bigger customers are responsible for an increasingly large part of any given company's sales. Twenty-five years ago, when independent grocers were an important factor in food retailing, food processors did the bulk of their business with thousands upon thousands of chains and stores. Today, with the concentration of business in the hands of a relatively few big chains, some 300 buying offices throughout the U.S. account for 80 per cent of all food bought at wholesale. Preoccupation with the "key customer" affects every industry, from steel to office supplies. Sighs an officer of the Acme Chemical Co. in Milwaukee, "You lose one of the big babies and you're in trouble."

This whole trend is building up momentum as smaller buyers band together to increase their purchasing power and efficiency by buying cooperatively. It affects suppliers of school equipment, for example, because schools are consolidating on a county basis. Independent hardware stores and even hospitals are doing it.

How this has affected the food business has been fully explored in a new book with a provocative title, *The Vanishing Salesman,* by E. B. Weiss, a New York marketing specialist in the consumer-goods field. Actually, Weiss does not believe that the salesman is vanishing; his point is that the shift to the service-oriented sales function has so greatly altered the nature of personal selling that companies are faced with entirely new conditions in the hiring, training, and organization of salesmen. Weiss also notes that as retail food chains have become bigger and bigger, and their purchases have reached stupendous volume, the position of the individual buyer, once regarded as the salesman's opposite number, has greatly diminished. The buyer in a food chain used to be an important figure; he made the decisions on what the chain was going to buy. Now his power has been usurped by buying committees. The buyer has become merely a technician who interviews the salesmen from the food processor and passes on his findings to his superiors. Says Weiss: "Members of the buying committee tend not to be buying specialists. Moreover, they make decisions covering the



Keeping the home office in touch with the customer's needs

entire range of merchandise inventoried by the organization. Since they tend to be at executive levels considerably higher than that of the buyer who appears before them, they are more apt to depend on their own judgment than that of the buyer. And, by the same token, the buyer is not apt to put up much of a battle . . . In buying committee sessions, it is presumably the majority that rules. But since it is traditional in large organizations for so many committee members to vote with the head of the table, the majority rule prevails more in theory than in fact."

So the man that the seller must get to is the man at the head of the table. And this is true not only in the food field. Throughout U.S. industry, key buying power has steadily risen up through the corporate structure to higher echelons of authority. In industrial selling, an increasing number of purchasing decisions tend to involve bigger and bigger outlays of capital. In large part this is the result of the rise of what is now commonly called *systems selling*. Instead of buying components from many suppliers, a company often buys a whole integrated system, be it a system for heating and air conditioning, protecting a plant from theft and fire, automating a production line, or handling materials. As technology becomes more complex, users, intent on eliminating technical headaches, are ever more anxious to buy such systems, while suppliers, intent on greater profit, are ever more anxious to design and sell a whole package. Naturally, the final approval for such an expenditure or commitment moves up the line, from the plant superintendent or manager, to the corporate controller or treasurer, perhaps all the way to the president or board chairman.

"The President's Project"

Not only has this created the need for salesmen with sufficient stature to talk to the customer's top management, but it has also drawn top executives more directly into the selling act. In company after company, higher officials now make a very determined effort to get out in the field and call on the big customers, and even to do considerable pioneer work with potential customers. This kind of thing, of course, is not new. Many companies were built by star salesmen at the top, a very good example being the late Thomas J. Watson Sr. at I.B.M. ("What my father used to do when people began to talk about the great complexity of the products," says Tom Watson Jr., the present head of the company, "would be to sweep his hand and say, 'It's all so simple. All it does is add, subtract, and multiply!' ") And in industries where enormous capital investment is required, such as the utility business, intimate and continued contact between seller and buyer at a high level has always been important. But now personal selling by top executives is becoming much more common. Raytheon, for example, has divided up its list of big customers among managers and officers of the company, and assigned each the responsibility of keeping in touch with a few accounts, with a view to bolstering the salesman's efforts.

General Foods was one of the pioneers in this. When Charles Mortimer was president of the company, he started "The President's Project," a series of meetings with customers all over the country. "In the beginning the meetings started out 100 per cent social," explains Wayne Marks, now president of the company. "They were strictly for pleasure—and we invited more than one customer to a meeting. But we found that nothing *happened*. Except that we got acquainted. We didn't find out what to improve in our business operation. So the format was quickly changed."

Now Marks's office sets up his customer-visiting schedule at least a month in advance. The customer is requested to have all his key people at the meeting, and several weeks before the encounter, G.F. sends along a "questionnaire" to elicit comments on G.F.'s performance and suggestions for items to discuss. In the past eighteen months Marks, accompanied by a team of executives and salesmen, has visited fifty-four customers throughout the U.S.

Marks has found the customers "avid" for this kind of contact. Not only does G.F. come out of these encounters (some of them lasting for five or six hours over dinner and drinks) with a fuller idea of what it should be doing—but the customers learn a great deal about their own organizations that they weren't aware of. Says Marks: "Many a meeting, at the end the boss man will say, 'Why don't *we* go out and find out what's happening in our own stores?' At the end of a recent meeting the top man told me, 'I've been frank with you and told you what I don't like about your operations. Would you be willing to report back to us on what you think of us?' "

The "sellingest" firm

Personal selling is now a company-wide endeavor, and the contact with the customer takes place at many levels in an organized, formal way. The best illustration of how this has changed fundamentally the relations between buyer and seller is offered by National Cash Register, long known as perhaps the "sellingest" firm in the country. N.C.R.'s founder, the late John H. Patterson, has been called the father of many of the standard techniques of modern selling. He established the first formal training courses for salesmen, the first yearly sales quotas, the first guaranteed sales territories for salesmen, the first annual sales convention. Patterson's earlier sales methods were comparatively crude; cash registers were sold to storekeepers by appealing to their fear that dishonest clerks were pocketing money out of the till. But over the years the company refined its appeals, and forty years ago, when it began selling accounting machines, it even evolved a primitive kind of systems selling. But its big leap came about five years ago when the company introduced, somewhat belatedly as compared with the competition, its first electronic computer.

N.C.R. had to set up a whole new sales force for the computer, and in doing so it made a profound discovery: it was not easy to make a salesman of accounting machinery into a computer salesman. Says one N.C.R. senior salesman: "It was the death of salesmen like Willy Loman. At N.C.R. a few were left behind. They couldn't make the switch. It wasn't that they were too old—some were in their forties. But men's intellectual capabilities get set at various ages, and some *were* too old at that age." The company also found that it had to alter its time-honored compensation system. Normally, the N.C.R. salesman collects an advance that is charged against the commission he makes on his sales. Says marketing director Harry Keesecker, "Computer selling is still incentive selling, but due to the kind of product—sometimes the long time between sales—we have to compensate the salesmen by salary plus commission."

At the same time N.C.R. set up an elaborate organization to give the salesmen technical support. This now includes 325 mathematicians and technical people; the number has doubled in size in the past twelve months. They develop manuals and presentations, help the customer define his problems, train his computer operators for him, set up his E.D.P. system, and produce the programing for it. The support organization also trains the computer salesman, a de-

parture for N.C.R., which years ago built its whole sales-training program around the use of experienced salesmen, borrowed from the field, as instructors. (The total computer sales and support staff numbers about 500 people, as against 2,100 in accounting machines, but the company is supplementing the small computer force by training as many of the accounting-machine men as possible to sell both kinds of equipment.)

The Willy Lomans are no longer feasible

The difference between the old and new eras at N.C.R.—and in salesmanship in general—is dramatically illustrated by the story of how the company landed a rather sensational contract for the sale of a computer to the Dime Savings Bank of Brooklyn, New York, the country's second-largest mutual savings bank. The bank and the company had long-standing ties dating back to 1929, when the Dime bought its first N.C.R. posting machines for the tellers' windows. In subsequent decades the bank bought other N.C.R. equipment. In those years the chief link between the two was an N.C.R. salesman, Anthony de Florio, now district manager of sales for accounting and computer systems, and Karl Stad, who is now vice president of methods and systems at the Dime. The relationship was a cordial one, and N.C.R., which is mainly known for its experience in retailing and banking, was solidly in with the Dime.

In the late 1950's, however, there was a sudden change in the old easygoing ways. The bank decided, in 1957, that it was time to think about tying its entire bookkeeping operations into a computer to keep up with its bounding growth, and Stad was told to set up a task force to study the entire field and to recommend the "ideal" system. De Florio observes, "This was the beginning of group selling. The salesman had to understand the problems and systems of the customer. The staff at the bank had to define what was required. And we at N.C.R. had to be sure that the bank wasn't running away from us in know-how." (To N.C.R., as to many another company, the growing sophistication of the buyer has become an important factor to reckon with.) N.C.R. also had to reckon with competition; every other computer manufacturer came in for the kill at Dime. For the next two years Stad and his team studied the field and enlarged their expertise. By 1959 they had winnowed the choice down to four systems, including N.C.R.'s, and asked the competitors for feasibility studies. (Says de Florio: "By the time you get to feasibility studies, the Willy Lomans are no longer feasible.")

Now the contacts between the company and the bank multiplied. N.C.R. sent teams of technical people from Dayton headquarters to confer with Stad—they submitted a technical proposal two inches thick—and Stad went out to Dayton to talk to N.C.R.'s research people. He was put up at N.C.R.'s plush Moraine Farm, the estate of a former board chairman, which the company now uses to entertain groups of customers and potential customers. (Like du Pont and other companies, N.C.R. uses its factories and laboratories as a sales showcase.) By the end of 1959, Stad decided that N.C.R.'s 304 computer, then just being delivered to the first purchasers, was the one for the Dime.

Thereupon the Dime's board of trustees decided that Stad's decision ought to be second-guessed by an independent consultant in the electronic data-processing field. This, of course, opened up the whole matter again, and brought the competitors back in. Fortunately for N.C.R., the consultant confirmed the decision, and the affair between the bank and the company again resumed, in a deliberate and measured way. The Dime's board selected a committee of three trustees to study the proposal. They went out to Dayton—staying at an even more posh N.C.R. guest house, the old home of Orville Wright—and they talked with everyone from technicians to N.C.R.'s president, R. S. Oelman, and its then board chairman, S. C. Allyn. On the way back in the plane, the trustees decided to sign with N.C.R. It was an $800,000 decision, and it was a key one not only to the bank but to N.C.R., which closed some other bank contracts on the strength of the Dime's decision.

N.C.R. was in the middle of a training program for the Dime's employees when, early in 1960, a crisis arose. N.C.R.'s technicians reached the chilling conclusion that the 304 computer would not have the capacity to do what the Dime eventually would require—i.e., a direct linkage from the posting machines at the tellers' windows to the computer without the intermediate use of tabulating equipment. The next model in the design stage, the 315 random-access computer, would do the job—but not the 304. De Florio had to come clean with the bank. "I called up Karl and said, 'Let's have lunch at the Brooklyn Club,' " recalls de Florio, still wincing at the ensuing conversation. De Florio offered to tear up the contract for the 304. The Dime's board accepted the proposal, and the whole computer question was back in the soup again.

Rival manufacturers had another chance to make presentations, and N.C.R. had to start all over again selling its 315 model, then two years from delivery. De Florio kept pounding on one main point: the bank already was using N.C.R. machines at its windows, and any company that finally got the computer contract would have to tie in to N.C.R.'s equipment. In the end the argument prevailed; Stad recommended the 315 computer on the grounds that it would be "just as good" as other computers—though no better—and that N.C.R. had "window experience." Along with the computer, the bank also agreed to use other N.C.R. equipment in its integrated system, so the total package came to $2 million. Says de Florio, looking back on the whole transaction, "In this kind of selling you can't see everything you buy. A lot has to be bought on faith. Therefore a company likes to work with big companies. Come hell or high water, they have to deliver."

One of N.C.R.'s brightest and most successful young computer salesmen recently expanded this doctrine. "A salesman is important," he remarked, "because the policy makers today come from a previous generation of doing business. They don't have the technical equipment necessary to make a decision about a computer that requires technical sophistication. So the salesman has to take the language of the computer man and turn it into language his customer understands. I used to think that those decisions would be made on a scientific basis—but it's a gross act of faith." The salesman's job, he said, is "to create an environment in which an act of faith can take place."

The "foot soldiers" need upgrading

There is doubtless still plenty of faith in sales transactions. But as the Dime Savings Bank affair shows, there is a great deal more. And this is the fact that salesmen do not seem to realize when they talk about their jobs. They are still trained to have a kind of emotionalism about their craft, and they carry with them a heavy load of outworn notions about their role. They view selling as both warfare and love, hostility and benevolence. They see themselves as "the men on the firing line," and "the foot soldiers of democracy." The combative nature of selling is stressed in almost every book on the subject, as in one of the most famous and widely sold of all books on selling, *Open the Mind and Close the Sale*, by John

M. Wilson, who recently retired as N.C.R.'s sales manager. Wilson speaks of the "tension in every buyer-seller relationship," of the "challenge" in each encounter, of the need for "handling" the customer—though, of course, "in the way he wants to be handled."

This lag in the recognition of what has happened to selling is harmful, because the sales profession is still held in low esteem by the public. Just how low was indicated recently in a survey by *Sales Management* magazine of college students and their attitude toward selling. Selling ranked a very poor fourth, after teaching, law, and medicine, as a choice for a career. Only 6 per cent of the students favored it. (Of seventy-one students whose fathers are in sales, only *five* wanted to go into selling.)

The students did not particularly object to the working conditions in selling; relatively few said they were put off by too much traveling, for example. Nor did many feel that the financial reward was inadequate. The chief objections to a selling career (some even denied that selling *is* a career) were these: "I don't want to force people to buy things they don't need." "Job security is poor." "I'm not extrovert enough." "Selling has no prestige."

One student unwittingly put his finger on the ironic predicament business faces. He remarked that selling simply does not require "a college education or intelligence." The main feature of the new kind of personal selling, of course, is that it does require men who are able and intelligent; the new salesmen, quite obviously, must be recruited from among the better college graduates. But how are they going to be recruited if the better college graduates think selling is beneath them? The experience of Scott Paper illustrates the difficulties business has in luring these men into selling. The company prides itself on the fact that 95 per cent of its sales staff are college graduates. Each year, to keep the staff replenished, it interviews some 2,000 students, invites about 100 of these men to visit its Philadelphia headquarters, makes offers to about seventy-five—and lands thirty-five or forty of them.

The trouble is that business has signally failed to get across the idea that there has been a tremendous change in selling. (The *Sales Management* poll shows that this generation of students has not grasped one of the simplest and most fundamental changes—i.e., that by and large salesmen are no longer paid on commission but are salaried.) Business has a massive educational job to do. Perhaps as a start it might throw away a lot of the old inspirational literature on selling and let the facts of the new situation do the inspiring.

END

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Fortune Magazine

May 7, 1964

Mr. Charles Silberman
Fortune Magazine
Time-Life Building
New York, New York

Dear Charles:

I have just finished reading Crisis in Black and White.

I think it is undoubtedly the most important book of its kind yet published. There is always, of course, the chance that when I get a little farther away from it I would feel less excited about it, but in this case I don't think so. I had only stray and small disagreements with any parts of it, and was instructed by it throughout. It is really an impressive achievement.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Jess Stein

Rec'd 4/17/64

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

501 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

JESS STEIN
VICE-PRESIDENT

April 14, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am taking the liberty of sending you a complimentary advance copy of CRISIS IN BLACK AND WHITE by Charles E. Silberman, a member of the Board of Editors of Fortune. This book will be published by Random House on May 18.

We sincerely believe this is an extremely important book. It is thoughtful, provocative, controversial. It will force an open, straightforward assessment of Negro-White relations in America in constructive, realistic terms.

Because of your interest in this issue, we believe you will want to read Mr. Silberman's book as soon as possible. We hope you will think as highly of it as we do. Needless to say, we will be very interested in knowing your reaction to it.

Sincerely yours,

Jess Stein

Jess Stein

JS:hd

FORTUNE *Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York 20, New York*

File

May 28, 1964

File: Newspapers, et. al.
Fortune Mag

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

I've been working at home the past few weeks, and thought I had dictated an answer to your beautiful letter about Crisis. I was horrified, therefore, when I discovered that I apparently hadn't written you. Forgive me, please; I had wanted to answer you immediately, because I take praise as well as criticism from whence it comes -- and your praise means a great deal. Thanks a million, therefore, for your praise, and for your warmth in writing.

As ever,

Charle

Charles E. Silberman
Board of Editors

CES:jb

Judson 6-1212

Janet - please xerox the attached ltr & give to J. Smith
Dave V.

July 14, 1965

Mr. Charles Silberman
Fortune Magazine
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, New York

Dear Charles:

Many thanks for your comment on the Pat Watters pamplet. I am delighted that you liked it as well as I did. We are getting, incidentally, an awful lot of fan mail about it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 7/6/65

Matthew - did Jack ever send these?

Yes + did mj

return to LD

FORTUNE *Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York 20, New York*

July 1, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

The Pat Watters pamphlet on SNCC is a tremendous contribution. It's a bit uneven, of course, and the point of view seems to shift a bit from time to time. But it is by far the best thing I have seen on SNCC -- in a sense, the only thing I have read that seems to me to cut to the essence of the matter, and to raise the real questions. Could you send me ten more copies; I'd like to send them to some people around here, and some friends in top positions in the national Jewish organizations, who could benefit enormously by reading it.

Warmest regards.

As ever,

Charle

Charles E. Silberman
Board of Editors

Judson 6-1212

Rec'd 7/30/65 file - Newspapers et al -

FORTUNE *Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, New York 10020*

Pub
PAV
MJ - file

July 28, 1965

Dear Les:

Thanks a million for sending the extra copies of Pat Watters' pamphlet. The reaction has been uniformly favorable; it's a really major contribution.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Charles

CES:bw

Charles E. Silberman
Board of Editors

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta
Georgia

Judson 6-1212

See Newspapers, et al
in Fortune

Pres

MEMORANDUM

December, 1967

TO: Editors of Fortune

FROM: Daniel Yankelovich

SUBJECT: Interpretation of Study Findings

This is the memorandum you requested presenting our interpretation of the study findings on the urban Negro. The findings are unusually clear-cut, even though the picture they present is not a simple one. Our interpretation covers four topics of interest to you--1) the felt needs of the urban Negro; 2) the progress (or lack of it) they feel they have made in the past few years; 3) the prevailing mood of Negroes today, and 4) the attitude of Negroes toward the white community and toward their own leaders.

Three Needs Stand Out:

Negroes of whatever social class or income level, have three universally held objectives: 1) better educational opportunities for their children, 2) better job and training opportunities, and 3) enhanced respect via certain forms of desegregation. Nine out of ten urban Negroes hold these objectives, and they are just as important to the north as to the south, to poor Negroes and to those who are better off, to young and old, to men and women.

Just below these come a second group of objectives held to be important by at least a majority of Negroes. They include: better police protection (69%), better education for themselves (62%), making their present neighborhood a better place to live (63%), and having more money and generally better living conditions (53%).

At the very bottom of the list is an objective held by only 20% of the people we talked to--moving out of their present neighborhood.

The emphasis on jobs and educational opportunities for children has been confirmed a number of times in our own work among poverty populations as well as in other studies. The present study gives us, I believe, more up-to-date insight than other studies into what desegregation means.

The Meaning of Desegregation:

The findings make the most sense when one understands the special meaning that desegregation has today to the Negro community. The first important point here is that one out of every twenty Negroes we talked to rejected integration outright, and among younger people in the 16 to 25 year old age group this proportion was almost doubled. These are the people who reject Whitey and everything he stands for. Whether a much larger sampling of Negroes would show any marked change is difficult to say, but it is clear that the separatist attitude is held today by a small minority of Negroes, and is most strongly held among the younger people.

At the other extreme, about one out of every ten Negroes wants integration in every sense of the word, including the desegregation of white neighborhoods and full social integration. These are the Negroes who still subscribe to the old liberal objective of total elimination of the race/color barrier.

One of the most striking findings of this study is that the vast majority of urban Negroes interviewed in this study (77%) held to a viewpoint markedly different from either of these extremes. Most Negroes want integration, but in a very special sense. To them, integration means essentially two things--it means equal opportunity for jobs and education (and to a somewhat lesser extent, good housing); and secondly, it means supporting their own self-respect by winning the respect of the white community (not their friendship, not their love, most assuredly not their noblesse oblige generosity, but their respect). Not having to feel like a second-class person is just as important, if not more so, than not having to feel like a second-class citizen.

In other words, a vast majority of urban Negroes do not today accept total integration as a viable objective. They don't believe it is possible to achieve; and if it were, they are not sure that it's what they want. They are sure, however, that they want

integration in the two senses defined above.

Improvement Confined to Jobs:

Seven out of ten Negroes interviewed in the study believe that there has been an improvement in their general situation over the past three to five years. Only one out of ten feels that the Negro is worse off today. Consistently throughout this study, the southern urban Negro felt a greater improvement than Negroes in other parts of the country; and also, consistently throughout the study, young people were less sanguine about the improved lot of the Negro than their elders.

When we look at the specifics, the picture is very clear indeed. The most significant improvement is confined to jobs. Eight out of ten people who felt that things had gotten better cited improved job opportunities. Everything else--improved educational opportunities, better housing, improved desegregation conditions, having more money available, etc.--were at a far lower incidence. Virtually no improvement in Negro/white relationships was mentioned spontaneously. For all practical purposes, one can sum up by saying that Negroes feel that tangible progress has been made on only one of their three major objectives--jobs--with some rudimentary signs of progress in education, housing and general living conditions.

Negroes Are More Hopeful and More Angry At The Same Time:

The study findings show the current activist mood of the Negro quite vividly:

...Eight out of ten Negroes are more hopeful about solving Negro problems today than they were three to five years ago; virtually none of them are less hopeful.

...Half of the urban Negroes interviewed (46%) are also angrier today than they were three to five years ago, and another two out of five (42%) are just as angry as they were then. Furthermore, almost twice as many Negroes outside the south as southern urban Negroes feel an increased sense of anger.

...Half the Negroes outside of the south felt that some good has come out of the riots (2 out of 10 approved of them unqualifiably and another 3 out of 10 saw a mix of both good and bad).

...35% of all the Negroes we talked to believe that violence is necessary to achieve Negro goals. Furthermore, this belief in violence is somewhat more characteristic of Negroes who are better off economically than those who are worse off economically. Three times as many non-southerners believe in violence as southern Negroes!

...Half of the Negroes outside the south and a quarter of them in southern cities don't feel that Negroes can get what they want in America today "the way this country is set up and run."

In brief, the mood of Negroes today is activist, angry, hopeful, determined and a disconcertingly large group endorse violence as the only way to wrest grudging concessions from the white community.

Negroes Attitudes Toward Themselves and Their Leaders:

We can best understand the mix of anger and hope if we look at why Negroes feel that they have made some progress in these past few years:

...Most respondents (eight out of ten) believe that the Negro has more power today than he did three to five years ago, and virtually no one believes that he has less.

...With respect to jobs and job opportunities--the one place that Negroes feel they have made substantial progress--people give the Negroes themselves and their leaders the lion's share of the credit. The government gets a little more credit for improvements in education, but remember that far fewer Negroes felt that there had been any improvements in education.

...Six out of ten Negroes feel that they are being treated with greater respect today than they were a few years back and virtually none of them feel that they are being treated with less respect.

...In their own analysis of what should be done about the rioting and how it should be handled, the greatest stress is on remedying the bad conditions which give rise to the riots.

In other words, the urban Negro feels that he has won a bit more power and a bit more self-respect for himself, but that he has wrested it from Whitey by his own efforts. This is why he feels more hopeful about the future, but also why he continues to feel angry and convinced that progress will be made only by fighting--in the most literal sense of the word.

Negro attitudes toward whites are, as might be expected, most ambivalent. They are clearest in the south where half of the urban Negroes we talked to feel better about the white man than they did a few years ago, and only 15% feel worse. Outside of the south, these figures reverse themselves. Four out of ten are more hostile to the white man than they were a few years back, and three out of ten are less so. Attitudes toward whites are controversial, ambivalent and divide the Negro community far more than do most of the other topics we discussed with people.

Finally, a word about the attitudes of the urban Negro toward their own leaders. The question of how much confidence Negroes have in their own leaders and organizations has been raised many times. These findings suggest that some individuals and organizations enjoy a great deal of confidence indeed. The findings show that Martin Luther King unquestionably leads all other leaders by a wide margin in trust (eight out of ten) and in "fighting for his people" (eight out of ten). Other leaders whom Negroes trust and also feel fight effectively for their people include Roy Wilkins and Thurgood Marshall (five out of ten); Whitney Young (four out of ten); Stokely Carmichael (a third believe that he is fighting the good fight for them, but only two out of ten trust him completely, a contrast that also holds true of H. Rap Brown and Floyd McKissick). One out of every four also endorse Adam Clayton Powell.

When people were asked to volunteer the name of a great Negro leader, Martin Luther King stood virtually alone. 55% volunteered his name; the next most frequent mention was only 6%.

Among the organizations, the NAACP, the Urban League, CORE and SNCC are cited in that order.

Summary:

In summary then, jobs, education for children and desegregation (in the sense of equal opportunity and respect, not in the sense of inter-marriage, socializing and the taking over of white neighborhoods) represent the main objectives of the urban Negro today. Most Negroes see an improvement mainly in the area of jobs for which they give credit to themselves and their own efforts. Their present mood is activist, with a tinge of violence by a substantial minority. Negroes feel that if they are going to make progress in education, housing, living conditions and the respect of the white community, they are going to have to fight for it themselves. The majority (60%) reject rioting and they also reject other forms of violence. But they do not reject other forms of fighting and black power. The feelings people have about Martin Luther King best symbolize their attitude.

Our overall interpretation is that the Negroes are probably less divided today than they have been in the recent past. They are united on objectives; they are united in their mood of hopefulness; they are united in their anger. Even on the means of accomplishing their objectives, the division, though it is a real one, is fairly narrow. A majority would endorse Martin Luther King's current aggressive but non-violent tactics; a substantial minority (from a third to 40%) would go somewhat further in the direction of violence.

No one, I think, can conclude that these findings are either wholly optimistic or wholly pessimistic. They are surely pessimistic in the sense that they presage further violence and anger. But in the final analysis they may be considerably more optimistic than pessimistic. Negro attitudes of hope and progress currently coexist with attitudes of anger toward the white community. If, in the next few years, the more moderate activist but non-violent approach of the majority meets with cooperation and success, almost undoubtedly the anger and the violence will

diminish. Quite frankly, the picture is more optimistic than we had anticipated and it is more in a stage of transition. It clearly shows that the die is not cast and that the white community has an even better chance of solving this problem than it did a few years ago. At that time, the mood of liberal noblesse oblige had to fail. Negroes can't get what they most want, which is what all other Americans want--a measure of self-respect and control over their own destiny--by having somebody else give it to them. They have to win it for themselves and they are currently in the mood to do so. How the white community responds in the immediate future will determine whether we shall experience a great social success for Negro and white alike, or whether this country will be rent by the violence and ugliness of racial revolution.

DY:jbn

RECEIVED AUG 27 1957

THE GLENMARY HOME MISSIONERS
GLENDALE, OHIO

August 23, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Altanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I wish to thank you for your kind letter of August 20, in which you offer to answer the questions posed to Doctor Mitchell.

We should be deeply grateful to have your answers at your earliest convenience.

We are engaged with concern, prayer, and some slight apostolic activity to assist in the great problem you are set about.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours in Christ,

P. P. O'Donnell

Father Patrick O'Donnell
Editor, GLENMARY'S CHALLENGE

Check for quick copy of letter to Dr. O'Donnell

PO'D/reo

August 20, 1957

The Reverend Patrick O'Donnell
Editor, GLENMARY'S CHALLENGE
Glendale, Ohio

Dear Father O'Donnell:

I am replying to your letter of August 8 since Dr. Mitchell retired last January as director of the Council and is presently living in Scotland. This was the realization of a long cherished plan of Dr. Mitchell's, though distressing to his many friends.

If you would like others of us on the staff to offer answers to the questions you have posed, let me know and we will do our best.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

GLENMARY
MISSIONERS
LABORING IN NO PRIEST LAND
GLENDALE OHIO PRINCETON 1-8000

HcF

August 8, 1957

RECEIVED AUG 14 1957

Dr. George S. Mitchell
c/o Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We were deeply impressed with your recorded remarks made several years ago at our Novitiate in Milford, Ohio, and with numerous articles published since. In planning the pages of coming issues of GLENMARY'S CHALLENGE, we felt that you might have some important things to say.

As you know, the Glenmary Missioners are working in rural sections of Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, and Oklahoma. The CHALLENGE is designed to inform our people not only of the progress which our missioners are making in bringing the Sacraments to the people who live there, but in informing our people of the problems encountered and the nature of the people and circumstances under which they live.

I have prepared some questions so that your answers might be presented to our readers as interview stock. If, however, you would prefer to present your views in a different manner, feel free to do so. Also, if there are other things which you believe would have a special interest to our readers, not covered by these questions, please feel free to express them.

THE QUESTIONS

1. What are the most startling trends taking place in the southern states today?

2. What, in your opinion, is the most important service which religious leaders can perform in the southern states today?

3. Do you believe that there is any advantage to these leaders in having been trained in the North or East where the problems of the South can be seen more objectively?

4. Do you expect a new crisis in racial relationships?

5. Will the increase have any significant political implications, in your opinion?

6. What is happening to the old cultural traits in the mountains and Piedmont of the South?

7. What will be the effect if the expanding Negro population gains political ascendancy?

8. The Bureau of the Census recently reported an anticipated increase of fifteen million in the southern population during the next eighteen years. How will this affect the culture and the religious practices of the South?

9. The direct application of the Gospel requirements of Charity by the Reverend Martin Luther King have been, perhaps, the most dramatically effective strategy for solving the racial problem, at least in Montgomery, Alabama. How do you foresee the eventual outcome of this struggle, and what part will Christian ethics play in it?

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Rev. Patrick O'Donnell

Reverend Patrick O'Donnell
Editor, GLENMARY'S CHALLENGE

PO'D/clb

Air Mail

Rev. Patrick O'Donnell

Dear ~~Frxxx~~ Father O'Donnell:

I am inexcusably late in replying to your request that I substitute for Dr. Mitchell as a commentator on the Southern scene. Perhaps it is just as well that I am answering only now, in view of the momentous developments of recent weeks. In any case, herewith my apologies and the following comments, numbered to correspond to your questions.

1. The headlining of racial disturbances in ~~Sx~~ the South ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ inevitably oversimplifies and distorts what is happening in the region. We are really in the midst of a social and economic revolution ~~xxxx~~ of such large proportions that Southerners themselves hardly realize its full meaning. People white and Negro are moving from the land to the cities in large numbers, as industry and commerce displace the old agriculture as the main source of livelihood. Along with the new industry come new people and new ideas. And through the mass media, especially television, a world of diversity flows into the once-isolated provinces. Even ~~xxx~~ a tenant farmer's shack is not unlikely to boast a television aerial.

In short, the South's peculiar institutions and traditions are subject not only to legal attack, but to moral, cultural, and economic bombardment as well. As in the case of all profound changes in a social order, these produce tension and disequilibrium. Much of the tension stemp from the

half-suppressed ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ recognition that new ideas, more than ~~new~~ court decisions, are undermining the old order in the South. This is particularly evident among ~~Southern~~ Negro~~xx~~ Southerners. The Montgomery bus protest, led by Martin Luther King, Jr., ~~xx~~ was the most dramatic illustration of the new Negro self-image that is coming into being. It becomes increasingly difficult for white Southerners to delude themselves with the comforting rationalization that ~~xxxxxxx~~ "their" Negroes are happy and satisfied with second-class status.

The major ~~trends~~ developments in the South today may be summed up as a trend toward the dissolution of ~~a~~ the special Southern ~~culture~~ society -- or, put the other way around, toward the absorption of the South ~~by~~ the general American culture. ~~xxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ Unfortunately, but expectably, race has become the focus for many fears and anxieties that have nothing to do with ~~the~~ Negro- white relations. Resistance to trade unionism, internationalism, political reform, high taxes, federal authority -- all these ~~and more~~ antagonisms and more can be found marching together under the segregation banner.

2. What religious leaders can do depends heavily, of course, on time, place, and circumstance. But in general their ~~most valuable function is~~ role should be that of keepers of the community conscience. At a time when secular authority seeks to enforce conformity and stamp out dissent, religious leadership has a special duty to speak to the moral issues, to stress the importance of the individual, to counsel with

parents and children involved in ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ desegregation, and on occasion to stand physically ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ by those who are threatened with violence and abuse. These are not easy things to do. And, while there is a widespread tendency to criticize the~~ix~~ inaction of many religious leaders, there has been too little honor paid to those who have shown courage.

~~xx~~ 3. It is my personal belief that every Southerner can benefit by a period of study or training outside the South. Without such an experience, it is extremely difficult ~~for him~~ to gain objectivity and new perspectives on the problems at home.

4. Unhappily, it looks as though we may expect a series of crises in race relations, at least over the next few years. As we have seen, each time ~~xxx~~ desegregation is begun in a new area, we experience a new period of crisis. Because of the ~~xxxx~~ diversity of conditions within the South, the resolution of a crisis in one area does not necessarily resolve the issue for other areas. For example, the current contest of federal versus state powers in Arkansas, whatever the final outcome, probably will not settle the question for Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, or South Carolina, where political resistance is much more deeply rooted.

This series of crises was not necessarily inevitable in the wake of the Supreme Court's school decision. Given wiser and more effective leadership -- nationally as well as locally -- we ~~might~~ could have made the transition more smoothly.

But it is now doubtful that the harmful effects of the last three years can be undone sufficiently to prevent further crises for a time to come.

5. I am not sure what this question is referred to in ~~refers to.~~ Perhaps something is omitted.

6. The Piedmont is experiencing the maximum effects discussed in answer number one, for it is here that industrialization and urbanization are advancing most rapidly. The effects are felt ~~go~~ beyond the cities themselves, since the large industries draw workers from a radius of 50 or more miles. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ The old traits linger on, and will for some time, but they are yielding to the new impersonal relationships of urban life, new political patterns, and in general what Howard Odum called the ascendancy of the "technic-ways" over the "folk-ways." The mountain areas change more slowly. But in some areas industry is also climbing the mountains, and in others the people are climbing down to the cities. Thus the old isolation is breaking up there, too.

7. Contrary to much popular belief, the Negro population in the South is not expanding in proportion to the white. Out-migration and a decline in birthrates (associated with urbanization) are steadily reducing the percentage of Negroes in the population. This applies to both rural and urban places, with few exceptions. Except for a minority of old plantation counties where Negroes still outnumber whites,

political dominance by Negroes is not even a theoretical possibility. Moreover, it is precisely in the old plantation, or "black belt," counties that Negroes are most commonly disfranchised. While the new Civil Rights Act will serve as a deterrent to the grosser forms of discrimination against would-be voters, the growth of Negro suffrage in the "black belt" is bound to be a slow and difficult process. Economic dependency, lack of education, and dearth of aggressive leadership combine with increasingly subtle discriminatory tactics to discourage large Negro registrations. Other parts of the South, notably the industrial cities, present a more hopeful picture. In many of these, Negroes can register with as much ease as whites. Though the Negro registration is still far from proportionate to the Negro population, it has a balance-of-power influence in many cities; this makes for heightened attentiveness by local officials to the needs and aspirations of Negro citizens. Because of outmoded political systems, this effect has not yet been much felt at the level of state politics, but in time it will be.

There is danger in regarding the vote as a cure-all for racial problems. But certainly political participation by Negroes is an important part of the complex solution to the South's problems.

8. This population growth is likely to intensify the trends already discussed in terms of population movement -- that is, from rural to urban areas, from agricultural to industrial pursuits. Projections of the growth of Southern cities indicate that much of the population increase will be centered there. This will require great readjustment within the churches. For religious leaders, the question will be how to meet the needs and expectations of people newly caught up ~~in~~ by complex technological forces that have long passed them by. I should think there would be parallels with the experience of religious institutions ~~xxxxx~~ when the rest of the nation passed through the industrial revolution many years ago -- except that, in this case, the experience ~~is~~ of decades is being compressed into a few short years.

9. The ~~Negro religious leadership~~ religiously motivated Negro leadership typified by King poses a tremendous challenge to White Christian leadership in the South. If the Montgomery movement spreads, as it seems to be doing, the very force of example may breathe new life into ~~the~~ Christian ethics as practiced in the region. Since the alternative is unrelieved bitterness and conflict, we have no choice but to hope for this development and to do what we can to bring it about.

Sincerely

PA
(Commendation)

RECEIVED OCT 3 1957

THE GLENMARY HOME MISSIONERS
GLENDALE, OHIO

October 1, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to acknowledge with great thanks your fine article written September 25. Needless to say, the contents have already been the occasion of some interesting and spirited discussions. These are times when every eye is focused on the growing pains of our Southern culture and your penetrating observations are therefore priceless at this moment.

One of the most helpful signs in these troubled times is the existence of the Southern Regional Council and the refreshing little magazine, "The New South", which you publish.

May God be with you in your efforts to bring the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Patrick O'Donnell

Father Patrick O'Donnell
Editor of GLENMARY'S CHALLENGE

PO'D/reo

GLENMARY'S *Challenge*

CRISIS IN DIXIE

AN INTERVIEW WITH HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Q. What are the most startling trends taking place in the southern states today?

A. The headlining of racial disturbances in the South inevitably oversimplifies and distorts what is happening in the region. We are really in the midst of a social and economic revolution of such large proportions that Southerners themselves hardly realize its full meaning. People, white and Negro, are moving from the land to the cities in large numbers, as industry and commerce displace the old agriculture as the main source of livelihood. Along with the new industry come new people and new ideas. And through the mass media, especially television, a world of diversity flows into the once-isolated provinces. Even a tenant farmer's shack is not unlikely to boast a television aerial.

In short, the South's peculiar institutions and traditions are subject not only to legal attack, but to moral, cultural, and economic bombardment as well. As in the case of all profound changes in a social order, these produce tension and dis-equilibrium. Much of the tension stems from the half-suppressed recognition that new ideas, more than court decisions, are undermining the old order in the South. This is particularly evident among Negro Southerners. The Montgomery bus protest, led by Martin Luther King, Jr., was the most dramatic illustration of the new Negro self-image that is coming into being. It becomes increasingly difficult for white Southerners to delude themselves with the comforting rationalization that "their" Negroes are happy and satisfied with second-class status.

The major developments in the South today may be summed up as a trend toward the dissolution of the special Southern society — or, put the other way around, toward the absorption of the South by the general American culture. Unfortunately, but expectably, race has become the focus for many fears and anxieties that have nothing to do with Negro-white relations. Resistance to trade unionism, internationalism, political reform, high taxes, federal authority — all these antagonisms and more can be found marching together under the segregation banner.

Q. Do you expect a new crisis in racial relationships?

A. Unhappily, it looks as though we may expect a series of crises in race relations, at least over the next few years. As we have seen, each time desegregation is begun in a new area, we experience a new period of crisis. Because of the diversity of conditions within the South, the resolution of a crisis in one area does not necessarily resolve the issue for other areas. For example, the current contest of federal versus state powers in Arkansas, whatever the final outcome, probably will not settle the question for Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, or South Carolina, where political resistance is much more deeply rooted.

This series of crises was not necessarily inevitable in the wake of the Supreme Court's school decision. Given wiser and more effective leadership — nationally as well as locally — we could have made the transition more smoothly. But it is now doubtful that the harmful effects of the last three years can be undone sufficiently to prevent crises for a time to come.

Q. What is happening to the old cultural traits in the mountains and Piedmont of the South?

A. The Piedmont is experiencing the maximum effects discussed in answer number one, for it is here that industrialization and urbanization are advancing most rapidly. The effects are felt beyond the cities themselves, since the large industries draw workers from a radius of fifty or more miles. The old traits linger on, and will for some time, but they are yielding to the new impersonal relationships of urban life, new political patterns, and in general what Howard Odum called the ascendancy of the "technic-ways" over the "folk-ways." The mountain areas change more slowly. But in some areas industry is also climbing the mountains, and in others, the people are climbing down to the cities. Thus the old isolation is breaking up there, too.

Q. What will be the effect if the expanding Negro population gains political ascendancy?

A. Contrary to much popular belief, the Negro population in the South is not expanding in proportion to the white. Out-migration and a decline in birth rates (associated with urbanization) are steadily reducing the percentage of Negroes in the population. This applies to both rural and urban places, with few exceptions. Except for a minority of old plantation counties where Negroes still outnumber whites, political dominance by Negroes is not even a theoretical possibility. Moreover, it is precisely in the old plantation, or "black belt," counties that Negroes are most commonly disfranchised. While the new Civil Rights Act will serve as a deterrent to the grosser forms of discrimination against would-be voters, the growth of Negro suffrage in the "black belt" is bound to be a slow and difficult process. Economic dependency, lack of education, and dearth of aggressive leadership combine with increasingly subtle discriminatory tactics to discharge large Negro registrations.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Norfolk Journal and Guide Feature Stories

REGARDING:

"An Adventure that Restored Good Race Relations in A Former Time of Crisis..." By: Lin Holloway

DATE

Saturday, May 31, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Commendations, SRC

June 6, 1958

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
Publisher
NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

We are deeply appreciative of Lin Holloway's excellent feature article in the Journal and Guide of May 31, recounting the history of the Durham conference and the consequent founding of the Southern Regional Council. This is a most timely recollection of an important development in the South's history and points up for the South and the nation the present need for the kind of statesmanlike leadership that emerged during World War II. For us on the Council's staff, the article is a challenging reminder of the role this movement may yet play in the progress of the South if we are wise and imaginative enough to meet the challenge.

Believing that the article should have the widest possible readership, I should like to ask your permission to reproduce it and give it wide distribution. Our immediate thought is that this would be most effective if we simply reproduced the entire page from the Journal and Guide, except for the unrelated story about the Shriners.

I shall look forward to your reply. Meanwhile, my kindest regards and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Thomas W. Young

June 27, 1958

NOTE: TO MF

Send copies of reprints of Holloway Article ~~reprints~~ to Mr. P. B. Young, Sr., when they are available.

See Corresp: Norfolk Journal & Guide toPB YOUNG, dtd. 6/27/58 from HCF.

Sent 7/17/58

June 27, 1958

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr. Publisher
Norfolk Journal and Guide
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Thank you for your letter of June 18th concerning Mr. Holloway's article on the Durham conference and its important implications for race relations today. We are having several thousand copies of the article reproduced by the photo off-set process and should have them in hand in the very near future. As soon as they are available, I should be glad to send you as many copies as you would find useful.

Again, with our appreciation and warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

TELEPHONE 53686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

June 18, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We were very glad to have your letter on the article by our Mr. Holloway prepared from material in our files. I passed your message of appreciation on to him and he wishes me to convey to you his thanks.

We thought a re-statement of the 1942-43 project might interest many people in the South during these times. They could at least see that it is not impossible for white people and colored people to work together on racial problems.

I presume you made reprints of the page on one of the new reproduction machines. We would like very much to have two or three copies of it for our files at your convenience.

With best wishes

Yours sincerely,

P. B. YOUNG, Sr., Publisher

jy

July 17, 1958

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr., Publisher
The Norfolk Journal and Guide
719 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

Pursuant to Mr. Fleming's letter to you of June 27, I am sending on to you, in his absence, several copies of the Lin Holloway reprints.

If you have need of additional copies, please let us know and we will send them on to you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Executive Director

MF
Enclosures - 6 copies Holloway reprints

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

MADISON 5-3686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

December 27, 1958

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

A recent communication from your office was addressed to me as "editor" of the Journal and Guide.

That is an error which, though flattering to me, has the unintended effect of robbing the real editor and publisher of the title and recognition which go with that position.

I would appreciate your correcting your mailing list so that communications dealing with editorial and news matters are directed to my father, P. B. Young, Sr., who is Editor and Publisher of the Guide.

Very truly yours,

Thomas W. Young

Thomas W. Young, President

rbh

Newspapers

File

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

MADISON 5-3686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

July 14, 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

A recent communication from your office was addressed to me as "Publisher" of the Journal and Guide.

That is an error which, unintentionally denies the real editor and publisher of the title and recognition which go with that position.

I would appreciate your correcting your mailing list so that communications dealing with editorial and news matters will be directed to my father, P. B. Young, Sr., who is editor and publisher of the Guide.

Very truly yours,

Thomas W. Young

Thomas W. Young
President

TWY/jo

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

MAdison 5-3686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

December 21, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Administrative Assistant,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Several months ago I addressed a letter to the Council requesting that your mailing list be corrected to show P. B. Young, Sr. as publisher and to ask that you address any communications intended for publication or editorial background information to him.

The stencil which includes my name as "publisher" is still being used as will be seen from the enclosed envelope received a few days ago. Please see that the requested correction is made. I receive also, presumably as a member of the Council, periodical communications including special reports and releases. I want those to continue coming to me as I find them very interesting and valuable. All I am asking is that the mail intended for the publisher of the Journal and Guide be addressed to P. B. Young, Sr.

Sincerely yours,

Tom

Thomas W. Young, President

jy
enc.

P. B. YOUNG PUBLISHER

Journal and Guide

MEMBER AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

MADISON 5-3686

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE GUIDE PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

July 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Directive
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I acknowledge with thanks the 10 copies of the publication, "Racial Crisis and The Press". I will distribute them to some members of our staff and one or two other friends, who I am sure will be glad to have the benefit of the contents of the report.

Thanking you again for this and all other kindnesses, I am,

Yours sincerely,

P. B. Young, Sr.

PBY:mm

COUSIN HAROLD
— FROM NIGGER-LOVER TO NEGROPHOBE
IN ONE FELL SWOOP! WHAT'S UP?
ITSA

July 21, 1960

Dear Mr. Young: cc: Harold Fleming

Thank you for sending along a copy of the Southern Regional Council's report on Racial Crisis and the Press. As it happens both Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer are old friends of mine, and I agree with you that their analysis is competent.

As I wrote to you before, I know the good reputation of your newspaper, respect it, and wish there were more like it. I have no hostile position regarding the press, white or Negro. The only criticism I have made of the Negro press as a whole is that it is generally sensational. I know no other way to describe the headline cited by Spearman from the Journal and Guide over a front-page news story: White Men Rape Co-Ed -- Eyes of World on Florida: "Will Justice be Done." The fact that many white newspapers practice the same sort of sensationalism does not seem to me to alter the fact.

I am puzzled over your reference to the "Ford Fund's" spending a lot of money to disparage the American Negro, and your suggestion that it is trapped by the Negrophobes in its employ. I cannot speak for the Ford Foundation, with which I have no connection, but from general knowledge of its activities and personnel I am amazed at any such indictment, if it is intended for that organization. If it is intended for the Fund for the Republic, of which I have been a director for some years and presently serve as a consultant, I can only say it is wholly without foundation. The only large sums the Fund has spent in the field of race relations have gone to support the Southern Regional Council, whose report you cite as fair and authoritative.

My appraisal of the Negro press, over which we apparently have what I consider an honest disagreement, was written wholly on my own responsibility for the Herald Tribune, and has no relationship to my work with the Fund for the Republic.

I hope you will read my forthcoming book The Other Side of Jordan, which is an expanded version of the newspaper series. I doubt that you will agree with all of it, of course, but I believe you will find the treatment sympathetic.

Sincerely,

Harry S. Ashmore

HSA:fct

Mr. P. B. Young, Sr.
Publisher
Journal and Guide
719 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

P. B. YOUNG Publisher

Journal an

MAdison 5-3686

719 EAST OLNEY ROAD
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

960

Mr. Harry S
The Santa B
Box
Santa Barbara

Dear Mr. A

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Very truly

Mr. Robert Hutchi s.

Young, Sr.

Pe
Enc

Board

December 12, 1961

Mr. Thomas W. Young
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Tom:

Thank you for the clippings.

You members of the Council are these days getting into so many things, being honored with so many responsibilities, that we do think we shall soon have to make up a directory listing all your great accomplishments. I hope you enjoyed Tanganyika. I am personally very glad that you were one of the people representing this country.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

Can look at 12.54 called was C S D same day.

February 11, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I should have written you before regarding the progress on the roundup of how things have gone in communities where they have Negro members on the school boards. As I told you over the telephone, I think the story is an important one and it is one that I would very much like to do. My problem, however, has been that for the past three months I have had stories coming up that had to be handled and I was unable to drop them and find the time required to do the roundup piece. I still hope to do it but I cannot say when. At the present time, I have been assigned a series of stories that will keep me busy up until well in the spring. With them behind me, I hope to get at this one. In the meantime, however, I certainly would advise you to try and interest as many other southern newspaper men as you can in tackling the same assignment.

I regret the long delay on this, but I do appreciate your calling my attention to the story. It may be, as you suggest, that the time element in this story is important. Perhaps it would be best to get the story out before the Supreme Court announces its decision in the school segregation cases. However, it may be that the story can be written just as effectively against the background of that decision. Certainly it would be less speculative in some respects.

Sincerely yours,

Chester Davis

Chester S. Davis

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • P. O. Box 2509 WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
APR 22 1954
Southern Regional Council

20 April 1954

Acked by phone
want Apr 22.
suggested
Mayor
Harden.

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Upon my return to my office today following an absence of 10 days, I was delighted to find your letter accepting my invitation. If there is any change in the tentative program plans, I shall let you know immediately.

I saw Harry Ashmore in Washington last week and talked with him about the discussion we are planning. I didn't ask Harry to be a member of the panel himself, although I am acquainted with the work he has been doing for the Ford Foundation. I had hoped to avoid asking other newspapermen to speak to us on this subject. Perhaps it would be a good idea to ask Harry to moderate the discussion. Incidentally, Harry does expect to attend the meeting. Harry suggested Mozell Hill of Atlanta University and Lester Granger of the National Urban League. What do you think of them?

I won't issue any further invitations until I hear from you again. Meanwhile I should appreciate any thoughts you might have as to the way the panel should be organized. It has occurred to me that we might well concentrate our attention on such major areas as education, employment, politics and the general status of Negroes as citizens.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

RS:mab

April 9, '54

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Dear Mr. Sarratt,

Honored, and delighted to accept, for the luncheon panel on Saturday, October 9, at the Grove Park Inn at Asheville.

For others, as suggestions:

Harry Ashmore, Arkansas Gazette, whom of course you know. He has lately done an outstanding report for the Fund for the Advancement of Education on the whole schools business in the South, and is by all odds the best informed man on that subject. Book comes out from UNC Press May 16, and Ashmore will be in huge demand after that, but if you ask him now you ought to be able to get him (and I suppose he will be at the meeting in any case?) Sound, wise views, not conservative, but judicious.

William Gordon. Managing editor of the Atlanta World. The only Negro daily in this country, and he the only Negro Nieman Fellow from the lower South. Been back on the paper about a year. Agrees that the South progresses, and lives in these parts by choice. Young, and with a modern viewpoint.

Thomas Young, of the Journal and Guide, in Norfolk. Able, informed, hard driving but balanced. His father's paper I think is the best Negro newspaper we have anywhere. Often mentioned as a candidate for political office, or rather public office, in Virginia.

Ashmore and either of the others, plus whatever I may put in, would give you a pretty fair presentation of the problem and the prospects.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY

RECEIVED
APR 8 1954
Southern Regional Council

P. O. Box 2509

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

6 April 1954

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The National Conference of Editorial Writers will meet this year in Asheville, October 6-9, at the Grove Park Inn. Tentative plans have been made for a program which will be built around the theme of "The New South."

Scheduled for the luncheon meeting of Saturday, October 9, is a panel discussion of the topic, "The South and the Race Problem -- If Any." Don Shoemaker, editor of The Asheville Citizen and program chairman for the Conference, has asked me to arrange this part of the program.

We should like to have a panel of three or four people who are qualified to discuss the current status of race relations in the South. You, of course, were the first person who came to my mind and so I am extending you an invitation to be a member of the panel.

If I am not asking too much, I also would like to have you suggest others who might be on the panel with you. I should like to have at least one Negro on the panel.

My thought is that emphasis might be put on the progress which has been made in race relations in the South in recent years. By this I don't mean that I think we should look at the matter through rose colored glasses or distort the picture in any sense. Although we still have a long way to go, I believe that much has been accomplished toward improvement in the Southern Negro's position and toward the betterment of relations generally between the white and the Negro citizens of the South.

I hope that you will be able to accept this invitation. I shall greatly appreciate any suggestions you may have to offer as to fellow panelists.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Editorial Director

RS:mab

June 1, 1954

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Editorial Director
Piedmont Publishing Company
P. O. Box 2509
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Sarratt:

Fine that the panel is so nearly arranged. John MacLachlan is the best informed man in the South on population information, and that is a key to the school problem. I don't know him myself, and don't know how far he has got in personal adjustment to non-segregation, but we all have great respect for his knowledge and for his personality. I hear some doubt expressed as to whether he will be suitable as a moderator. Well if you used him to pour in the facts, and Bennie Mays and myself to do the wrangling.

But still we think Harry Ashmore is the man you would be best off with.

Thanks for the note on expenses. The Grove Park Inn is above my personal means.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • P. O. Box 2509 WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

27 May 1954

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Benjamin Mays has accepted our invitation to join you on our race relations panel. I have asked Harry Ashmore to be moderator but so far he has not accepted. In case he doesn't, what do you think of John MacLachlan as a third member of the panel?

Incidentally, I don't believe I mentioned in my previous letters that the Conference will pay your expenses.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Editorial Director

RS:mab

REED SARRATT

MEMORANDUM

~~Date~~

From

To

George —

This may interest you.

Reed

RECEIVED JUN 28 1956

THE REYNOLDS & REYNOLDS CO., DAYTON, OHIO LITHO IN U.S.A.

August 2, 1956

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Piedmont Publishing Company
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Reed:

I'm glad that Sol Sutker had a chance to talk to you about the voting study. It is going pretty well in all of the states, and I expect to have an interesting report some time in the Fall. You can be sure that I will send you a copy.

I'm sending you separately a copy of the June-July 1948 issue of New South, and a later issue of New South which ~~discussed and~~ dealt with the subject of Negro suffrage.

I read your recent speech before the Conference on Public Issues with interest and appreciation.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

1 August 1956

Dear Harold:

Mr. Sutger was in my office the other day in connection with his investigation of Negro voting in North Carolina. I was most interested in what he is doing and look forward to seeing the results of this study, which I understand is under your general direction.

As a result of Mr. Sutger's visit, I delved into my files. I was surprised and chagrined to find that my issue of NEW SOUTH for June-July, 1948, is missing. I'm quite positive I had a copy. I must have left it in Baltimore. If it still is in print, I shall greatly appreciate your sending me a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Editor

Mr. Harold C. Flemming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

October 8, 1956

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Journal and Sentinel
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dear Reed:

It was a great pleasure talking with you the other day.

I am returning with thanks the copy of your article from The Evening Sun, which we have read with great interest here and have copied it for our files. Your interpretation of the Pearsall plan was both enlightening and encouraging. Perhaps we can help get it better understood among the people whom we reach.

I have just received Sol Sutker's report on Negro suffrage in North Carolina. If it reads well enough, I will probably be sending a copy to you.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

File

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

18 October 1956

Dear Harold:

Forgive me for waiting so long to acknowledge your letter of October 8. I was away from the office on vacation last week, and I'm just now catching up with my correspondence.

I appreciate your returning the clipping from the EVENING SUN. I hope I was not too optimistic in my interpretation of what North Carolina has done.

Please do send me a copy of Sol Sutker's report on Negro voting in North Carolina. Don't be too critical as an editor. I would like to know what he reported, no matter how well or poorly it reads.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Editor

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 6, 1956

Mr. Reed Sarratt, Editorial Director
Piedmont Publishing Company
Winston Salem, North Carolina

Dear Reed:

Here is a Thermofax copy of Sol Sutker's report. I'll be interested in your reaction and Chester Davis' if you pass it on to him.

Because of the controversy surrounding Negro suffrage at this point, Sol writes me that he would feel more comfortable if he had a chance to look over any major feature treatment based on his report. He doesn't insist on this, of course, but I pass along the sentiment.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

November 6, 1956

Mr. Reed Sarratt, Executive Editor
Journal and Sentinel
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dear Reed:

I trust you have received the report on desegregation by now. You were high on the list of those to receive it, but our copies didn't arrive for some days after the newspaper publicity broke.

I haven't forgotten that I was to send you Sol Sutker's report. There were some points I had to clear up with him by mail - and now the problem of reproducing it! But you will have it soon.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

2 November 1956

Dear Harold:

I've been expecting to get a copy of your Southern Report on desegregation through routine mailing. Since it hasn't arrived, I judge I am not going to get it unless I ask for it.

Can you send me a copy or have one sent to me? If not, please tell me how to get it.

I'd like to have the Northern and Western Report if it isn't included in the same volume with the Southern Report.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Editor

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

9 November 1956

Dear Harold:

Soon after I wrote you, copies of the Progress Memorandum on Integration North and South arrived in a veritable flood. We are, therefore, well supplied.

Meanwhile, I have the copy of Sol Sutker's report. I have not yet had an opportunity to read it but hope to get to it tonight. I shall pass it on to Chester Davis, and probably to others on our staff. I will keep in mind what you say about Sol's wanting to see in advance of publication any major article based on his report.

Thanks for sending the report to me. It couldn't be any more timely.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Editor

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

copy sent to Sol Sutker

December 20, 1956

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Editor
Piedmont Publishing Company
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Reed:

I greatly appreciate your kind note. There's no one whose good wishes are more welcome.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director

HCF:fc

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

14 December 1956

Dear Harold:

Congratulations on your appointment to succeed George Mitchell as executive director of the Council. While I guessed that this is what would happen, I'm delighted to know that it has now been made official.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Editor

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

You may file. I have answered. Please send me copy. Thanks W.

19 February 1957

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your letter commenting on my Lions Club talk. I have been most encouraged by the response to it, both from those who heard me deliver it and from the selected group of people to whom I sent copies of the text.

As you point out, I have made a number of talks on this subject around the state. On the whole, I have been most pleasantly surprised by the expressed reaction. Almost without exception, an unexpected number of those in my audience have spoken to me afterwards to express appreciation to me. A fairly large proportion of these also have indicated general agreement with my point of view.

Among the groups I have addressed have been men's and women's civic clubs, teachers' associations, church groups, PTA's, professional groups, and the like. I have spoken before white, Negro and mixed groups.

It is impossible for me to know what effect my speaking has had. I'm not aware that any of those who have spoken to me have expressed these views to others. So far as I know, no resolutions have been passed endorsing my proposals, although in a few cases I later have been notified resolutions were passed thanking me.

You ask about the Babcock and other foundations. Charles H. Babcock is the greatest influence in the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation. If I'm not mistaken, the foundation has about $30 million at its disposal. I do not know Mr. Babcock's attitude on civil rights. I know him, but I would not want to approach him for you. I suggest that the best approach would be a direct one. Simply write him and tell him what you want. If you

wish, you may approach him through Leon Rice, who is secretary of the foundation and an attorney associated with the firm of Womble, Carlyle, Sandridge and Rice.

There are two other major foundations in Winston-Salem. One is the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation. Richard J. Reynolds is the most important individual involved with the distribution of funds from this foundation. Stratton Coyner of Winston-Salem handles most of Mr. Reynolds' local affairs.

The other foundation is known as the Winston-Salem Foundation. It is composed of a collection of trusts set up for administration through the trust department of Wachovia Bank and Trust Company. Carlysle Bethel is the head of this department. Gilbert Hine, I believe, is the secretary of the foundation.

If you want to inquire as to the possibility of obtaining funds through any of these foundations, I should appreciate your not using my name.

I have, as you requested, remembered you to Chester Davis.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Editor

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Clipping passed on to John Constable - 7/15/57

July 15, 1957

Mr. Reed Sarratt
The Journal and Sentinel
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Reed:

I appreciated your sending me a copy of Chester Davis' article on "The Negro Vote." Congratulations on a very able job. It couldn't have been more timely!

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

TO Harold Fleming

FROM Reed Sarratt, The Journal & Sentinel, Winston-Salem, N.C.

DATE 3 July 1957

You may be interested in this article. I should welcome any comment you may have to make about it.

January 27, 1959

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Editor
Journal and Sentinel
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Reed:

Having read the interesting piece y'all did on the Rev. Mr. Dees, I thought you might be interested in the enclosed letter which Marion A. Wright recently was moved to send him. If you should care to make any use of it, this would meet with everybody's approval. Interestingly enough, Mr. Dees responded to this letter by asking for permission to publish it.

Lest there be any questions of both sides being presented, the quotation from Mr. Dees at the beginning of the enclosed letter represents the whole communication to which Marion Wright responded.

I hope all goes well with you and that we will find ourselves together again soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

April 15, 1959

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Journal and Sentinel
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Reed:

I am glad to send you the enclosed copy of "Economic Effects of School Closing." You may also be interested in the leaflet describing the aims and public position of "Hope, Inc." There are indeed some new stirrings down this way.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

ENCS.
HCF/mf

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL
PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY, WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Rcd 4/15/59

14 April 1959

Dear Harold:

I shall appreciate your sending me a copy of the text of Jim Montgomery's speech "The Economic Effects of School Closing."

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Editor

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL
PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY, WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

7 July 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for sending me the copy of Mr. Scanlon's letter to you. The SERS job is still high on my list of possibilities. Again, let me thank you for your efforts in my behalf.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

file Scanlon, Rev.

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

June 30, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter of June 21 suggesting that Reed Sarratt might be a suitable candidate for the directorship of SERS and passing along your suggestion to Bill Rivers regarding periodic reports by Southern School News.

I am sending a copy of your letter to Frank Ahlgren, Chairman of the SERS Board, together with a copy of the biographical information on Reed Sarratt.

I enjoyed the opportunity to have lunch with you in Atlanta not long ago, and hope that it will not be too long in the future before we can have a repeat performance.

In the meantime, warm regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon
Program Associate

June 21, 1960

Mr. John Scanlon
Fund for the Advancement of
Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear John:

Someone may already have mentioned to you that Reed Sarratt, of the Winston-Salem papers, is shopping around for another position. Ralph McGill and I have both known him for a long time, and it occurred to us that he would be a suitable candidate for the directorship of SERS -- if it's decided to continue SERS with a Southern editor at the helm.

Ralph left for Europe before he could do anything on this. But he asked me to write you folks and exercise his proxy in making this suggestion. Of course, there is a problem of timing; Sarratt hopes to make his move, or at least get it lined up, by the end of the summer. But, if this doesn't obviate the possibility, we feel that he is well worth considering.

A brief biographical data sheet is enclosed. As I have observed Sarratt over some years, he has seemed to me able, articulate, and judicious. He has steered a very careful, "moderate" course in speeches and editorials. He did a great deal a few years back to seel the Pearsall plan, with its pupil-placement feature, that became the North Carolina policy on school desegregation. He has avoided polarization as an "integrationist" or "segregationist."

In short, Sarratt strikes me has having the requisite detachment and objectivity, as well as the ability, to fill the SERS slot. He knows that Ralph and I are making this suggestion.

I spent a pleasant couple of hours with Rivers last week and gave him my notions about Southern School News. One of them, which I didn't mention to you, is that the monotony of monthly issues might be broken by periodic special reports, in booklet form, dealing more intensively with specific phases of the school question. Of course, I recommended -- as most people probably will -- that SSN be continued.

My very best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

SREB ~~TR 6-6787~~ TR 5-9211

20 June 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you so much for your efforts in my behalf.

Whether I would be interested in the Southern Education Reporting Service directorship depends upon several things. As you point out, it could be most temporary, unless the life of the project is extended. From my own knowledge of the situation, my guess is that it probably will continue for another two years beyond its presently scheduled termination date.

My preference is to find another job as a news, editorial or general executive on a newspaper. Jobs at my level on papers which are attractive to me are rather difficult to come by. I'm confident that I can find the kind of job I want on the kind of newspaper I'd like to work for in time. Although my present employer is being rather generous on this score, I don't believe that I can expect to extend my search much beyond the end of the summer.

This is by way of saying that I might be most interested indeed in the SERS job. I shall appreciate anything you can do for me there. I'm confident that I could take over the assignment with a minimum of readjustment.

Bob Anderson of the Southern Regional Education Board also has written me about the SERS job. You may want to discuss it with him before going any further with it.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

PERSONAL

June17, 1960

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Piedmont Publishing Company
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Reed:

It would be my pleasure if I could be instrumental in your finding the right next move.

Ralph McGill and I talked this morning, and what I'm about to raise reflects our joint thinking.

As you may know, the Southern Education Reporting Service is currently without a permanent director. Since Ed Ball resigned, a fellow named Marvin Wall has been acting director, but this is thought to be only temporary. Ralph and I are wondering whether you'd be interested; there's no question that you'd make SERS an outstanding director.

The situation is a bit clouded by the fact that SERS is having itself "evaluated" with a view to deciding whether it should ask for more Ford money to continue after next June, and, if so, what changes should be made in Southern School News.

If it does continue, a first-rate director is pretty surely going to be needed. And they might be willing to speed things up, if necessary, to assure that.

Ralph is on the board of the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education, which finances

SERS, and I know the Fund people well. If you're interested, we'll be glad to push the question. Ralph is going to be out of the country for a time, but he has given me his proxy on this.

Of course, if this isn't the answer, I'll try to turn up other suggestions.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

16 June 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The Winston-Salem JOURNAL-SENTINEL and I have come to a friendly parting of the ways. This means that I now am in the market for another job.

I came here in 1952 as editor of the editorial pages. In 1955 I became executive editor in charge of the news and editorial departments of the newspapers.

Last year, upon becoming publisher, Jim Gray gave me the opportunity to learn the business end of the newspapers. For six months I observed the operations of the advertising and circulation departments. Then I was named executive assistant to the publisher with general supervision of news, advertising, circulation and promotion.

In reviewing the situation at the end of the year, Mr. Gray and I are agreed that the experiment has not proved satisfactory for either of us--that my principal talents and interests lie in the news and editorial departments. He has very generously permitted me to seek employment elsewhere while remaining an employee of the JOURNAL and SENTINEL.

My purpose in writing you is to ask whether you know of any openings for someone with my background and experience. Attached is a brief biographical sketch which gives the essential information about me. I will be more than happy, of course, to supply whatever additional information is desired.

I shall greatly appreciate your giving me any leads of which you know.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

WSJS Radio — broadcast affiliates — WSJS Television

Reed Sarratt (Alexander Reed Sarratt, Jr.) -- Biographical Information

Born: Charlotte, N. C., September 17, 1917.

Education: Charlotte public schools (selected for school's Hall of Fame, 1955); University of North Carolina (A.B. in economics, 1937; Phi Beta Kappa; managing editor, The Daily Tar Heel); API Publishers and Editors Seminar, 1956; University of Indiana Management Institute, Wake Forest College, 1959.

Newspaper Experience: Editor and publisher, The Blowing Rocket (resort weekly), Blowing Rock, N. C., summer, 1937; The Charlotte (N. C.) News, 1937-46, successively as reporter, book editor, assistant city editor, city editor and special writer; the Baltimore Evening Sun, 1946-52, as editorial writer; the Winston-Salem Journal and the Twin City Sentinel as editorial director in charge of editorial pages of both papers (1952-55), executive editor in charge of both the news and editorial staffs (1955-59), assistant to the general manager (May-December, 1959), executive assistant to the publisher in charge of news, advertising, circulation and promotion (Dec. 1959-May, 1960).

Member: Rotary Club, Torch Club, Old Town Country Club, Democratic Party, Presbyterian Church, Winston-Salem Symphony Association (vice president 1954-55; president, 1955-57), Winston-Salem Arts Council (first vice president 1958-59; president 1959-60), Board of Commissioners of the Winston-Salem Public Library, Board of Directors of the Winston-Salem Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trustees of Old Salem, Incorporated, Director Winston-Salem Better Business Bureau, North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, Curriculum Study Committee of the Winston-Salem Public Schools. Resigned from American Society of Newspaper Editors, National Conference of Editorial Writers and North Carolina Conference of Editorial Writers (chairman 1953-54) upon becoming ineligible in May, 1959.

Married; three children, 19, 17 and 13. Home address: 421 Oaklawn Avenue, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Listed in Who's Who in the South and Southeast.

August 25, 1960

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Piedmont Publishing Company
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Reed:

I'm delighted to know that the SERS possibility worked out. We will undoubtedly have frequent occasion to be in touch, and I look forward with pleasure to the prospect.

Only yesterday, I had a pleasant chat with Marvin Wall, who dropped in while visiting in Atlanta.

There's no doubt in my mind that you are just what SERS needs. They are lucky to get you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY • WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

18 August 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

My search for a new job has come to an end. On September 1, I am to report for duty as the new executive director of the Southern Education Reporting Service.

I am particularly indebted to you for the interest you showed in my situation and for having suggested me to John Scanlon as a candidate for the SERS job. I'm certain that this carried a great deal of weight.

I'm looking forward to this new assignment with a great deal of pleasure. I know that I'm going to find it challenging and stimulating.

Since we will be working in related fields, I assume that we shall be in somewhat closer touch with one another than in the past. This will be one of the plusses of the SERS job.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

Speech by Reed Sarratt, Executive Editor, Winston-Salem (N. C.) Journal and Twin City Sentinel, before the 1956 Conference on Public Issues at Illinois State Normal University on June 27.

DEFIANCE OR COMPLIANCE?

Most observers agree that interracial tension has mounted in the South since the Supreme Court decided that compulsory segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional. The initial reaction of stunned silence soon gave way to a growing sense of outrage.

Politicians, in and out of office, have led the chorus of indignant condemnation of what they call the unconstitutional usurpation of power by the Supreme Court. Governors and ex-governors, attorneys-general, Congressmen and Senators from the Southern states have vied with one another in denunciation of the Justices, individually and collectively.

State legislatures, meeting in regular and special session, have passed numerous laws designed to avoid or to evade the effects of the decision. They have adopted resolutions ranging from official expressions of protest to outright declarations that the decision is null and void and of no effect within their respective borders.

Citizens have organized themselves, under a variety of names, for the purpose of thwarting the Court's opinion.

These Southerners have, I believe I can say correctly, several common objectives. They are:

1. To preserve segregation.

2. To preserve the public schools and to keep them segregated.

3. To preserve the maximum degree of good will between the white and Negro races.

I submit that the actions to date of those Southerners to whom I have referred are self-defeating. They are likely to achieve the opposite of their objectives. They may speed the breakdown of segregation. They threaten the destruction of the public schools. They foment interracial friction.

I believe that the South can live with the Supreme Court's decision without doing violence either to the decision or to its own customs and traditions. You may ask how this is possible. My answer is: Through full compliance with the Court's mandate by removing race as a factor in assigning pupils to schools.

Let us examine the courses of defiance and compliance to see where each leads. Suppose we look first at defiance. What can we expect it to accomplish?

One thing defiance can do is to delay the admission of Negro children to schools with white children. The Supreme Court opinion affected immediately only the five jurisdictions which were parties to the cases before it. Three of those five complied readily and willingly. The other two were unwilling and have not yet complied. In the seventeen states which had constitutional or statutory requirements that the races be separated in the schools, there are approximately 4,700 school districts having

6

Negro pupils. Conceivably it may be necessary to bring separate legal action in each of these school districts to force compliance.

Each law that a state legislature passes to avoid compliance must be tested in the courts. The possibilities of delay through litigation and legislation are limited only by the imagination of men whose resourcefulness matches their determination.

Of course, the eventual outcome of efforts to evade the decision is clearly foreseeable. The courts will not permit compulsory separation of the races in the public schools. Still, after every device for evasion has failed, one trump card remains in the hands of those who are willing to make any sacrifice in order to avoid mixture of the races in the schools. They can abolish the public schools. The Supreme Court cannot require an unwilling people to operate a school system.

Defiance then, if carried undeviatingly to its ultimate conclusion, promises to destroy, not to preserve, the public schools. Perhaps segregation can be maintained in a system of private schools, but these schools must be truly private in every sense of the word. It is folly to assume that the job of educating all the South's children can be done in private schools. Even if some Southern children could be well educated in good private schools, vast numbers would be brought up without adequate education. The South has suffered enough from the ignorance of her people to make abolition of the public schools an eventuality to avoid at all costs.

Will defiance preserve segregation? As I have indicated, it may keep the schools segregated for an indefinite time. But what of the general pattern of segregation through legal compulsion? Laws requiring segregation are under attack on an ever-widening front. One by one the legal barriers to Negroes are falling--in transportation, in recreation, in housing, in employment, in the armed forces, and in other areas besides education. The pattern of absolute segregation is breaking down in the South along with the rest of the country. This process can be expected to continue, whether the schools remain segregated or not. Defiance of the public school decision well may stimulate the general attack on segregation based on law. In that way it may speed desegregation rather than slow it down.

How does defiance affect the relationships between white and Negro Southerners? The question answers itself, doesn't it? Self-respecting Negroes hardly can be expected to cooperate in efforts to deprive the members of their race of their constitutional rights as defined by the Supreme Court. We have seen the development of passive resistance in a number of areas of the South. We have seen unsheathed the double-edged sword of economic boycott. There has been a direct relationship between the degree of deterioration in interracial relations and the attitude of white people toward the Supreme Court opinion. Defiant determination to avoid compliance has bred interracial discord. Those who attribute this state of affairs solely to the work of outside agitators overlook the economic, political and educational growth of the southern Negro.

If the South cannot preserve segregation, the public schools and interracial good will through defiance of the Supreme Court decision, can these objectives be achieved through compliance? To answer this question, I think we first should examine the Court's opinions of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955. Just what did the Court rule, and what does its ruling require?

On May 17, 1954, the Court said in a unanimous opinion: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

A year later the Court handed down its decree implementing the May 17 decision. It recognized that implementation of the constitutional principles it set forth on May 17, 1954, "may require solution of varied local school problems" and said that it was up to school authorities to solve these problems. It required of the defendants in the cases before it a "prompt and reasonable start" toward achieving "a system of determining admission to the public schools on a non-racial basis." The cases were "remanded to the district courts to take such proceedings and enter such orders and decrees consistent with this opinion as are necessary and proper to admit to public schools on a racially non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed the parties to these cases."

Precisely what these decisions will require is not yet known. Perhaps it will take a "generation of litigation," to use the words of the late Justice Jackson, to establish their full meaning.

But already they have been partially defined. The Supreme Court did not require immediate desegregation of the schools, even in those jurisdictions from which the cases before it came. Lower courts have heard arguments in the two cases remanded to them in which the defendants were unwilling to comply. These were the Clarendon County, South Carolina, and the Prince Edward County, Virginia, cases. I should like to quote to you from the statement read by Judge John J. Parker at the opening of the South Carolina case:

"...It is important that we point out exactly what the Supreme Court has decided and what it has not decided in these cases. It has not decided that the Federal courts are to take over or regulate the public schools of the states. It has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools or must require them to attend schools or must deprive them of the right of choosing the schools they attend. What it has decided, and all that it has decided, is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains. This, under the decision of the Supreme Court, the state may not do directly or indirectly; but, if the schools which it maintains are open to children of all races, no violation of the Constitution is involved even though the children of different races voluntarily attend different schools, as they attend different churches. Nothing in the Constitution or in the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does

not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action. It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation. The 14th Amendment is a limitation upon the exercise of power by the state or state agencies, not a limitation upon the freedom of individuals."

The courts in both the South Carolina and the Virginia cases gave the defendants time in which to work out methods of complying with the Supreme Court's decision. They required no change during the 1955-56 school year.

School authorities who await a court order before taking steps to desegregate schools in local situations lose the initiative for making policy decisions on the matter. When a suit is brought on behalf of a Negro pupil, the court may decide the case before it entirely in terms of the constitutional requirements. It may have less concern for general community welfare than might be expected of a school board. In such a case, the plaintiff and his lawyer would decide where and when desegregation should begin. They would become a more powerful influence in the management of the school system than the school board itself.

Wherever a gradual approach is needed, both the timing and the location of the changes are important considerations. If the transition is to go as smoothly and effectively as possible, plans must be laid with considerable thought and with proper attention to the sequence in which successive steps will be taken. This planning can best be done by the school authorities working closely

with citizen advisory groups composed of stable people who are as nearly impartial as possible. Groups such as the NAACP are clearly entitled to bring court action and have every right to make their proposals, but they certainly cannot be considered impartial, and they have no responsibility for over-all educational planning.

Of overriding importance to the future of public schools and interracial good will in the South will be community attitudes. Where the attitude is one of defiance of the Supreme Court and a determination to maintain legally enforced segregation, the incentive to gain admittance to white schools will be strong. Where there is apparent willingness to comply with the Court's order and a desire to work out harmonious methods of compliance without upsetting deep-rooted customs, the incentive to force admittance to white schools will be missing.

The most gradual, the most orderly approach to desegregation lies in voluntary compliance with the Supreme Court decision, not defiance of it. All that the courts require is that no child shall be excluded because of race from a school which he otherwise is qualified to attend. The Southern states, in my opinion, can remove race as a factor in assigning children to schools without causing much change in the present racial composition of the student bodies in their schools. I believe that, given a choice, free of discrimination or intimidation, the vast majority of Negro children would continue to attend schools with exclusively Negro student bodies.

I lay no claim to knowing what is in the collective Negro mind. But I doubt that very many, if any, Negroes object to going to schools attended exclusively by other members of their race. I doubt, too, that very many, if any Negroes have any burning desire to attend schools with members of the white race merely to be in the same school with whites. I do believe that most Negroes probably object strenuously to being REQUIRED to go to schools limited to their own race. They do not like the stigma that attaches to the implication that they are inferior. The protest is not so much against Negro schools as it is against enforced segregation.

Of course, whether compulsory segregation could end without causing a general movement of Negro children to schools previously reserved for white children depends upon several things. Basically it depends upon the kinds of schools which are available to the Negro children, and where they are located. This means that the emphasis on equality of facilities must continue if segregation is to continue in practice.

The Supreme Court enunciated the "separate but equal" principle in 1896. As the Southern states began to develop systems of public schools, they paid lip service to this principle. They accepted on the whole, their obligation to educate Negro children. Theoretically, the Negro schools were equal to the white schools, as well as separate from them. In reality they were far from equal. The Office of Education of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare has estimated that the total cost

to the segregation states of giving Negroes schools equal to those for whites would be over $2,000,000,000.

The Southern states paid little attention to equalizing Negro and white schools until recently. But, spurred by the Supreme Court decisions in the higher education cases, most of the states inaugurated large-scale programs of school construction, with emphasis on Negro schools. They did this in the hope that, if they made the schools equal, they would be permitted to keep them separate.

Perhaps if the Southern states had taken the "separate but equal" doctrine seriously through the years, they would not be faced with the prospect of mixed schools today. But they were too late in realizing this. How they yearn now for a return to the legal principle which they ignored so long. Still if the Southern states continue their efforts to provide equal schools for Negroes, their chances of maintaining separate schools will be much better. Given a choice between a good white school and an inferior Negro school, the Negro child and his parents are much more likely to choose the mixed school. But if the Negro school is as good as the white school, they probably will prefer the Negro school.

A number of other factors will tend to keep the schools segregated in the absence of legal compulsion. One of the most powerful is the inadequacy of present school plant facilities. Most schools are overcrowded to the extent that it would be physically impossible to admit additional pupils to them in any large number.

Another factor is that of residence. Most children, whether white or Negro, attend schools which are nearest their homes. This practice probably will continue, at least in the cities.

Then, too, the Negroes have a vested interest in their schools. The faculties, the administrative officials, the students and the Negro community have gained a great deal through the development of fine Negro schools. They will not relinquish these gains lightly, provided they can keep them with honor and pride.

The Southern states would be wise to follow the flexible policy of permitting each of their city and county school boards to deal with the problem in its own way. Then those counties and cities which do not feel that they can permit any Negro children to attend schools with white children can hold the line against desegregation until forced to act by court order. Some cities and counties may prefer to comply with the Court's decision voluntarily. Why should not each school board be permitted to follow its own best judgment, even if it means admission of some Negro children to some previously all-white schools?

No matter how many Negro children attend schools with white children, social patterns which have governed relations between the races should not be expected to change. If there is any change, it will be slow. The best evidence of that is to be found in those states where there is, and has been, no legal segregation of the races in the public schools. The courts can force the removal of legal barriers to Negroes, but the courts cannot dictate the social practices of the people. Social behavior is a matter of individual choice.

As I have followed the controversy about school segregation, I have become convinced that fear underlies the die-hard opposition to any change in the present pattern--fear that, if Negro and white children attend the same schools, interracial marriage and "mongrelization of the races" will follow. This fear is very real, and apparently it is widespread. It cannot be ignored or underestimated.

In a way it is odd that so few facts are available about intermarriage and miscegenation. Admittedly, they would be a difficult subject for complete, accurate and objective research. But in view of the great importance that the fear of race mixture has assumed, it is unfortunate that it has received so little attention from the students of social behavior. All of the available data point to the conclusion that interracial marriages are extremely rare. The vast majority of children one of whose parents is white and the other Negro are born out of wedlock. Outstanding authorities on interracial relations agree that, on the basis of the facts at hand, the number of such births is decreasing rather than increasing, both in those areas where segregation is required by law and in those areas where it is not.

While interracial marriages are rare, race mixture outside marriage has been common. There is ample authority for the wide extent of extra-marital sexual relations between white men and Negro women in the South during slavery. For years after slavery ended, such relations continued apace. It is rather ironic that Southerners should raise such a furor about the fear of intermarriage and amalgamation of the races. Examination of the facts

makes it appear that the white Southerner approves of amalgamation so long as it is not the product of marriage.

At this point I should like to recapitulate. If my analysis is correct, the best way to preserve segregation, the public schools and interracial good will is to comply voluntarily with the Supreme Court decision. To test this hypothesis, we might examine briefly experiences in the segregation states during the two years since the first decision.

Before doing that, it may be well to look at the experiences of previously all-white Southern colleges and universities which have admitted Negro students. The first Negro to enroll in a Southern college or university reserved for whites was Donald Murray. In 1935 he was admitted to the law school of the University of Maryland by order of the courts of that state. Dr. Guy B. Johnson, University of North Carolina sociologist widely recognized for his work in the field of race relations, reported last fall on integration in public Southern institutions of higher learning. He said that "by 1953 all of the state universities except five (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina) had admitted Negro students to their graduate and/or professional schools....In the meantime various church-supported institutions and some of the private schools fell in with the trend." At the time of his report, in November, 1955, there were 125 Southern higher institutions formerly for white only which were admitting Negroes. About ten per cent of these schools were privately supported. The remainder were about equally divided

between church-supported and publicly-supported institutions. About half of them were in the border states and half in the former Confederate states.

Dr. Johnson found that during the 1955-56 academic year about 1,000 Negro students were enrolled in the desegregated public institutions and another 1,000 in the church and private institutions combined. He estimated that in the current summer sessions the Negro enrollment at these schools would be much higher. In the regular and summer sessions combined, upwards of 2,000 Negroes were expected this year in the public institutions alone.

This has been an evolutionary development. Twenty years after the Murray case, the number of Negroes attending formerly white schools was a small percentage of their total enrollment. During the same period the Negro colleges in the segregation states flourished.

To quote Dr. Johnson again: "In spite of the fears and dire predictions concerning bloodshed and the wholesale withdrawal of white students if ever a Negro was allowed to enter a white university, the transition was actually made in a rather calm and prosaic fashion. Certainly not a drop of blood was shed....The casual observer visiting one of the Southern co-racial campuses would probably be struck by the naturalness and friendliness of the routine contacts between white and Negro in the classroom, coffee break and bull session."

Since this report, the Autherine Lucy affair has occurred at the University of Alabama. What it portends for the future I

shall not attempt to predict. But as of this time, it stands as the stark exception to experience everywhere else that Negro students have been admitted to formerly white colleges and universities.

In the segregation states experience with biracial student bodies in the public schools is limited to the last two years. By the end of the 1955-56 school year, 537, or eleven per cent, of the 4,700 school districts having Negro pupils had started or completed the process of desegregation. These districts were in the border states. Altogether about 256,000 Negro children, about ten per cent of the total in the region, were attending mixed classes.

Desegregation has brought its problems. But on the whole, it has been accomplished without incident. You can name the "trouble spots" on the fingers of one hand--Milford, Hoxie, Greenbrier, Washington, Baltimore. If there are others, they have escaped my attention. Elsewhere the experience in the public schools has been comparable to that in the colleges and universities. The outbursts of interracial friction which desegregation spawned in Washington and Baltimore subsided quickly. Of the other three trouble spots, only Milford remains adamant and its schools segregated.

The real trouble, the greatest tension, is to be found in those areas which are defiantly determined to keep their schools segregated, despite the Supreme Court's decision. Relative calm prevails in those communities which are attempting to work out the best methods for complying with the decision.

The Court recognized that varying local conditions might require different methods of compliance. That has been the case. I shall not enumerate nor attempt to evaluate the approaches tried. Perhaps the two communities which have been subjected to the most searching study are Washington and Baltimore. A review of their experience may be relevant and enlightening.

When the Supreme Court handed down its May 17, 1954, decision, President Eisenhower expressed the hope that the District of Columbia would take the lead in integrating its schools and would become a model for the nation. The District schools did take the lead, desegregating with the opening of the fall term that year. But it is doubtful that they offer a model for the rest of the segregation area. The situation in Washington is hardly normal.

The proportion of Negroes in the public schools in 1935 was 36 per cent. In 1950 Negro pupils constituted 51 per cent of public school enrollment, although Negroes comprised only 35 per cent of the Capital's population. In May, 1954, the percentage of Negroes in the public schools had risen to 57.2 per cent. By 1956 the proportion had risen to 64 per cent.

The District Board of Education acted quickly to comply with the Supreme Court decision, which directly affected it. On May 25, 1954, it adopted a policy statement declaring that teachers and pupils would be assigned to schools without regard to race. At the same time, it established new school zones and required all pupils to attend the school within the zone of their residence.

A report issued in November, 1954, showed that 122 of the District's 163 public schools had mixed student bodies. In 93 of

these schools, Negroes constituted less than 20 per cent of those enrolled; in 29 schools the proportion ranged from 20 to 80 per cent; and in 42 fewer than one per cent were Negroes. The process of desegregation has been primarily a transfer of Negroes into previously all-white schools. There has been little movement of white pupils into previously all-Negro schools.

The Washington schools have been the subject of searching investigation by the press. Many separate investigations have been conducted, and articles written on the basis of them. Their authors haven't hesitated to point to problems and shortcomings and failures in the Washington school system. Most attention has been focused upon the difference in achievement levels between white and Negro pupils. The fear has been widely expressed that desegregation would lower the standards of the schools.

Superintendent Hobart Corning has described integration of the Washington schools as a "whale of an undertaking." Appearing before the Senate Appropriations Committee recently, he said that desegregation had brought teaching, disciplinary and social problems that have put an unprecedented burden on the 3,700 teachers in the system. Yet Dr. Corning was careful to point out that desegregation has not failed. He said that it has brought no serious deterioration of school standards.

In an editorial printed on May 15 of this year, the Washington Post said: "Desegregation has been accomplished here with surprising ease, understanding and good sense, and it has been accomplished without disrupting the school system....It is surprising that there have not been greater difficulties....As a

community, we can be proud of the accomplishment to date." Other reports support the conclusion that the Washington community generally has supported the desegregation program.

Baltimore perhaps comes nearer to offering an example of what other Southern communities may expect if they seek to comply with the Court decision. A city of approximately the same size as Washington, it has a large and growing Negro population. Negroes comprised 19 per cent of the total population in 1940 and 24 per cent in 1950. In 1953 the percentage was estimated at 25.8. The ratio of Negro to white students in the public schools grew from 26.8 per cent in 1940 to 35.9 in 1953. During the 1955-56 school year 41.3 per cent of those enrolled were Negroes. Prior to May 17, 1954, the schools always had been segregated.

The Board of Education lost little time in deciding to comply with the Supreme Court's first public school segregation decision, although Baltimore was not directly affected. On June 3, the Board adopted a resolution expressing the opinion that the school system should be operated on a non-segregated basis, beginning with the next term.

This action was taken without fuss or fanfare. The Board assumed that Baltimore would uphold the decision of the Supreme Court. Perhaps the assumption that there was no room for argument was responsible for the lack of it. The policy was clear-cut and affirmative and so simple that no one could misunderstand it.

Unlike Washington, Baltimore established no district lines, except to prevent overcrowding of certain schools. Baltimore

always had followed the policy of permitting any child to attend any school in the city, within the policy of racial separation. Should a given school become overcrowded, a line was drawn around it, and no child living outside the district could attend it, although any child living in the district was free to go to a school outside it. After September, 1954, this policy was extended to all children, regardless of race. Under this "free choice" plan no child is compelled to attend any school against his will or that of his parents. Of the 175 units in the school system, 25 to 30 are overcrowded and are, for that reason, districted.

When enrollment was checked in September, 1954, formerly white schools had 1,576 Negro pupils enrolled in them. This was less than three per cent of the total number of Negro pupils in the schools. Only 48 of the 109 schools formerly designated as white had any Negro pupils. In only five of these schools, all elementary, was more than ten per cent of the enrollment Negro. Only three formerly Negro schools had white pupils in them, and the total number of these pupils dropped from six in October to three in June. Approximately 55,000, or about 97 per cent, of the Negro pupils in the system continued to attend what were in effect all-Negro schools.

Enrollment statistics dated October 31, 1955, the latest available, showed that the number of Negro pupils in formerly all-white schools had risen to 2,957, or 4.8 per cent of the total number of Negro pupils in the system. The number of formerly white schools with Negro pupils increased to 62. In fewer than

a dozen isolated cases, one or two white children from the immediate neighborhood enrolled in a formerly Negro school. Almost 51,000 Negro pupils continued to attend all-Negro schools.

In the two years since desegregation began, there has been a steady, but certainly not a massive, movement of Negro children into previously white schools. The great majority of the schools still are predominantly white or predominantly Negro. The formerly all-Negro schools still are almost entirely of the same composition. In the neighborhoods that are in the process of transition from white to Negro home occupancy, the elementary schools tend to reflect the racial composition of the community. All of the formerly white junior high schools and all but one of the senior high schools now have at least a few Negro pupils.

Dr. John H. Fischer, superintendent of Baltimore schools, took a calm and confident view of what desegregation would bring. He felt that "doing what comes naturally" would be the best way to handle the change and that, if this were done, no difficulties would be experienced. After two years, he feels the same way.

In preparation for this talk, I wrote Dr. Fischer and asked a number of questions about the effects of desegregation in Baltimore. He supplied much of the information I already have cited about the mixture of the races in the schools of that city.

I asked Dr. Fischer what effect desegregation had on standards of instruction in the schools. He replied that desegregation has had no noticeable effect on standards in the schools generally but, as Negro children have entered elementary and junior

high schools, the effect has been about the same as that regularly felt when any neighborhood has changed from a higher to a lower social and economic level. Children from superior homes tend to do better in school than children from lower cultural backgrounds. This is as true of white children as it is of Negroes. The instructional problems in racially mixed schools are the same faced wherever public schools have tried to serve children of varied cultural, social or economic background.

Another question I put to Dr. Fischer was: What effect has desegregation had on school social activities? He answered that the admission of children of both races has not required any alteration of social activities in the schools. High schools have maintained their regular schedules of plays, dances, group activities and other similar affairs. There is little or no social integration among the pupils. Those who attend dances, for example, come with partners of their own race and associate during the evening almost entirely with members of their own group.

The general relationships between white and Negro students and between teachers of one race and students of another was one of the matters on which I asked Dr. Fischer to comment. He observed that the general relationship between students has been positive and free. Negro students participate in athletic activities and other extra-curricular affairs and are amicably received. Some 65 Negro teachers served during the past year in schools that previously were all white, and some of them have very few, if any, Negro pupils. Dr. Fischer says that he has yet

to hear of a single unpleasant or difficult incident involving teachers of one race and pupils of another.

Has desegregation brought any change in the number of Negro teaching or administrative positions in the school system? I asked. To this Dr. Fischer replied that, since the Baltimore schools were desegregated, no Negro has lost his or her job. Instead by assigning Negro teachers to previously all-white schools, the number of opportunities for Negro teachers has been somewhat increased.

To my inquiry whether desegregation had caused any change in the movement of students from public to private schools, Dr. Fischer responded that there has been no increase in the number of such transfers.

Another of my questions was: What new problems has desegregation created in the Baltimore school system? Dr. Fischer said that he could name none. It has accentuated certain problems that arise out of cultural differences, but these are quite similar to those usually faced in neighborhoods where white pupils from middle and lower class homes are drawn into the same classrooms.

I also asked Dr. Fischer if he could assay public reaction to desegregation. His answer was that, so far as he could tell, the general public reaction in Baltimore has been favorable to the new program. The Negroes of the community appear to be quite happy. The white people who individually expressed some apprehension at the outset seem to be agreeably surprised that things moved so well. It is Dr. Fischer's opinion that most Baltimoreans feel a quiet kind of pride that the community has behaved so well,

that it has taken a rather big change in stride and has carried it off in a tolerant and civilized fashion.

My final question was: Can other Southern communities learn anything from Baltimore's experience? Dr. Fischer expressed some uncertainty that they can. But he went on to say that to him the most significant part of what has happened in Baltimore is that the desegregation of the schools did not require any sudden change of course or the initiation of a new movement. In the school system and in the community, Baltimore has been moving steadily and at an increasing tempo for a number of years in the direction of closer relations between the races. Dr. Fischer is not sure that the change could have been made as rapidly as it was in the absence of this definite long-term trend. Other communities may have to telescope into a much shorter period adjustments that Baltimore made over a period of 30 years.

In a review of the first year of desegregation in Baltimore, Edgar L. Jones, writing in The Sun, attributed the calm acceptance of the change and the small degree of race mixture in the schools to three things: 1) the long-standing policy of permitting free choice of schools, 2) the system of neighborhood schools, and 3) the equality of facilities and educational opportunities in the Negro and white schools.

Negro leaders in Baltimore have insisted that, given real freedom of choice, Negroes naturally will choose to go to schools with other Negroes, provided equal advantages are offered.

While experience with desegregation in the District of Columbia and the seventeen Southern states is limited to the last two

years, the other 31 of the United States have been operating desegregated schools for many years. On the whole they have operated successfully. The educational achievement of white pupils in these schools hardly has suffered because Negroes also have attended them.

There remains the attack on the desegregation decision and the Court which rendered it. We have heard the decision labeled unconstitutional and illegal. The claim is made that it is based on sociology and psychology rather than law. The Court is accused of usurping the legislative power of Congress, of invading the powers reserved to the states, of arbitrarily amending the Constitution, of substituting personal, political and social ideas for the established law of the land.

These are serious charges, and the men who make them undoubtedly are sincere in their beliefs. But they are tilting at windmills. The decisions of the Supreme Court are the law of the land. They must be obeyed if we are to have government based on law. The desegregation decision may be resisted "by all lawful means," as the signers of the Southern Manifesto pledge they will do. But they hardly can hope to attain their objective of causing the Court to reverse its decision. There is no reason to believe that the rest of the country will support the South's position by adopting a constitutional amendment to reverse the Court.

From the unusual way in which it handled the public school cases, the Supreme Court demonstrated that it was well aware of the magnitude of the ruling it was called upon to make. Following

the original arguments, in December of 1952, the Court asked for additional arguments on five questions. It reached its conclusions after long deliberation. But even after it had rendered its decision, the Court delayed the issuance of decrees to put the decision into effect. It asked the affected parties, and other interested parties, to help it formulate these decrees by participating in still further hearings, which were conducted April 11-14 of 1955. Its final order was about as lenient as it possibly could be without running counter to its original decision.

While the decisions induced a condition of shock in many parts of the South, they should have surprised no one. They were the logical conclusion to a series of other decisions handed down over a period of almost twenty years. In each of these decisions, the Court chipped away bit by bit at the "separate but equal" doctrine established in 1896 in Plessy vs. Ferguson. In none of these cases was the issue of segregation placed squarely before the Court. In each instance the Court was called upon to decide whether educational facilities for nonwhites were equal to those provided for whites. In each decision equality was more narrowly defined. In the public schools cases the Court was asked for the first time to decide whether segregation itself was a condition of inequality, and the answer was in the affirmative. Was this a reversal of the "separate but equal" principle? Or was it merely a redefinition of "equality?" Reversal or redefinition, the Court's action

hardly can be called revolutionary. It was nearly twenty years in the making. The public schools cases themselves were in the Federal courts for periods ranging up to five years.

The desegregation ruling is not popular in the South. Most white Southerners probably wish that it never had been rendered, and perhaps many Negro Southerners share that sentiment. But they can't wish it away. There it is. It must be faced.

Attempts at evasion may succeed temporarily, but the price of defiance may be extremely high. It may cause prolonged and bitter strife in the course of which untold damage may be done to the educational system, to the economy and to the relationships among the people, both white and Negro, in the areas which practice it.

The best method of dealing with the Court's ruling is to comply with it, simply and forthrightly, by removing race as a factor in assigning pupils to schools. Were this course to be followed, it would preserve the maximum degree of racial separation in the schools and interracial good will.

The Supreme Court has said that laws requiring segregated schools violate the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court has not said that enforced mixing of the races in the schools must be substituted for enforced segregation. Legal segregation can end tomorrow without requiring a single pupil to change the school he attends. The Court has not replaced one compulsion with another.

For those who expect trouble, who are looking for trouble, it's there for the asking. But it need not develop if the South will face the future with calmness and with reason and with determination to do the right thing for all concerned.

February 25, 1956

Mr. Hugh Moffett
Life
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Moffett:

I want to thank you for that sumptuous lunch and all the good company which you arranged for me Thursday a week ago. I don't know if anyone was edified, but at least everybody ate well and I enjoyed the session greatly.

It looks as though our troubled region will be in the news for some time to come. If at any time we can supply local contacts, advise, information or anything else that will help Life get the story, let me know. Meanwhile, give my best regards to Scott Leavitt and ~~your~~ the other good folks ~~whom I~~ met

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/mef

LIFE
TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

EDITORIAL OFFICES

August 4, 1956

RECEIVED AUG 7 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Many thanks for your delightful course in Southern geometry. Everybody present enjoyed the information, not to mention the entertainment involved. We may not be prepared to go out and slay the dragon just yet, but we should be a little closer to it.

Thanks also for sending the copy of the script on your civil rights speech. Hope you have a good time in Scotland.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh Moffett

Hugh Moffett
Editor
National Affairs

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 27, 1956

Mr. Hugh Moffett
Life
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N ew York

Dear Mr. Moffett:

I promised to send you the script of the map speech. Herewith!

I had a delightful luncheon, and I am most grateful for everyone's kind listening.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

October 1, 1956

Mr. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission
of the Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Miller:

I have now had a chance to read all of the Life magazine Round Table Debate.

It was a deeply satisfying thing to have your sentiment reach to the right point time after time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 1, 1956

Mrs. Spahn Milner
1109 W. Peachtree, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Milner:

You performed a notable service in defense of moral and religious purposes in the Round Table Debate in the current issue of Life magazine.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 1, 1956

Mr. Duke McCall
Southern Baptist Theological
Seminary
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. McCall:

The Life Round Table issue is in, and I am extremely grateful for your wise, constructive, and right-minded statements.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED DEC 18 1956

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

GENERAL DEPARTMENT OF United Church Women

175 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • TELEPHONE ALgonquin 4-7110

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MRS. THEODORE O. WEDEL
Chairman

MRS. W. MURDOCH MacLEOD
General Director

EDITH L. GRONER
Associate General Director

Dec. 17, 1956.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

For a long time I have intended thanking you for your very kind note about the Life Symposium. It was good of you to take time out of your busy life to write me. You will be interested to know that I did not receive a single abusive note - all commending except two and they were courteous. I received in all about twent-five notes.

I certainly regret that you are leaving the Southern Regional Council. It must be gratifying to know the tremendous contribution your friends think you have made to our most difficult and challenging problem - race relations. We will still need your advice. Much of what you told me I used at Swampscott but of course it all could not be put in the article but it had its effect.

Thank you again for your gracious note(you probably have forgotten you ever wrote it) and with best wishes for your new endeavor - your chosen field.

Sincerely,

Ida B Mulvey
(Mrs Spanner)

Merry Christmas!

LIFE
INTERNATIONAL EDITIONS

TIME & LIFE BUILDING • 9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA • NEW YORK 20 • N.Y.

August 27, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Hotel Roosevelt
New York City

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am delighted to hear from Marshall Lumsden that you will be able to join us for luncheon tomorrow.

It occurs to me that since LIFE International is not circulated in this country, you may not have seen it or at least seen it recently. I am enclosing two copies, our latest and an earlier one in which we had a special story on prominent U.S. negroes, which I think might be of especial interest to you.

I shall be looking forward to meeting you tomorrow.

Sincerely,

Irene Saint

Irene Saint

IS:jk

LIFE
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20

October 20

Dear C. H.:

It has been a long time since you sent along your memorandum about the Southern Council. I owe you an apology for at least seemingly to have been wayward in taking care of it. This is only partly true, if I may cop a plea, because other factors entered into the picture.

First, I had to nail down W.H. "Ping" Ferry. This took a little time. Second, I have been ailing with my eye since soon after you were here. (On the way to the hospital for an operation Nov. 21). Third, work here at the magazine and in politics cut into my time.

But these are only excuses, which get us nowhere. Ferry finally had me get in touch with Frank Loescher, who also does some work for the Fund for the Republic. He said that Loescher who, by the way, knows you and spoke very highly of you (he could not have done otherwise), and he took it to Philadelphia where he lives and studied it. Of course, I talked to him about it and urged him to do what he could.

Loescher took it up with Ferry and suggested that Ferry approve your plan. But Ferry would not, and this is the nub of the hold up, at least part of it. Loescher told me that he is all for your idea and that he will continue to plug for it, in spite of Ferry's present opposition. He said that Ferry reminded him that the Southern Regional Council still has some dough left over from the money the Fund gave to it last year and that the Council will use it or some of it for the purpose you have outlined. Either Ferry or Loescher has been in touch with George Mitchell, I gleaned from the latter, about interesting some other foundation in your idea. This may be only a buck passing move, but since Loescher obviously is interested in what you want done I believe that maybe you will get some action either from the Fund or another foundation sooner or later. Let us hope that its sooner.

I have not yet left these moorings for the South as I informed you I was about to do because of my eye. It's all right now, that is, it is not bothering me particularly, but since I did not go down there in September I shall let the South wait a little longer.

I suppose you read our stuff about the Till trial and the editorial on the same topic. As you probably know, we made a mistake in the editorial about Till's father. The southern papers have had a field day playing it up.

A few weeks ago I made a speech, among others, at a Till protest rally given by Phil Randoplh's Sleeping Car Porters union in Harlem. Among other useless remarks, I said that a Mississippi Refugee Committee should be formed to rescue Negroes from Miss., the same as oppressed people (Jews, for example) are rescued from Europe. The crack caught on. The Jackson (Miss.) Daily News called me up for a phone interview. Ran a long story about it. Received letters from England about it. English & French papers ran stories about it. People around here, white and colored, have called me and urged me to do something about it.

If I were five guys, maybe I'd have time to do something. At least get some propaganda value out of it. Or maybe, as some have said, the idea is screwy as hell.

Meantime, if I do take a trip South, I will stop off in Louisville to see you. I will also keep behind Loescher about your program and the money for it. Sorry I was unable to impress Ferry, but the guy evidently had his mind made up even before we talked. (Maybe his present harrassment by the extreme rightwing ghouls of doom has had some effect upon his mind).

Love to your family, and don't you try to do it all for the salvation of the brother. You're only one guy, too.

Regards,

/s/ Earl Brown

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

FOR Harold

DATE _____ 19____ TIME _____ A. M. / P. M.

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

MR. Marshall Lumsden

ADDRESS Life

PHONE NO. Ja. 2-9233

IS WAITING TO SEE YOU			
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	

MESSAGE _____

TAKEN BY _____

HARPER PRINTING CO., INC.

351 WHITEHALL ST., S. W.

ROY RAY WALNUT 5890

File - Newspapers, et al. "Look"

November 23, 1965

Mr. George Leonard
Look - Editorials
625 Market Street
San Francisco, California

Dear George:

Earlier we wondered just what you could do in a whole issue on the South. Now we know. It's a superb edition and your pieces are excellent. Our congratulations.

Come see us again soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:mm

File - Make folder
Nashville Tennessean
Newspapers, et. al.

July 22, 1963

Mr. John Seigenthaler
Editor
The Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

Thank you for your note about the Morland pamphlet. Goldberg was a good alternate, but we are still regretful that we couldn't get you in.

Last Tuesday night, after your telephone call, I attended a meeting where I had a chance to discuss your call with Sam Williams (an SCLC Vice President, and an excellent man). As you would suppose, he was familiar with the background and unhappy. I believe he shared my reluctance to get into this one again.

The Constitution ran the enclosed story this morning -- first of a series.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
AMON CARTER EVANS, PUBLISHER
MORNING AND SUNDAY
NASHVILLE 1, TENNESSEE

JOHN SEIGENTHALER
EDITOR

July 17, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have just received my copy of the booklet - "Token Desegregation and Beyond" by Kenneth Morland, and I think it is a good job.

If I have to be replaced in print, it is highly flattering to be replaced by an associate of the Supreme Court.

Regards,

JS

June 27, 1963

Mr. John Seigenthaler
Editor
The Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

I am afraid we have to give you apologies. Your foreword arrived yesterday, and we shall not be able to use it, because the type for the pamphlet has already been set. I tried to reach you by telephone some time ago, but was unable to find you in, and we had to decide to go ahead with the printing using some of Mr. Justice Goldberg's dicta as a sort of foreword. I am very sorry that you have gone to this trouble.

Incidentally, you are correct about the pamphlet being out of date before it is published, though it will not be quite so out of date as the manuscript you have. We made a number of changes in it before printing, and in the process brought it as closely up to developments as we could.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bc: Mr. Henry Schwartschild, ADL, NEW YORK

This is an analysis that will be outdated in many particulars before it is published. The continuing push by Negroes to force desegregation in many areas outside education--indeed in all areas of social endeavor--very well may create a climate in which token school integration will become passe in many of the states described as "resistent." The continuing rulings by courts to strike at the very heart of student placements plans and other such devices which are described in this study certainly will serve further to outdate some of the study in a relatively short time.

And yet token integration has been a fact of the history of the first ten years of the South, following the 1954 desegregation decision of the court. In some areas it will continue to be a face in the years ahead.

This study points out clearly--or as clearly as cold statistics can point it out--that token integration is a useless, expensive, emotionally frustrating and even irrational defense against the inevitable.

In effect Mr. Morland says to public officials and political leaders of the areas which continue to wield token integration weapons: You are wasting time and money. You are misleading yourselves and your people. And he shows them exactly why. His arguments, subtly made, are factually documented--and thus convincing.

Unfortunately to the segregationists and to many token integrationists--and there is a difference in the reactions of the two separate types--who read this analysis it will be considered, for the most part, as integrationist propaganda.

Facts, many of them will say, can be made to tell any story. Unfortunately, only the actual experience--frustrating, agonizing, time consuming and expensive as it will be--will alone be the factor that will bring home facts established here

so obviously. While many leaders in many Southern cities have learned much from experiences of other cities in developing their own behavioral patterns, each city seems compelled to seek its own individual role in the course of events. Perhaps this is as it must be--even as it should be. But it makes the process of progress so slow.

This short booklet is a history and a record of a phase of school desegregation and it sets out as a fact what every person who has shown any interest in the facts already knew. But it needed saying for the record and Mr. Moreland said it well.

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR
THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
NASHVILLE 1, TENNESSEE

LWD,
It may not be too late, but it sure is too late.

NASHVILLE, TENN. 12 00 M 25 JUN 1963 18

"ABCD" M
BETTER BUSIN
8¢
U.S. AIR MAIL

AIR MAIL

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Research Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Seigenthaler, John
Editor
The Nashville Tennessean
Tennessee

REGARDING:

Editorial in Tennessean of April 3, 1963 "Silly Dispute...." and correspondence between editor and Wiley Branton re: Greenwood, Mississippi.
(Note: Some Corresp. between Seigenthaler + Leslie Dunbar also attached)

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Voter Education Project Files

Rec'd 4/18

THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
AMON CARTER EVANS, PUBLISHER
MORNING AND SUNDAY
NASHVILLE 1, TENNESSEE

JOHN SEIGENTHALER
EDITOR

F.H.
BR
MJ file
make sure he is on passed list

April 13, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Many thanks for your letter of April 12.

I am most grateful for your good wishes.

I hope to see you soon.

Best,

John

Let me know when you come up

April 2, 1963

Mr. John Seigenthaler
Editor
The Nashville Tennessean
Nashville 1, Tennessee

Dear John:

The Anti-Defamation League and we are jointly publishing a pamphlet-length study evaluating the results of desegregation of southern schools. Pretty much, this is an analysis of the phenomenon we frequently call tokenism. The study has been done for us by Professor Kenneth Morland, of the Department of Sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg.

Morland's manuscript is finished, and except for some editorial insertions is ready for printing. Both the ADL and we think it is a very good job, and that it befits the seriousness of the subject. It does, of course, express a firm point of view, which is opposed to tokenism. But the material is handled scrupulously and the writing is objective.

We intend to publish this in late spring with the hope that it may have some beneficial influence on educational community approaches to southern school desegregation.

I am writing to you on behalf of both the ADL and us to ask you if you would be willing to contribute

a short introduction or foreword to the pamphlet. We would be deeply gratified if you could. As you know, such an introduction would not necessarily have to include agreement with everything said by Morland, though that would be up to you. I think the chief value of a foreword by an outside contributor is to say, here's a problem that we all have to think about, and here's an honest contribution to it.

If you would be willing to do this, we can shoot a copy of the manuscript off to you in about two weeks. I add my personal hope that you will undertake this.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

P. S. -- Never got back to you after your call some weeks ago. I did all that I could, and as you probably know Burke did also. I am still hopeful, but not strongly so.

L.W.D.

File
Newspapers

December 4, 1964

Mr. John Siegenthaler
Editor
The Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

The enclosed memorandum gives you our backup on the Tennessee estimate. If you have any questions about it please call me, or, if I am away, Dr. Lloyd Elliott.

As you know, the key problem in Tennessee is the lack of hard registration figures. The memo will show you how we derived our estimate.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm
Enc.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

6-15-56

GSM. —

5 is right: Alabama, Ark., Miss., Tex., + Va.

The confusion probably arises over Tennessee, which totally abolished the poll tax in 1953 — by const. amendment.

HCF

June 15, 1956

Mr. Carey McWilliams
Editor
The Nation
333 Sixth Avenue
New York 14, New York

Dear Carey:

These still have it, in full force and effect:

Mississippi
Virginia
Arkansas
Texas

A fifth state, Alabama, retains it, but it no longer is cumulative for more than two years, and it does not apply to veterans.

Tennessee for some years prior to 1953 had remnants of it, but in 1953 totally removed it from the State Constitution.

So five have it, but Alabama has it in so mild a form as to make not much of a barrier.

The real barrier in all the states is not the poll tax; it is dependency, or discriminatory practices in registration, or intimidation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE *Nation*

June 11, 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Recently I have seen several conflicting references to the number of states that still retain a poll tax. One reference indicates that there are seven such states, another five. Could you straighten us out?

~~Best wishes~~,

Carey McWilliams
Editor

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

?
Miss
Va
Ark
Tex
Ala

RECEIVED JUN 13 1956

Tenn Remand ??

June 19, 1956

Mr. Martin Solow
The Nation
333 Sixth Avenue
New York 14, New York

Dear Mr. Solow:

Dr. Mitchell has been out of the office and lest we wait too long to reply, I am answering your kind letter of June 7th.

The prospectus for your July 7 issue on desegregation is most impressive. We should be grateful for as many copies as you feel you can make available to us. About 500 would enable us to supply the top lay people of the Southern Regional Council and its twelve affiliated state organizations.

Our congratulations on this timely effort and our thanks for your generous offer.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

THE Nation

[redacted]

June 7, 1956

Ref - for any action
Gem

RECEIVED 1956

RECEIVED JUN 11 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The July 7th issue of The Nation will be devoted to the prime question of "can the Constitution be enforced?" as far as it applies to desegregation.

I am enclosing an outline of the contents of this special issue which indicates the nature of the articles to be published. We feel certain that this issue will be an important contribution to the continuing campaign to secure full rights for Negroes in America.

While we are asking many organizations to purchase bundle orders, we will be willing to make a supply available to you if you feel that they would be of help. If you would like copies, therefore, would you please let me know within the next ten days how many you feel you can use.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Martin Solow

Martin Solow
Assistant to the Publisher

DEMOCRACY'S CRISIS IN THE SOUTH
Can The Constitution Be Enforced?

A 24-page special issue of The Nation

Table of Contents:

(I) Editorial introduction by Carey McWilliams, editor of The Nation.
A statement of why the time has come to raise and answer the question, Can the Constitution be enforced? Desegregaation is merely the sharp edge of the fight against Jim Crow, meaning all legally sanctioned discriminations based on racial differences. The Jim Crow structure is toppling and what is needed now is sustained, systematic pressure to enforce the Constitution. As a minimum effort the Federal Government should (1) safeguard the Negro's right to vote in national elections, (2) insure equality of educational opportunity, and (3) insure the equal protection of the law. There is every reason to believe that this can be done.

(II) The Origin of Jim Crow by C. Vann Woodward of the Johns Hopkins University faculty, author of "The Strange Career of Jim Crow."
Just how ancient is the South's present-day Jim Crow pattern and what brought it into being?

(III) The Politics of Jim Crow by Henry Lee Moon, information director of the NAACP, author of "The Balance of Power -- The Negro Vote."
What Jim Crow or "the solid South" means in political terms: one-party regional politics; undemocratic representation in Congress and the electoral college; rotten borough politics; the seniority system, etc. Also, how Jim Crow affects party policy both within and between the two major parties.

(IV) Politics and Civil Rights by Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington office of the NAACP.
Mr. Mitchell takes a good hard look at what has happened to civil rights proposals in Congress in recent years and discusses the political problems involved in securing legislation of any kind in this field.

(V) Labor in the South by M. H. Ross. Mr Ross is the former editor of the University of North Carolina Law Review and a long-time student of the labor movement in the South.
A ten-year retrospect of Operation Dixie and the present situation facing organized labor in the South; the stake that labor has in the abolition of Jim Crow.

(VI) The New Southern Negro by E. Franklin Frazier of the Department of Sociology at Howard University, author of "The Negro in the United States" and other books.
The various factors -- educational, economic and political -- which have produced the new Southern Negro and a consideration of the social changes which have taken place in the South in recent years.

(VII) Prospect and Retrospect, editorial by Carey McWilliams, editor of The Nation.
Jim Crow in historical perspective. What is meant by "moderation" and "gradualism" in the context of the current political debate. Do we want to repeat in 1956 the so-called "compromise" of 1876? Why don't we for a change try enforcing the Constitution?

THE *Nation*

June 21, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We will be pleased to make the 500 copies available to you with our compliments.

We are also pleased at your favorable reaction to the issue.

Thank you very much for writing.

Sincerely yours,

Martin Solow

Martin Solow
Assistant to the Publisher

~~Stokely~~
~~Jim~~
Newspapers for
The NATION

April 2, 1957

Mr. James Stokely
405 Clifton Heights
Newport, Tennessee

Dear Jim:

I appreciated so much your sending me some recent copies of The Nation in which articles by Wilma and you appeared. I was impressed by the comments of Hugo Black on the Montgomery article. I was even more impressed with the articles themselves. I was particularly interested in the poetry, for I still believe it is possible to reach the mind of man and beyond as a poet, when the prose writer is limited to reaching the mind.

I am glad that you found the names of the people I sent you helpful during your trip to Florida. Jack Orr, whom you also met, is a close personal friend of mine. I too am impressed with the sincerity of Governor Collins. I will enclose with this letter a list of people in Memphis, Birmingham, New Orleans, and Washington, D.C.

Best personal regards to Wilma and you.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Enclosure

Birmingham

Bob Hughes, 1218 Comer Building (SRC State Director) Phone: ALpine 2-2722

Emory Jackson, Birmingham World (Newspaper)

Dr. John Hall Jones (psychologist)

Memphis

Rev. J. A. McDaniel, Memphis Urban League, 546 Beale Avenue,
Phone: Jackson 6-2088

Mrs. Lawrence Coe, 3580 Watanga Avenue

Nat D. Williams, Pittsburgh Courier

New Orleans

Dr. Dent, President, Dillard University

Rabbi E. W. Leipziger, 1201 St. Charles Avenue

Milton Vigo, 303 Board of Trade Annex Building (SRC State Director)

Father Twomey, Institute of Industrial Relations, Loyola University

Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Bem Price, call: Elmwood 6-4516

Ben Segal, Trade Union Consultant, Fund for the Republic,
1820 Jefferson Place

Mary Alice Baldinger, National Civil Liberties Clearing House
1637 Mass. Ave, N.W.

Dr. Harry Walker, Department of Sociology, Howard University

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President, Howard University

Newspapers - et al.
Gen.

August 2, 1957

Mr. Carey McWilliams, Editor
The Nation
333 Sixth Avenue
New York 14, New York

Dear Mr. McWilliams:

Since Mr. Fleming is on vacation, your letter of July 31, has been referred to me. Some suggested stories of North Carolina cities integrating schools this fall are Winston-Salem, Greensboro and Charlotte. Virginia is as yet an unknown quantity. However, Charlottesville and Arlington are under court order to integrate. In the eastern part of the state there is a great deal of activity in Portsmouth, ~~and~~ Norfolk Newport News.

One suggestion for a story in Atlanta concerns the pro-segregation group in Georgia, the Georgia State's Rights Council. This group is headed by William Bodenhamer, a Baptist Minister, member of the Board of Education, and a member of the State Legislature. This story has not generally received the amount of treatment I think its importance deserves.

Since Mr. Wakefield will not be coming until late September, you might check with us again for further developments. Also Mr. Fleming will be back in the office at that time and I am sure will be glad to talk with Mr. Wakefield if he comes to Atlanta.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lcc

THE
NATION

July 31, 1957

My dear Mr. Fleming:

We have a very talented staff contributor, Dan Wakefield, who will be going to Miami in late September to cover the Teamsters Convention. Either going or returning I would like to have him do one or two other stories for us, and it occurred to me that you might know of some school situation, say in northern Virginia or North Carolina, where a school is integrating for the first time this year. If so, I would appreciate any details.

Also, it occurred to me that you might know of some community stories along the route that might be worth our attention. Are there any good stories in Atlanta that he could do?

With thanks and best wishes,

Carey McWilliams
Editor

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

THE
NATION

August 6, 1957

Dear Mr. Constable:

Your letter of August 2nd to Mr. McWilliams has arrived during his absence from the city.

It will be called to his attention upon his return the latter part of this month.

Yours sincerely,

Jacqueline Wilson

For The Nation

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

October 2, 1962

Mr. Carey McWilliams
Editor
The Nation
333 Sixth Avenue
New York 14, New York

Dear Mr. McWilliams:

Enclosed is the copy of Howard Zinn's Albany report. As I told you on the telephone, there may still be some changes in it but I think this basically is it.

Assuming that we can work out a mutually satisfactory release date, we would be delighted for you to use it. We have spoken to Howard and he is in agreement. You would of course deal directly with him regarding a fee.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosure

THE NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

September 25, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for your letter of September 18 and the enclosure, which I shall read with interest.

I have a suggestion for you: From time to time you get out excellent reports. I have in mind in particular Howard Zinn's marvelous account of the situation in Albany, Georgia. Have you ever given any thought to the possibility of letting us do one of these reports timed to coincide with its issuance in pamphlet form? It seems to me it would not at all detract from the interest in the pamphlet, and as a matter of fact might actually in many cases bring it to the attention of a much wider audience. We might be able, for example, to run a note saying that copies of the particular article will be available in pamphlet form from the Southern Regional Council, etc.

Anyway I thought I would bring the suggestion to your attention.

Best wishes,

Carey McWilliams
Editor

Howard thinks suggestion good one, suggests sending typed copy of report so they can decide whether they'd like to run in toto or what they would like to select from it. Meanwhile, we could go ahead with putting piece into production. — CM

THE NATION

333 SIXTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

CHELSEA 2-8400

October 9, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Many thanks for letting us see this piece. It is a really marvelous bit of reporting -- admirable in every way. But we have decided that it would be very difficult for us to use it before the time that you bring it out as a pamphlet. The pendency of the Congressional election is one difficulty, and then again we would have to blow up an issue to quite some degree in order to find space for it. It is somewhat longer than I had imagined it might be.

But be sure and send us a copy of the pamphlet and we will do our best to call attention to it. And also do keep us in mind inthe future when you do studies of this kind. I am sure we will find occasion to be able to work out a joint relationship of the type I suggested.

Best wishes,

Carey McWilliams
Editor

re: Howard Zinn's
Albany Report
returned to BP, research, for filing 10/12/62

March 31, 1966

Advertising Manager
The Nation
The Nation Magazine Company
333 Sixth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

We are considering a national campaign to promote our quarterly publication, NEW SOUTH, and would like complete advertising rates for various size ads in your magazine.

We will appreciate your prompt reply.

Sincerely yours,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

File - Newspapers, etc - make folder for "Nat'l. Guardian"

September 7, 1965

Mr. James Aronson, Editor
National Guardian
197 E. Fourth Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Aronson:

I have your letter of August 16, 1965 in which you object to the characterization of the National Guardian as "Chinese-oriented," a phrase which occurred on page 18 of New South, May 1965.

We do not know, nor does your letter make clear, whether you object to the description because you believe that readers will infer from it that the National Guardian is (a) hostile to American society and its government; or (b) hostile to Russian society and its government.

If the former, I cannot think that you mean to be taken seriously in your objection. I have at hand the last four issues of your paper (August 7, 14, 21, 28). Your antagonism to governmental policies and to the structure of American society is furious and unrestrained. You say in your letter that you "present alternatives." That is really an extraordinary euphemism.

If your objection is, on the other hand, that you believe the phrase "Chinese-oriented" will convey to readers the thought that you are anti-Russian, I must concede that nothing in these

recent issues bears that out. They do suggest that you have a measure of sympathy for policies of the Chinese government, and I believe that the phrase "Chinese-oriented" means no more than that.

If we are mistaken, and you would like to write us a disclaimer of sympathy for the Chinese government or a statement of approval for the Russian government, we would be prepared to publish a correction to our description.

Throughout your letter to me there is an apparent assumption to which I, now, take exception. There is the implication, made somewhat explicit in the second paragraph of your letter, that the Southern Regional Council somehow is on your side. I want to say very clearly that that is not so. The Southern Regional Council is not and will not be part of any new version of a "popular front" that you may devise or dream of. We are devoted to free men in a free society under truly representative government, and I sincerely believe that you are as opposed to that ideal as is the Citizens Council.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

197 E. FOURTH ST. • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10009 • ORegon 3-3800

August 16, 1965

Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I must take vigorous exception to your characterization of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN as "Chinese-oriented"--a characterization which appeared on Page 18 of the May 1965 issue of New South. It is quite apparent that Pat Watters is abysmally ignorant of the policy and contents of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. The GUARDIAN is an independent radical news weekly which orients itself to an American audience and is primarily concerned with U. S. foreign policy. It has sought consistently to present to its readership a fair picture of the attitudes of the Chinese government, the Soviet government, and of the attitudes of countries both in the socialist world and those allied with the U. S. Our material is always documented and our editorial comments clearly delineated.

To throw in a phrase like that without example or proof is not only poor journalism but a disservice to all that the Southern Regional Council stands for. It is hard enough these days to break through the paper curtain with facts which do not appear in the general mass circulation press without having to endure snide slings and arrows from people associated with organizations such as yours.

In point of fact, the GUARDIAN seeks above all to help present alternatives both for a sane foreign policy by the government of the U. S. in relation to all other countries and a sane domestic policy which will insure equality of all its citizens.

I trust that you will make sure that the contents of this letter will be published in the New South so that the record can be corrected.

Sincerely yours,

James Aronson

James Aronson
Editor

cc: Margaret Long, Editor
John H. Wheeler, President

RECEIVED
SEP 11
Southern Regional Council

New Republic

~~1416 F STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 4, D.C.~~

Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

1824 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

September 9, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for the Henry Lee Moon paper. It seems to be a very thorough job, and I shall read it with great care.

I still think it would be a good idea for you to write something for the New Republic. Will you keep it in mind and let us know when a properly exciting subject occurs to you?

Best regards to all our friends,

Sincerely yours,

Helen

Helen Fuller

HF:mg

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1954
Southern Regional Council

New Republic
1824 Jefferson Pl. N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

March 16, 1954

Dear Friend of a Free Press,

APPEAL SPONSORS

Francis Biddle

Richard Bolling

Chester Bowles

Marquis Childs

Paul H. Douglas

Frank P. Graham

Paul G. Hoffman

Palmer Hoyt

John S. Knight

Bill Mauldin

Lewis Mumford

Reinhold Niebuhr

Walter P. Reuther

Elmer Rice

Eleanor Roosevelt

Adlai Stevenson

Most of us believe that the truths we live by are discovered in the free encounter of ideas. We want to speak as well as to listen in that encounter because we feel that we have important things to say.

Those at least are my reasons for writing to you.

For thirty-nine years the NEW REPUBLIC has stood in the midst of the encounter of ideas in America. And Americans of all persuasions have agreed that what it has said was worth saying.

During these years the NEW REPUBLIC was supported by a family subsidy. It ended last April and, suddenly, we were on our own.

The easy way out then was to cease publication. But in this year of danger and opportunity, the easy way did not seem the right way. So we kept going. We turned first to two of the finest men we knew, the late Charles Tobey of New Hampshire, and Paul Douglas of Illinois. In signing our first appeal -- to our own readers -- they declared: "The NEW REPUBLIC has held a distinguished and unique place in American life and thought. We believe that under its present editors it has been sound: militantly anti-Communist but not forgetful of the dangers of the Right."

Our subscribers are mainly the leaders in small towns who contribute so much to this nation's liberal spirit. They organized large and enthusiastic meetings in Texas this autumn, when I visited there, often driving 300 miles or more to affirm that for them the NEW REPUBLIC fills a great need. But there is a limit to what these 33,000 readers can do. So I am writing to you, with the support of the Americans listed on this page. They are Republicans as well as Democrats. They do not always agree with us but they believe as we do that wisdom and vision are gained for America by the challenge of non-conformity and the pioneering of independent thought when these are done in a responsible, not a carping fashion.

Our circulation has increased by fifty percent during the last two years. Our deficit shrinks year by year. This year it is still $1600 a week -- a large sum for a handful of men -- a small sum shared among the thousands of friends to whom this letter is sent. If this seems a worthwhile endeavor, I hope that you will join us by contributing as generously as you can. A return envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

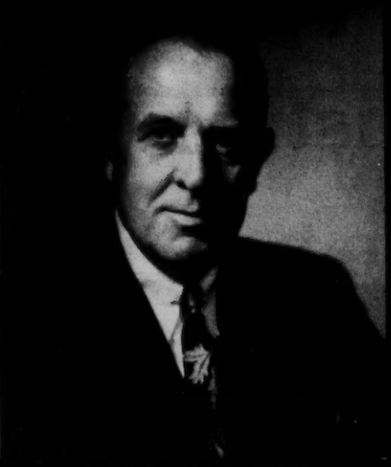
Sincerely yours,

Michael Straight

Michael Straight
Editor

John S. Knight

Adlai Stevenson

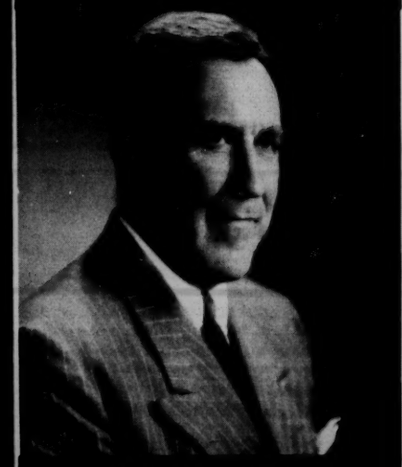


Paul G. Hoffman

Paul H. Douglas

Eleanor Roosevelt

Walter P. Reuther



Chester Bowles

"If we are to escape, we must not yield a foot in demanding a fair field and an honest race for all ideas."

JUDGE LEARNED HAND

The *New Republic*, for 40 years one of America's greatest independent journals of ideas, is in danger of suspending publication.

It can continue if it is helped now by those who appreciate the importance of preserving a free press.

These distinguished Americans, of a

ask you to help make it possible for New

THE FACTS

From November, 1914 to April, 1953 **one family** gave an average of **$95,000 a year** so that the NEW REPUBLIC could, with complete editorial freedom, publish its forthright opinions each week.

Since that single subsidy is no longer available, if the NEW REPUBLIC is to survive financial support must come from a large number of Americans who appreciate the importance today of maintaining a national forum for ideas — new ideas, unorthodox ideas, sometimes unpopular ideas.

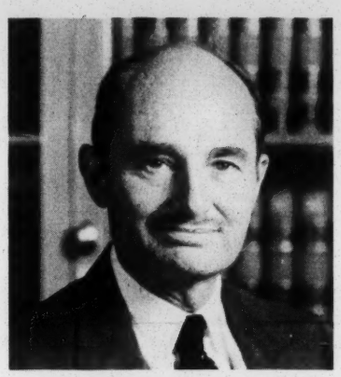
The NEW REPUBLIC's 50% increase in circulation over the past two years, plus a significant decrease in its operating costs, have sharply reduced the magazine's annual deficit. **Still, each current issue is published at a loss of $1600.**

As the number of NR readers continues to grow from the present 33,000, the yearly deficit will correspondingly decrease. **But during 1954, an estimated $78,000 in contributions will be needed to keep the NEW REPUBLIC going.**

We think it is worth the price.

When Senator McCarthy's administrative assistant addressed a warning letter to the editor of the NEW REPUBLIC because of the magazine's audacity in printing a Senate Committee's report on McCarthy's finances, he was told in effect to go hang; and the following week the NEW REPUBLIC announced that reprints of this report were still available from the NR at 10 cents a copy.

That is the kind of editorial independence we believe it is in the American interest to keep alive.



Francis Biddle

"The NEW REPUBLIC must continue publication. It is better every day. I am very much impressed with the literary and art reviews which are unsurpassed anywhere in this country. I don't think any magazine has your standing or covers the particular field of liberal outlook as does yours."

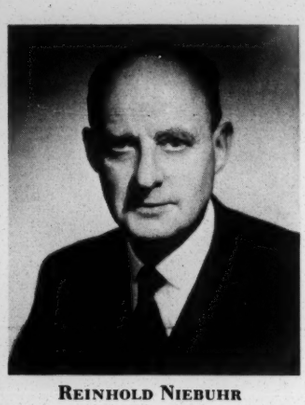
Bill Mauldin

"The NEW REPUBLIC cusses McCarthy. So do I. Long may we both live."

Palmer Hoyt

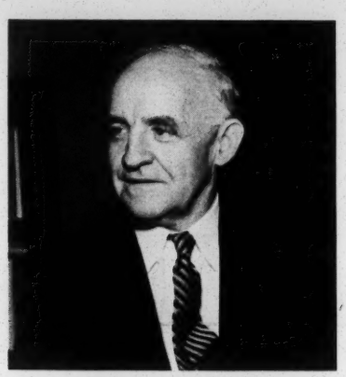
"I hope the NEW REPUBLIC continues. It is an intellectual cold shower, not recommended for every ailment of mankind, but of great value in some circumstances. And it is trebly important at a time when orthodoxy, like Tom Thumb golf, has become a dreary, faddish preoccupation with so many people." *Editor, The Denver Post*

ll political parties, Republic to continue



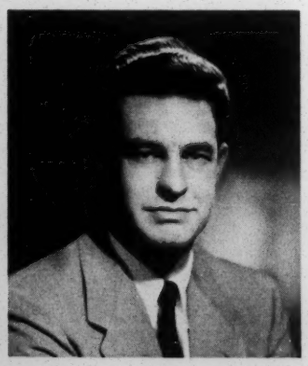
Reinhold Niebuhr

"I think it is very important for the NEW REPUBLIC to continue its work. You have grown consistently in grace and wisdom in interpreting the American and the world's scene from a sane liberal perspective. I hope you will have a very great success in your appeal to keep the magazine alive and strong."



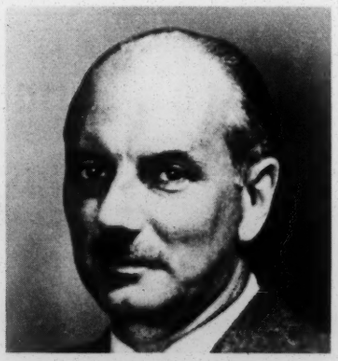
Frank P. Graham

"I hope by all means that the NEW REPUBLIC will be continued. I have been reading it from the days when Croly was the editor and on to the last week. The NEW REPUBLIC has for many years been a part of the American scene and the promise of American life."



Congressman Richard Bolling

"I am delighted to endorse the appeal for funds to support the continuing publication of the NEW REPUBLIC."



Lewis Mumford

"I'll be happy to add my name to those signing the NEW REPUBLIC's appeal for funds."

Elmer Rice

"We are in dire need of dissident and non-conformist journalism. The NEW REPUBLIC has done a most useful job for many years and certainly deserves to survive."

Marquis Childs

"I for one would feel very sad if the voice of the NEW REPUBLIC were extinguished. The function of the press has been defined as comforting the afflicted and afflicting the comfortable. The NEW REPUBLIC qualifies on both scores. I do hope that you go on criticising each new administration for what you think it does that is wrong and harmful to the national interest."

Here Is What They Say

A FINE INFLUENCE . . .

"As I have said repeatedly, the NEW REPUBLIC has been, on the whole, a fine influence in American life."

Senator Paul H. Douglas

A PLACE FOR IT . . .

"I disagree with the NEW REPUBLIC much more frequently than I agree with it. However, I do believe there is a place in this country for a publication such as yours and I shall be glad to join the group of men and women who want the NEW REPUBLIC to continue."

John S. Knight
Publisher, Chicago Daily News

FORTHRIGHT . . . VIGOROUS . . .

"The NEW REPUBLIC has held a unique position in American life for many decades because it has presented its views — often unpopular views — forthrightly and vigorously. Oftentimes I find myself not agreeing with its views, but that is an added reason for hoping that the NEW REPUBLIC will long be with us."

Paul G. Hoffman

"YES!" . . .

"You most certainly can include me as voting 'Yes'!"

Adlai Stevenson

HONEST . . . INDEPENDENT . . .

"We need papers likes the NEW REPUBLIC more than ever today and I think your paper should continue to express honest and independent opinions as it has done in the past."

Eleanor Roosevelt

THOUGHTFUL . . . SOPHISTICATED . . .

"I think it is fair to say that at no time in recent years has the NEW REPUBLIC been doing as good a job as it has done recently in presenting a thoughtful, sophisticated, liberal viewpoint. It seems to me that the evolution of the NEW REPUBLIC in recent years has been symbolic of the coming to age of the American liberal movement."

Chester Bowles

STURDY LIBERAL VOICE

"It would be a tragedy if the NEW REPUBLIC, with its sturdy liberal voice and its attitude of mature responsibility about the problems of American democracy, were to be forced out of publication by lack of public response."

Walter P. Reuther

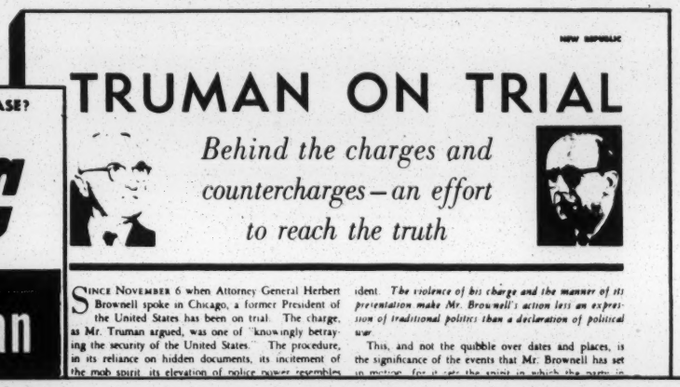
IN 1954 OR 1984 . . .

The NEW REPUBLIC will be in the front line - fighting for a strong and united free world, for full employment and production at home, and for freedom of the individual to express his views without fear or hindrance.

ANC 20c • DECEMBER 21, 1953 CHINA TRADE—HAS McCARTHY A CASE?

New Republic

Eisenhower's Atomic Plan



NEW REPUBLIC

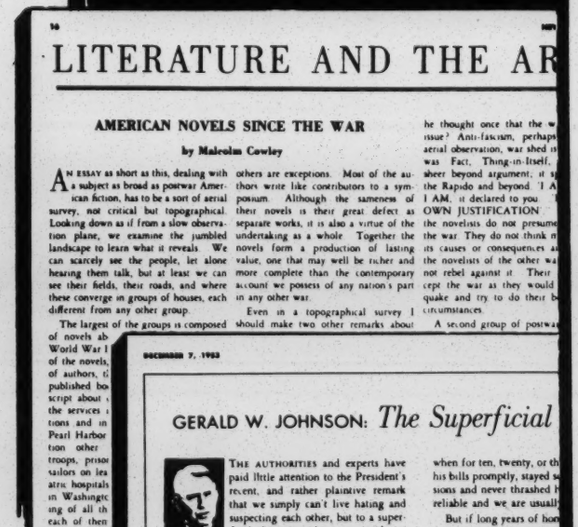
TRUMAN ON TRIAL

Behind the charges and countercharges—an effort to reach the truth

SINCE NOVEMBER 6 when Attorney General Herbert Brownell spoke in Chicago, a former President of the United States has been on trial. The charge, as Mr. Truman argued, was one of "knowingly betraying the security of the United States." The procedure, in its reliance on hidden documents, its incitement of the mob spirit, its elevation of police power resembles

The violence of his charge and the manner of its presentation make Mr. Brownell's action less an expression of traditional politics than a declaration of political war.

This, and not the quibble over dates and places, is the significance of the events that Mr. Brownell has set in motion, for it sets the stage in which the party in



LITERATURE AND THE AR

AMERICAN NOVELS SINCE THE WAR

by Malcolm Cowley

AN ESSAY as short as this, dealing with a subject as broad as postwar American fiction, has to be a sort of aerial survey, not critical but topographical. Looking down as if from a slow observation plane, we examine the jumbled landscape to learn what it reveals. We can scarcely see the people, let alone hearing them talk, but at least we can see their fields, their roads, and where these converge in groups of houses, each different from any other group.

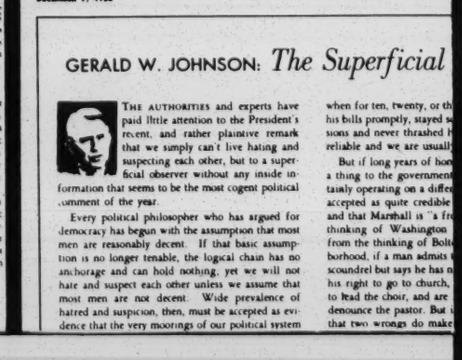
The largest of the groups is composed of novels ab World War I of the novels, of authors, t published bo script about the services tions and in Pearl Harbor tion other troops, prison sailors on lea atric hospitals in Washingt ing of all th each of them volume about flict. And if commission h be original, t taking, but w use the same the same style

others are exceptions. Most of the authors write like contributors to a symposium. Although the sameness of their novels is their great defect as separate works, it is also a virtue of the undertaking as a whole. Together the novels form a production of lasting value, one that may well be richer and more complete than the contemporary account we possess of any nation's part in any other war.

Even in a topographical survey I should make two other remarks about

he thought once that the w issue? Anti-fascism, perhaps aerial observation, war shed is was Fact. Thing-in-itself, sheer beyond argument, it s the Rapido and beyond. 'I A I AM, it declared to you. OWN JUSTIFICATION. the novelists do not presume the war. They do not think n its causes or consequences a the novelists of the other wa not rebel against it. Their cept the war as they would quake and try to do their b circumstances.

A second group of postwa



DECEMBER 7, 1953

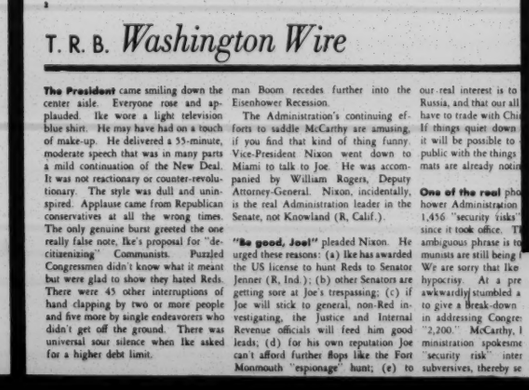
GERALD W. JOHNSON: *The Superficial*

THE AUTHORITIES and experts have paid little attention to the President's recent, and rather plaintive remark that we simply can't live hating and suspecting each other, but to a superficial observer without any inside information that seems to be the most cogent political comment of the year.

Every political philosopher who has argued for democracy has begun with the assumption that most men are reasonably decent. If that basic assumption is no longer tenable, the logical chain has no anchorage and can hold nothing, yet we will not hate and suspect each other unless we assume that most men are not decent. Wide prevalence of hatred and suspicion, then, must be accepted as evidence that the very moorings of our political system

when for ten, twenty, or th his bills promptly, stayed s sions and never thrashed reliable and we are usually

But if long years of hon a thing to the government tainly operating on a diffe accepted as quite credible and that Marshall is "a fr thinking of Washington from the thinking of Bolt borhood, if a man admits scoundrel but says he has n his right to go to church, to lead the choir, and are denounce the pastor. But that two wrongs do make



2

T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

The President came smiling down the center aisle. Everyone rose and applauded. Ike wore a light television blue shirt. He may have had on a touch of make-up. He delivered a 55-minute, moderate speech that was in many parts a mild continuation of the New Deal. It was not reactionary or counter-revolutionary. The style was dull and uninspired. Applause came from Republican conservatives at all the wrong times. The only genuine burst greeted the one really false note, Ike's proposal for "decitizenizing" Communists. Puzzled Congressmen didn't know what it meant but were glad to show they hated Reds. There were 45 other interruptions of hand clapping by two or more people and five more by single endeavorers who didn't get off the ground. There was universal sour silence when Ike asked for a higher debt limit.

man Boom recedes further into the Eisenhower Recession.

The Administration's continuing efforts to saddle McCarthy are amusing, if you find that kind of thing funny. Vice-President Nixon went down to Miami to talk to Joe. He was accompanied by William Rogers, Deputy Attorney-General. Nixon, incidentally, is the real Administration leader in the Senate, not Knowland (R, Calif.).

"Be good, Joe!" pleaded Nixon. He urged these reasons: (a) Ike has awarded the US license to hunt Reds to Senator Jenner (R, Ind.); (b) other Senators are getting sore at Joe's trespassing; (c) if Joe will stick to general, non-Red investigating, the Justice and Internal Revenue officials will feed him good leads; (d) for his own reputation Joe can't afford further flops like the Fort Monmouth "espionage" hunt; (e) to

our real interest is to Russia, and that our all have to trade with Chi If things quiet down it will be possible to public with the things mats are already notin

One of the real pho hower Administration 1,456 "security risks" since it took office. T ambiguous phrase is to munists are still being Ike We are sorry that Ike hypocrisy. At a pre awkwardly stumbled a to give a break-down in addressing Congre "2,200." McCarthy, I ministration spokesme "security risk" inter subversives, thereby se

Will You Too Affirm Your Belief that Americans Must Not Lose the New Republic? The Decision Rests with You!

Francis Biddle	John S. Knight
Richard Bolling	Bill Mauldin
Chester Bowles	Lewis Mumford
Marquis Childs	Reinhold Niebuhr
Paul H. Douglas	Walter P. Reuther
Frank P. Graham	Elmer Rice
Paul G. Hoffman	Eleanor Roosevelt
Palmer Hoyt	Adlai Stevenson

MICHAEL STRAIGHT
1824 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Straight,

I too believe that the voice of the *NEW REPUBLIC* should not be silenced. So that it may not be, I enclose my contribution of $.....

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ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE .....

Please make checks payable to NEW REPUBLIC, INC.

8

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The New Republic

1824 Jefferson Place, N. W.

Washington 6, D. C.

June 9, 1955

NEW REPUBLIC
1826 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 26, D. C.

Sirs:

I should like to correct two errors that appeared in the note identifying me in your issue of June 12.

The Southern Regional Council last year received a major grant from the Fund for the Republic, an independent agency devoted to the promotion of the principles of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. My position with the SRC is assistant director for information.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

New Republic

1824-26 JEFFERSON PLACE, NW WASHINGTON 6, DC

Gilbert A. Harrison, PUBLISHER

June 14, 1955

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am so sorry about the incorrect identification. Your letter appears in this issue of the magazine.

Sincerely,

Gilbert A. Harrison

Gilbert A. Harrison

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 3, 1956

Miss Helen Fuller, Managing Editor
New Republic
1824-26 Jefferson Place N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Miss Fuller:

Your letter of December 27, 1955 has been referred to me. It has been suggested by Harold Fleming that I try my hand at an article for you. We do have the material for such an article, and the idea has been approved by Dr. Mitchell.

I've been with the Southern Regional Council since March of this year as Editorial Assistant and recently was promoted to Managing Editor of New South.

I hope this arrangement is agreeable to you. In any case I will submit a manuscript to you at an early date.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Managing Editor

JC:mef

New Republic

1824-26 JEFFERSON PLACE, NW WASHINGTON 6, DC

Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

December 27, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED DEC 29 1955

Dear George:

We have been hearing rumors of increasing instances of violence in Mississippi since the Till case. Dick Bolling and other members of Congress concerned with civil rights tell us that they are hearing the same thing and encourage us to get and print the facts as one small way of alerting people to the fact that this issue cannot be evaded in the coming Congress. Can you help us by telling us what the facts are as you know them, and giving us as much detail as possible about what happened in Mississippi during and after the Till case? If you have enough material by yourself to constitute an article, of course that will be wonderful for us. If not, maybe you can give us possible sources of other help.

I would very much like to see you again. It seems a very long while since we met. Do you ever come to Washington?

With best regards,

Helen

Helen Fuller

January 23, 1956

Helen Fuller, Managing Editor
The New Republic
1826 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Fuller:

Enclosed is the promised article on racial violence in Mississippi.

Hope you can use it; and if there is any question, please feel free to write me.

Would you be interested in similar articles from time to time?

Sincerely,

John Constable, Managing Editor
New South

Encl.

April 18, 1956

Mr. Gilbert Harrison
New Republic
1826 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Gil:

I write to remind you to remember about the Southern Regional Council as the plans for the new foundation shape up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

May 3, 1956

HCF:

I think that ~~Carl~~ Gil Harrison showed me this item when I was in Washington. I said publish it. It had an appendix or two which I down-thumbed, and they did the same.

GSM/eab
Encl: New Republic article "Notes on the South," and ltr from Hellen Fuller dtd 5/1/56

GM

RECEIVED MAY 3 1956

Hcf

1824-26 JEFFERSON PLACE, NW WASHINGTON 6, DC

Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

May 1, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I want to call your attention to the two articles entitled "Notes on the South" in the enclosed issue of THE NEW REPUBLIC.

We will welcome any comment you care to send us for publication.

Sincerely,

Helen

Helen Fuller

June 18, 1956

Mr. Gilbert Harrison, Publisher
New Republic
1824 Jefferson Place N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Harrison:

George Mitchell, who has been traveling pretty steadily, discussed with me between trips your letter of June 1 and asked me to get off an answer.

Our arrangement with The Reporter was a frankly economic trade. We liked their article by Thomas Thrasher, who is one of our leading Alabama people and who nicely plugged our movement. We inquired about enough reprints to reach our mailing list and found the cost beyond comfortable reach. The Reporter offered to supply reprints free in return for inclusion of a brief promotion letter, and we agreed.

We are under pretty stern policy not to use or lend our mailing list for promotion purposes and deviated in this case only because of the quid pro quo.

Needless to say, we like the New Republic and all of its principals. But, in order to be on sound ground, we would need a comparable reason for sending out a promotion letter. On some occasion when the New Republic has published something of unusual interest to our mailing list, we would be glad to consider the same kind of arrangement.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:bo

As we discussed.
[illegible] HCF

New Republic

RECEIVED JUN 2 1956

1824-26 JEFFERSON PLACE, NW WASHINGTON 6, DC

Gilbert A. Harrison, PUBLISHER

June 1, 1956

Dear George,

A promotion letter for The Reporter which was received, tied to the Southern Regional Council, prompts me to ask whether we could be granted a similar privilege.

Might we address a letter on behalf of The New Republic's coverage of the segregation situation — to those on your mailing list.

Cordially,

Gilbert Harrison

New Republic

1824-26 JEFFERSON PLACE, NW WASHINGTON 6, DC

June 21, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I was glad to have your letter and I shall certainly get in touch with you as soon as we have something which I think would be of interest to people on your mailing list.

Many thanks.

Cordially,

Gilbert Harrison

Gilbert A. Harrison
Editor and Publisher

February 6, 1957

A I R M A I L

Mr. Michael Straight
The New Republic
1244 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mike:

Thanks for your warm and encouraging letter. There's no one whose good opinion I'd rather have.

I am to be in Washington for the Fund for the Republic dinner Thursday, February 21st. I will call you in the hope that we can get together, at least briefly.

Also, on one side or another of that date I will be in New York -- almost certainly on Friday, the 22nd. If there's anything I can do there to further our request, please advise me.

Jane and Gary (who still prizes the battery-powered fire engine above most things) join in best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF/eab

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Michael Straight, EDITOR AT LARGE

January 31, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I trust that we can work out this appeal since I rate you and the Council at the highest level of competence and service. A closer analysis of finances may help, but if you are ever coming North to New York that would be still better I suppose, as far as Roger is concerned.

I'll be away for two weeks. From then on I'll be around and can relate my plans to yours.

My very best regards to you and your wife.

Sincerely,

Mike

Michael Straight

MS:r

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
Cable Address: NEWREPUB

339

JC + FI -

New Republic

1244 - 19TH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.
Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

February 12, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is belated thanks for the material you sent and for the other facts which you phoned in to us. Circumstances changed our plans for that particular week so that we were not able to write the piece I was thinking about, but I am holding on to the information about current legislation and will use it soon. If you have anything more to add, naturally we will be grateful.

Do let us know when you get to Washington again.

Best regards,

Helen

Helen Fuller

Material sent - FBL

The New Republic
1244 19th STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Personal

WASHINGTON FEB 12 '57 D.C. PR METER 333974 U.S. POSTAGE 06

Air Mail

RECEIVED FEB 14 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Call Mon. —

RAT. —

Call Myndes re:
Romonia

March 8, 1957

Mr. Michael Straight
c/o The New Republic
1224 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mike:

Life seems a good deal brighter this week, and a large part of the reason is the grant that was made possible by your understanding help.

I spent a most pleasant hour with Roger Baldwin and was really grateful for this belated opportunity to get to know him. Milton Rose also struck me as a very congenial guy, whom I would like to know better.

I will keep you and the Foundation posted on the Council's progress. Meanwhile, do let me know if we can supply any information or help of any kind to the Foundation, to you, or to the New Republic.

I haven't been able to think of any unusual places that you might take in on the up-coming trip to Asheville with your youngsters, except for the obvious tourist attractions like Fontana Dam and Skyline Drive. That is pleasant country and I hope you have an enjoyable trip.

Please give my best to your wife and many thanks for that enjoyable dinner with you two.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

December 31, 1957

Mr. Michael Straight
c/o The New Republic
1224 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mike:

Milton Rose sent us the heartening news of renewed support from the William C. Whitney Foundation on the eve of Christmas. It brightened our holiday no end.

Oddly enough, I think the Little Rock affair has given us cause for cautious optimism. The extremists are more extreme than ever, but there are some indications that the reasonable people have been jolted out of their lethargy. In any case, we are hopeful of new opportunities in 1958.

With appreciation and best wishes always,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl: N. Y. Times Reprint

VIA AIR MAIL

September 4, 1958

Miss Helen Fuller
The New Republic
1244 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Helen:

We thought the Wall Street Journal article on Negro candidates very helpful. Most of the background material was from our files. Enclosed is some additional information that you might want to draw on for a New Republic comment.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures : List of Negroes holding public office in Southern State
List of Negroes who have run for office, Jan.-Aug. '58
Info. on three congressional districts having over 54% Negro population.
Pp. 68 — 77 from Integration North & South, Fleming and Loth

Rcd 8/28/58

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

August 26, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold,

I imagine that you have already seen the fascinating story in the Wall Street Journal of Friday, August 22, on colored candidates. How accurate is the article? Do you any further details on the subject, and do you feel it merits some editorial attention in The New Republic?

Best regards,

Helen

Helen Fuller

HF:rkf

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
Cable Address: NEWREPUB

67

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MARGE MANDERSON**

PA ;
(~~OHCE ?~~)

(May have to be retyped — use your judgement)

For the New Republic

(1) Current list of Negroes holding public office in Southern states.

(2) List of Negroes who have run for office, Jan. — August, 1958.

(3) Information on three Congressional districts having over 50% Negro population.

Sent separately:

Robert Penn Warren, Segregation
NEw South, Dec. 1957; Jan. 1958; Feb. 1958; Mar. 1958;
Apr. 1958; June 1958; July-Aug, 1958; Sept. 1958
Journal and Guide Reprint - May 31, 1958
Wall St. Journal Reprint - Feb. 14, 1958, "Religion & Race..."
The South Speaks Out for Law and Order
N. Y. Times Reprint - Popham, Dec. 1, 1957
Wall St. Journal Reprint - "Segregation Costs..."

VIA AIR MAIL

September 16, 1958

Miss Helen Fuller
The New Republic
1244 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Helen:

I have asked that a batch of materials on recent Southern developments be sent to you. We're also adding your name to the mailing list for New South.

In addition, I would recommend two newly published books: The Southern Heritage by James M. Dabbs, and Stride Toward Freedom by Martin Luther King.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Dabb,
Kin
New South?
Pete's?
Robt Warren

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

September 10, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Would it be too much trouble for you or someone in your office to send me a list of some recent writing on the current mood of the South which you consider outstanding? Aside from the Ashmore book and Wilma Dykeman's report I haven't done much reading on the subject.

Best regards,

Helen (F)

Helen Fuller

HF:rkf

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
Cable Address: NEWREPUB

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

September 22, 1958

Mr. Harold R. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

In Miss Fuller's absence may I thank you for your most prompt and generous response to our request for additional background material on the mood of the South.

We are indeed grateful for the copies of NEW SOUTH, the reprints, and the Penn Warren book, and I am sure that Miss Fuller will be in touch with you soon after her return to Washington.

Sincerely,

Ruth K. Franklin

(Mrs.) Ruth K. Franklin
Secretary to
Helen Fuller

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
Cable Address: NEWREPUB

November 5, 1958

Miss Helen Fuller
The New Republic
1244 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Helen:

I will be good to see you. I have not been able to find out yet whether Morris and Phil will be available on Wednesday evening, but let's make it definite that I will meet you at the airport. Unless I hear from you further as to the specific flight on which you will arrive, I will be on hand at 8:00 o' clock with an eye on the baggage claim section.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

October 31, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have requested a reservation at the Dinkler-Plaza for Wednesday evening, November 12. I have a plane reservation on a flight that gets me into Atlanta a few minutes after eight, so that I should be at the hotel well before nine. I've written to Phil Hammer and Morris Abram, suggesting that we might get together that evening -- or the following day if that is better. If you are free Wednesday evening -- wonderful. If not, I will phone you early Thursday morning, hoping to spend as much of the day with you as you think wise and possible, or with anyone else you suggest. My present plan is to leave Atlanta Friday evening for a weekend in Tampa and St. Petersburg; go to New Orleans on Monday; Montgomery, Wednesday; Birmingham, Friday; thence to Chattanooga, Nashville, Knoxville and points in North Carolina. If any of this seems wasteful or you have better ideas, we can make changes when I get to Atlanta.

Thanks for all your help.

Best regards,

Helen (π)

HF:rkf

Helen Fuller

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
Cable Address: NEWREPUB

67

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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1958 NOV 17 AM 2 09

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HAROLD FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

ARRIVING 1215 PM MONDAY WILL PHONE FROM AIRPORT HOPING TO CATCH YOU FREE FOR LUNCH. REGARDS=

HELEN FULLER=.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

January 19,1959

Mrs. Ruth K. Franklin
Secretary to the Managing Editor
The New Republic
1244 - 19th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Franklin:

Thanks for your letter of January 14. We have corrected the Chronology accordingly. Sometimes I feel that I am doomed to a lifetime of combating the misuse of "flaunt" for "flout."

Please give Helen Fuller my thanks and regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

January 14, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Miss Fuller has asked me to bring to your attention a very minor misprint in the mimeographed Chronology which the Southern Regional Council prepared re. segregation in September, 1958. We do so only because it was pointed out to us by its author. You quote an editorial by James J. Kilpatrick, dated May 31, 1955, in which he condemns the Supreme Court as "that inept fraternity of politicians and professors..."etc. The paragraph, as your report has transcribed it, concludes with the statement that "If it be said now that the South is flaunting the law..." Mr. Kilpatrick has advised us that the verb he used was flouting, and we felt that in case you should be quoting this paragraph in the future, you might be able to correct it in your record. Also, he says that the date was June 1, 1955.

(Richmond News-Leader)

Sincerely,

Ruth K. Franklin

(Mrs.) Ruth K. Franklin
Secretary to the
Managing Editor

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
Cable Address: NEWREPUB

67

March 30, 2959

Miss Bertha S. Lehman
Circulation Department
The New Republic
1244 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Lehman:

Thank you for the reprint of Helen Fuller's articles on the South.

You may ship the 1,000 copies to the Southern Regional Council at this address and send a bill to my attention.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

March 24, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The reprints of Helen Fuller's seven articles on "Southerners & Schools" are now ready, and we are enclosing a copy for you.

In accord with your recent conversation with Mr. Harrison, we are reserving one thousand copies for you. Will you please send us shipping instructions?

Yours very sincerely,

Bertha S. Lehman

Bertha S. Lehman
Circulation Department

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
Cable Address: NEWREPUB

67

DATE 12/10/59

TO HCF

FROM RHA

SUBJECT

Attached Completed and being sent via Railway Express to addresses indicated.

ivan allen

GA.: Atlanta Augusta Columbus Gainesville Macon Rome
ALA.: Gadsden S. C.: Greenville
TENN.: Athens Chattanooga

MANUFACTURERS OF AMCO SET SNAP-OUT FORMS

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

F. R. Ruskin, ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER

November 25, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to let you know that we are now ready to proceed with the 5,000 names which you were kind enough to let us have. You will be receiving in a few days two different kinds of envelopes. Please address 2,500 names on the monarch envelopes and return them to THE NEW REPUBLIC, attention: Mrs. Lehman. Address an additional 2,500 names on the Reply-O wallet flap envelopes, keyed RN-9 and return those to: Continental Mailing Division of Reply-O Letters, 129 West 22nd Street, New York 11, New York. Please address these between the guide brackets. I should deeply appreciate it if you would have them done as quickly as possible and returned by December 15 or thereabouts. Our scheduled mailing date is January 1.

I want to thank you again for your trouble and reassure you that the nature of the agreement will be kept confidential. We will of course be very happy to do the same for you at any time that you want to use our names for your promotion.

Sincerely,

F. R. Ruskin

(Miss) F. R. Ruskin

frr:bp

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
Cable Address: NEWREPUB

RECEIVED JUL 20 1959

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

F. R. Ruskin, ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER

July 14, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Helen Fuller turned your letter over to me for answer since promotion is in my bailiwick. We will send 5,000 cards or envelopes to you as soon as they are printed in the fall, and I should like to have you send them back here, express collect, attention Mrs. Lehman. I will alert you again before we send them out.

I also want to tell you how deeply we appreciate your doing this for us, and I want to assure you that the arrangement will be kept completely confidential.

Sincerely,

F. R. Ruskin

(Miss) F. R. Ruskin

FRR:bs

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
Cable Address: NEWREPUB

339

July 10, 1959

Miss Helen Fuller
The New Republic
1244 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Helen:

Sorry to be so long in replying to your letter. What with vacations and holidays, it's taken a while for me to get the answer to your question from the appropriate staff members here.

Our mailing list on stencils runs something over 5,000. Since our adressograph is adjusted to take envelopes, it would be far the simplest arrangement, for us, if you sent the envelopes here for addressing.

As I may hav e written you before, we don 't ordinarily use our list for such a purpose; so I'd ask you to keep the arrangement confidential.

The Atlanta pot still boils, with a deadline for the school board's plan now set at December 1. For the time being, I've given up trying to write anything, however slight, but I'll be glad to suggest someone here is you'd like.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

June 24, 1959

Miss Helen Fuller
The New Republic
1244 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Fuller:

Thank you for your letter of June 18th. Mr. Fleming is away from the office and is expected to return on Monday, the 29th after a much-needed vacation. I shall bring your letter to his attention then, at which time I'm sure he will work out a satisfactory arrangement with you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

Acknowledge & hold till next week

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

June 18, 1959

RECEIVED JUN 22 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 63
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This winter we are going to offer new subscribers, as a special premium, a book on Nixon by William Costello, the ABC newscaster. We are now compiling our mailing list, and want it to be as inclusive as possible. It would be of great help to us if you could let us use your best list of members of the Southern Regional Council some time this fall.

Could we send our envelopes to your addressing office to be stencilled, or would you prefer to send us gummed labels? Or would you rather send us the list itself? I wish that you would drop me a note as to how large a list you have and whether we may use it.

I hope this is not too great an imposition on your facilities. We would be most grateful if you could help us out.

Best regards,

Helen

Helen Fuller

HF:rkf

Shouldn't we have a piece soon on Atlanta's reaction to the court order? Would you do it?

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
Cable Address: NEWREPUB

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Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

MT:

Since I can't promise Helen Fuller anything I think it would be best if you acknowledged the attached.

January 15, 1960

Via Air Mail

Miss Helen Fuller
Managing Editor
The New Republic
1244 19th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Miss Fuller:

Harold Fleming is out of the office this week. He felt you might need the data on Atlanta fairly quickly and asked me to reply to your request.

I hope the enclosed memorandum will provide the information you need.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc.

ATLANTA SCHOOL CRISIS

Time is running out on Georgia's efforts to resist the impact of the Supreme Court's decision of 1954. Federal District Court Judge Frank A. Hooper has approved a desegregation plan for the City of Atlanta. He may order the plan placed in operation by the fall school term of 1960.

Resistance laws passed by the General Assembly of Georgia in 1956 provide that if any public school in the state proceeds with desegregation, the Governor shall cut off state educational assistance for that school. At the opening of the 1960 session of the General Assembly, January 11, Governor Ernest Vandiver, in an impassioned speech, vowed to enforce the school closing statutes.

Pressure is building up in the Atlanta area to seek changes in state law to permit local communities to meet federal court orders as they may wish. Judge Hooper made it clear that he is delaying his final desegregation order to permit the legislature to act in the current session. Atlanta's desegregation plan as approved by the Court is contingent on the enactment of permissive legislation.

For the first time since the 1954 decision there is open disagreement among the white population of Georgia concerning the school issue. The state is in the throes of a Great Debate and political and civic leadership is divided. The Moment of Truth has come to the deep South.

The specifics of the situation are roughly as follows:

1. In January, 1958, Atlanta Negroes filed a suit in federal district court seeking desegregation of the city's 134 schools. In July, 1959, Judge Hooper enjoined the Atlanta Board of Education from "requiring or permitting" racial segregation. He also ordered the Board to submit a desegregation plan by December. The Board submitted a plan for a grade a year desegregation beginning in the 12th grade. The Atlanta plan has many features of the Alabama Pupil Placement law. On December 30, Judge Hooper approved the Atlanta Plan with minor modifications.

2. Judge Hooper approved the inclusion in the Atlanta Plan of a provision making application of the plan contingent on legislative passage of permissive statutes. Under present state law, state funds are cut off from any desegregated school. The Constitution of Georgia requires segregated educational facilities. In the course of his December 30 ruling, Judge Hooper stated, "It was, and is, the feeling of the court that the people of Georgia through their chosen representatives in the Legislature should be allowed to make the important decision as to whether they would prefer the closing of their schools on the one hand, to the gradual desegregation of the schools on the other hand, pursuant to the plan under consideration."

3. Since last July, and increasingly since December, sentiment has been building in favor of the adoption of local option legislation by the General Assembly. Most of the push for new legislation has come from the Atlanta area, from the metropolitan counties of Fulton and DeKalb. The debate has become statewide in recent weeks, however. The plan of the Atlanta School Board has won open support from the Atlanta Board of Aldermen and from Atlanta Mayor William B. Hartsfield. Pleading for freedom from state school closing laws, Mayor Hartsfield has declared, "we are in the grip of an all-powerful, rurally dominated state machine...."

No white leaders or groups in Georgia are supporting school desegregation but many are taking a stand in favor of uninterrupted public education even at the cost of some desegregation. There have been statements supporting this position from groups of clergymen, educators, scientists, physicians, and parents. A citizens' organization known as HOPE (Help Our Public Education) has come into being to rally mass support for continued public schools. Based in Atlanta, led by an attractive housewife and mother, Mrs. Thomas M. Breeden, HOPE has chapters throughout the state and claims the pledged support of 30,000 Georgians.

Other state-wide groups supporting this position include the Georgia Council of Churches, the state chapter of the United Churchwomen, Active Voters (a state-wide good-government political group), the state chapter of the American Association of University Women, the Council of Jewish Women, the Diocesan Council of Catholic Women, the Georgia League of Women Voters, and the Georgia Association of B'nai B'rith Lodges.

4. Governor Vandiver continues to take an uncompromising stand. He states that he will recommend no new laws and he promises to invoke the state laws providing for closure of any desegregated school. In his State of the State message to the opening session of the General Assembly, the Governor said, "We are going to resist - and - we are going to resist again and again and again. We will exhaust every legal means and remedy available to us. And when I say, every legal means and remedy, I mean every legal means and remedy. For the children of Georgia! For our heritage! For our fathers!"

5. An effort will be made in the current legislative session to revise or repeal the school closing statutes. Fulton County (Atlanta) Representative M. M. (Mugsy) Smith is sponsoring legislation that would set up a state-wide pupil placement plan. DeKalb County (Atlanta and Decatur) Representative James Mackay is pushing a "Parents Choice" amendment to present laws which would stipulate that the Governor could not cut off state support of desegregated schools unless and until a

majority of the parents of children in the schools affected voted in favor of school closure.

Governor Vandiver seems to be in firm control of the rurally-dominated General Assembly. There seems to be little hope for legislative passage of any local option laws or pupil placement plans.

Informed predictions are that there will be no new legislation at all or that the General Assembly will authorize the appointment of a special study commission to recommend possible legislation at a future date. Although the Governor has not openly supported the commission proposal it has won the public backing of House Speaker George L. Smith, Rep. Frank Twitty, administration floor leader in the House; and Sen. Carl Sanders, administration Senate floor leader. The League of Women Voters has sponsored the appointment of a study commission "to report to the 1960 session of the General Assembly."

The chances are that if such a commission is appointed it would be authorized to report back to the legislature by October or even next spring, 1961, in any event after the opening of the September, 1960, school term. Some segregationist leaders hope that the establishment of a study commission would be accepted by Judge Hooper as a good-faith effort and that in such case the Judge would delay his final desegregation order until a later time.

6. Political factors are very much in the background of the school desegregation controversy. Governor Vandiver is closely associated with Georgia's two U. S. Senators, Richard B. Russell and Herman E. Talmadge. He is often considered as heir-apparent to Russell's senate seat. Sen. Russell must run for re-election this year. All members of the General Assembly, too, must stand for re-election this fall.

The New Republic
1244 19TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

January 8, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Have we not now reached the point where some analysis of the Atlanta school situation is called for? If so and if you can possibly spare the time, will you send us either a memorandum or a draft of an unsigned editorial note bringing up whatever points you think would be of interest to a general audience.

Sincerely,

Helen Fuller
(gp)

HF:gs

(signed by secretary in her absence)

Telephone: REpublic 7-8656
Cable Address: NEWREPUB

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March 17, 1961

Miss Helen Fuller
Managing Editor
The New Republic
Washington, D. C.

Mailed to home address:
1635 Mass. Ave. N.W.
Washington 6.

Dear Helen:

Mike Straight, whom I saw recently, told me about your current project. This sounds like a wonderful and exciting assignment, for which no one is more perfectly suited than you.

I will indeed be in Washington soon and want nothing more than to get together with you. At the moment, it looks as though I will be there for the Civil Liberties Clearing House conference on Thursday and Friday of next week. If this materializes, I will call you first thing to see if we can work out a time. I am sorry not to be more certain about my schedule, but as I will explain to you, events are moving so fast that I can't be entirely sure about my whereabouts from one day to the next. In any case, I will see you very soon.

I have asked the appropriate people here to see that you are added to our mailing list at your home address.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1961

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Helen Fuller, Managing Editor

March 9

Dear Harold —

Have I told you that I am using a sabbatical year to write a book on "The First Year" of the Kennedy-Johnson administration? I am deep into it, and would love to discuss with you the most salient points to make about the South's relation to it all. Will you be in Wash. soon and if so can we lunch or dine together & settle everything?

Meanwhile could you ask that I be sent an extra copy

~~1244 Nineteenth Street~~, NW • Washington 6, D.C. • Federal 8-2494

of your newsletter and releases to my home where I am working:
1635 Mass. Ave. NW
Wash. 6, DC

Warm regards,
Helen

Southerners and Schools

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II - The "New Negroes" in Alabama

III - The Segregationists Go North

IV - Atlanta Is Different

V - New Orleans Knows Better

VI - Nashville—First Steps Firmly Taken

VII - Deliberate, Yes—Speed, No

by Helen Fuller

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Southerners and Schools

I—The Defiant Ones in Virginia

THE STATE that has borne the brunt of the "massive resistance" campaign against the Supreme Court is preparing to retreat. Gov. J. Lindsay Almond and Attorney General Albertis Harrison have sent word to the six other states of the old Confederacy which have made no move to comply with the 1954 school desegregation decision to count Virginia out. Watch out for falling rocks and know that Virginia has gone to prepare a safer place for you, the message said.

These other six "massive resisters" will be in no hurry to accept the invitation. In time they will follow as they have done so often in the past, but there is no reason to rush. Defiance of the Nine Men is as popular as ever. Most white people in the Deep South firmly believe as their political leaders and newspapers, with few exceptions, have told them unceasingly for four years that:

The Supreme Court decision on the schools was unconstitutional;

The federal government is interfering illegally with the right of the states to run their own schools;

Desegregation is not inevitable. If they resist long enough and hard enough, the Court will change its stand.

And most of them also believe it would be preferable to shut down schools rather than desegregate them—at least for a while.

Having created this solid body of opinion, the Deep South politicians will follow it until forced to do otherwise. And it will be months or, for most of the other six states, years before the federal courts will rule on the constitutionality of their resistance statutes and thus create pressures to change course.

In Virginia, however, the final blow to "massive resistance" is expected to fall at any moment (possibly before this article appears in print) in the form of a court ruling declaring unconstitutional the laws which closed nine schools in three cities last September to prevent desegregation. The state itself has asked the Virginia Supreme Court to review these laws. And in a separate federal court action a group of Norfolk white parents are suing state and local officials for depriving their children of the equal treatment to which they are entitled under the 14th Amendment: their children are locked out of school while Negro and white children in other Norfolk schools attend classes as usual.

If, as most lawyers anticipate, these cases establish that the state cannot legally close one of its public schools without closing them all, "massive resistance" will soon become an ugly phrase. For Virginia officials have learned in four short months what trouble too much resistance can bring.

☆

"Massive resistance" in Virginia did not come about by popular demand. Outside of the Black Belt area—south of the James River—the general disposition after the initial shock of the 1954 Court opinion was to prepare to accommodate to it. This was Governor Stanley's first reaction. And the influential *Richmond News-Leader's* first editorial after the decision said in effect "we must find a way to adjust to it . . . if the Court gives us 10 years, we can do it."

But in midsummer 1954 things changed. Black Belt Virginia—which has only one-sixth of the people (half Negro) but supplied all four leading candidates for Governor in 1956 and dominates the legislature—decided to fight. A delegation of several hundred from the Southside called on the Governor. A mass meeting at Petersburg, with all Congressmen and delegates from the area present, declared defiance and set to work circulating every county board of supervisors in the state: "If you don't want Negroes in your schools, write the Governor." Sixty-one county boards did. Senator Byrd, who until then had been silent, declared himself on the side of the resisters, whereupon *News-Leader* Editor James Kilpatrick marched to the head of the procession, which he has been leading ever since, writing editorials which keep the Black Belt inflamed and which read like memoranda of instruction to the Governor and the legislature, loaning

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HELEN FULLER, *a Southerner by birth and education, has recently completed a survey trip through the Southern states.*

THE SOUTH: 1954-1958

STATES DESEGREGATING AS ORDERED:

Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

STATES DIVIDED OR DELAYING:

Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas.

STATES RESISTING:

Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia.

fire-eating editorial writers to other editors when segregationist sentiment needs refueling in their territory, and exhuming the discredited Doctrine of Interposition upon which the "massive resistance" laws were based.

But though "massive resistance" was not of popular origin, the mass of Virginians willingly followed where Kilpatrick and the Byrd men led. Even when it appeared that schools would be closed as a result, most people remained passive. Last spring and summer in the three towns where shutdowns were scheduled for September, efforts to organize parent protests failed miserably. A few weeks later, when children were actually shut out of school, many of those same parents were ready to join local Save-the-Schools Committees, but the general public in the rest of the state still remains relatively unconcerned. "People don't get riled up until it hits right at home," those who have been hit explain.

Since September, however, there has been an important shift. Although it still is not respectable to advocate desegregation, it has become acceptable to stand for public education (Virginians understand the unspoken implication: "even if we have to let in a few nigras"). This is largely because influential state organizations which were neutral have now come to the defense of the schools. At its state meeting in November the Congress of white PTA's refused to support massive resistance and voted for local option (555-553). The Virginia Educational Association (white teachers and administrators) called on the legislature to promise that the public schools would stay open. The State League of Women Voters did the same.

Courageous individual clergymen are getting more support from clerical hierarchies. All Episcopal vestries in Virginia in October read from their pulpits a pastoral letter from the House of Bishops stating the Christian objection to segregation. (But only one vestry complied with the church's request that all of them pass concurring resolutions of support.) In almost every vestry, however, there are now teen-agers who have attended the non-segregated youth camps the Virginia Diocese has sponsored for the past five summers who do support the House of Bishops view.

The Baptist General Association of Virginia meeting in November refused Governor Almond a vote of confidence for his handling of the race question, and gave one instead to the president of the Southern Baptist Conference, the defeated "moderate," Rep. Brooks Hays. And even the staid Virginia Council of Churches tries to act as a deterrent force on massive resistance extremists—mindful that politicians say the only force the Byrd machine fears is the clergy.

A succession of daily papers, led by the Norfolk *Virginia-Pilot* and the *Roanoke Times*, have rejected massive resistance as a futile approach. And the *Richmond News-Leader* and *Times-Dispatch* have now joined them.

But much more disturbing to those who hold out for defiance of the Court are the signs that industry is not happy with what is happening to the schools.

When Save-the-Schools Committees from 15 communities gathered in Richmond on December 6, 1958, to form a state-wide organization, one of those present identified himself as the vice president of a new General Electric plant in Central Virginia (annual payroll: $5 million). He was there to see what could be done to keep the schools in his area open. If they closed he expected to lose at least one-fourth of his key employees—most of whom come from outside the state and could not be replaced under the circumstances.

Sperry-Rand in Charlottesville has already experienced what GE dreads. And Melpar, Inc., the largest employer in Northern Virginia, reports that it was having trouble holding electronics engineers and technicians even before closing threatened because of low standards in the schools.

But happy or not to be in Virginia those firms are there, and they are paying taxes, which Virginia badly needs. Norfolk banker Harry O. Nicholls broke sadder news to the Governor's Advisory Council on the Virginia Economy at a recent meeting. (Economic development was second only to continued school segregation in Almond's 1956 platform.) Mr. Nicholls reported that not a single new industry had settled in Virginia this year, although new industrial investment in North Carolina—whose token but "good faith" start toward desegregation has received court approval—totalled $250 million in 1958.

THE ELECTION returns in 1958 contained more food for thought.

Early on the morning after November 4, Governor Almond called sleepy-eyed reporters into a downstairs room of the Capitol to hear his version of the outcome. It was "a great tribute to Senator Byrd" and "a mandate of the people to continue 'massive resistance' to the Supreme Court's decision on the schools." (Only half a million of Virginia's 3.6 million people had voted, but

that was normal in the state with the smallest average voter turnout in the country.)

Senator Byrd had been unopposed for reelection until three days before the filing deadline, when a lady doctor announced as an independent because "somebody should oppose the man who plans to close the public schools." The fact that 120,000 Virginians, almost one-third of the total, had voted for Dr. Louise Wensel (whose name many of them saw for the first time on their ballots) the Governor explained away by pointing to a Negro precinct which had gone "two votes for Senator Byrd and 274 votes for *the woman*." (Even if every Negro in the state of Virginia with a paid-up poll tax had turned out for Dr. Wensel, that would have accounted for fewer than 50,000 votes.)

WHAT was interesting was the increase in the anti-Byrd vote—in Negro and white precincts alike—where "massive resistance" had closed or threatened to close the schools. Between the 1952 and 1958 Senatorial elections the anti-Byrd vote had increased from 17 percent to 34 percent in Charlottesville; from 29 to 40 percent in Norfolk; from 25 to 48 percent in the 10th District of Northern Virginia, where Arlington and Alexandria schools are scheduled to close next; and even rose .6 percent in Warren County (Front Royal), next door to Senator Byrd's apple empire along the Blue Ridge Mountains.

This was a long way from signalling the end of the regime that has ruled Virginia for 40-odd years. But the returns carried a warning, as the Governor acknowledged to the assembled reporters: "The trouble is that many people, more or less dedicated to constitutional principles, are not willing to make a sacrifice. They finally say, 'Well, we have fought as long as we can. Now let's turn around and run the other way'." Clearly some people who had been all for "constitutional principles" before their children lost their schools were now ready to run the other way. But many more in the same situation were not yet concerned enough to walk to the polls.

One reason was the emergency system of private classes that is operating in Charlottesville, Norfolk and Front Royal. The mothers who had been expected to revolt after Johnny had been underfoot all day for a week or so actually have not suffered too much from that. Most of the displaced children are either attending the makeshift part-time classes in such places as the Daughters of the Confederacy Museum (Front Royal), the First Baptist Sunday School or somebody's pine-panelled rumpus room, or have been entered in regular schools elsewhere.

But there are other frustrations. Mothers are bored with chauffeuring: four nine-year-olds on one block in Charlottesville go to classes in four different parts of town.

One parent whose basement is being used for a Fifth

Prodigal father

Grade says he didn't expect it to be so long—his light bills are killing him.

Many Norfolk parents are pinched to pay the private school tuition; others suffer to see their children being drawn into jobs which they almost certainly would not give up to return to high school now if it reopened.

Regular teachers in the emergency classes in Charlottesville are upset by the lack of contact with one another. Substitute teachers who are filling in want to get back to their own families.

High school juniors and seniors worry about getting into college—or having to stay in school an extra year to get a diploma. Naturally few recreation rooms have science lab equipment, and the lowered level of instruction generally must be obvious even to the student who prefers the emergency school because there is no law that says you have to go if you don't want to.

Towns, as well as parents and children and teachers, are affected. The traditional cleavage between those who value education and those who do not deepens, since those who are most opposed to education are also the most opposed to desegregation. Church congregations take sides for and against ministers with opinions on separation of the races. Members have been dropping out of Christ Episcopal Church in Charlottesville since it became the first church in town to open its doors to the segregated emergency classes. And Front Royal Baptists talked loudly of running the Reverends Stagg and

Fox out of town for opposing the closing of the high school.

Norfolk and Charlottesville have certain built-in stabilizers that help absorb such shocks. White people there are accustomed to seeing Negroes on the buses and in the libraries, in some graduate schools and nursing in hospitals. As cosmopolitan centers they have regular contact with people who do not practice segregation. Norfolk enjoys the benevolent effect of a constructive newspaper and Charlottesville that of Mr. Jefferson's University.

But Front Royal—and towns like it all across the South—have little experience of anything but the segregated way and few institutions to help them adjust to new ways. When the federal court ordered the Warren County white school to admit 17 Negroes, therefore, the shock waves gathered volume as they spread.

About 200 Negro families live in Front Royal (pop. 8,115). One-hundred-fifty of their breadwinners work in the big American Viscose plant which employs about 2,000 from the town. The plant is almost 100-percent organized by the Textile Workers' Union, AFL-CIO, and since 1948 the Negroes have met and voted with the white members, although they usually sit on the side or in the balcony. They used the union social hall for their parties, and the union voted special funds every year to buy pigs for Negro 4-H boys to raise and to pay $24-per-month for the last 10 years to sponsor a Negro religious program on the radio. Two years ago the union threatened to withdraw its contribution from the local Little League baseball team unless it agreed to let the Negroes play. Once the local included a Negro member in a union dinner and seated him next to a leading doctor who had never sat down to table with a Negro before. "We were making progress," the business agent, Chuck Leadman, says.

The union had been making social progress too. From being the object of bricks and scorn when they began to organize Viscose in 1940, union officers have advanced to election to the city council and the hospital board, and were now consulted by plant officials as equals.

It was embarrassing, therefore, when 17 Negro students, supported by the union's Negro members, filed suit for admission to the white high school in Front Royal.

When Leadman learned about the suit from the papers, he and some others drove to Richmond to explain to NAACP attorney Oliver Hill that he should call it off, and when Hill politely refused they went home sizzling. After all they had done for the Negroes! And what risks they had run of antagonizing their new friends in the community! By the time they returned, Leadman was saying: "We don't intend to let the colored man come in and kick us around. We are now ready to fight them as hard as we worked for them before. . . . I have broke with them because I am convinced they have not earned the right to support. . . . What we have to do to stave off integration we will do it. . . . If the colored want to travel this road, they can travel it alone."

Then on September 12 the Governor ordered Warren County High closed. Opinion on whether it was better to follow state or federal law on desegregating the schools had been about 50-50 in Front Royal up until then, good reporters say. But that began to change. Billy Armstrong, the local Byrd organization leader, passed the word that if Warren County didn't "stick with the team" there might be reprisals: maybe the legislature would overlook Warren on some appropriations.

Visitors came to town from the White Citizens Councils and the Defenders of State Sovereignty and street-corner groups began to talk learnedly of "mongrelization" and "communization"—and to accuse the few ministers who questioned closing the school of both.

The volume went higher when Jack Hamilton came to town. After Almond closed the Front Royal school, *News-Leader* Editor Kilpatrick suggested to the *Northern Virginia Daily,* which serves the area, that the local paper could use more editorial punch. To provide it he would let them have the son of his managing editor, a fiery, young arch-segregationist with a Patrick Henry style. That same week Jack Hamilton took over and began, as one resident describes it, "to really whip it up."

The voice of the moderates was scarcely audible in Warren County after his Baptist congregation threatened to fire Reverend Stagg for questioning massive resistance. And it fell completely silent after the local manager of the Viscose plant tentatively suggested they petition the state to return control of the high school to the town and met only hostility.

After that things moved fast. Eager to show that the union stood with the community against its Negro members, TWU leaders put through a $1-a-week wage check-off to pay for private classes for the locked out white students (amounting to $1,600-$1,700 per week, 50 percent of the total budget). Leadman suggests that Senator Byrd may have been of some help in arranging through the head office of Viscose in Philadelphia for the company to perform this unusual service.

Subscribers and advertisers expressed their disapproval of editorials in the weekly *Warren Sentinel* condemning the school closing by cancelling subscriptions and ads (the largest department store later found that this was not popular with its charge account customers who also value schools and put its ads back in the paper.)

Front Royal slowly froze into a policy of non-recognition of its Negro citizens. And today no white worker in the Viscose plant will speak to a Negro, and the company is being urged to bar Negroes from the cafeteria and canteen they have always shared. It is understood, however, Leadman says, that "nobody is going to get clobbered." The 150 Negroes in the plant are standing

together—except for one who took the floor in union meeting to say he was tricked into signing the petition for admission of the Negro students to Warren High. Not many of the others come to the union hall any more.

There is talk of an economic boycott by the whites against any merchant who employs a Negro. The stated goal: to run them out of town.

Meanwhile the county is rushing work on the new Negro high school that is going up to have it ready for next fall—in case the Negroes are still there.

And the Negroes say they are not about to go.

☆

Facing up to all these difficulties "massive resistance" has brought, the leaders in Richmond have resolved in the future to model themselves more after Gen. "Foxy Joe" Johnston—who slowed Sherman's march through Georgia to a walk by skillful defensive drives which spared his troops—than after Gen. John Bell Hood—who lost the battle for Atlanta by persisting in "senseless" attacks along Peachtree Creek until his entire force was spent. If they can't prevent desegregation forever, perhaps they can delay it at least a lifetime by litigation.

Virginia's leaders are currently thanking the Supreme Court for showing them what they believe is a way to do that. They see in the Court's sustaining of the Alabama Pupil Placement Plan a way to preserve *most* of their all-white schools for years, while shifting to the local communities the onus of countenancing what desegregation proves necessary to keep the federal law away from the door.

The Alabama Plan, which Governor Almond expects to recommend to a special session of the legislature when the present resistance laws are finally overthrown, is far more sophisticated than the patently absurd Doctrine of Interposition on which "massive resistance" is based. Instead of declaring war on the Court as Virginia did, Alabama proceeded to repeal every section of her constitution and statutes referring to segregation and enacted a new law to perpetuate segregation in the schools which contained no mention of race or color whatever. Under it, local school boards were simply empowered to assign students to schools according to a long list of criteria including health, suitability, adequacy, home environment and possible effects of the student's admission—but not race. Needless to say, no Negro has been assigned to a white school since the Placement Law has been in force. But there is nothing unconstitutional *on the face of it,* as the Supreme Court said on November 24.

With embellishments, it is this plan on which Virginia intends to make her next stand. One important addition Governor Almond contemplates is some kind of state tuition grant system to provide those who prefer to attend segregated private schools the money with which to do so. To increase the chances for court approval, the grants would be available to any student, white or colored, but there is little reason to believe that such an obvious subterfuge will get by for long. The scheme has immediate attractions, however. It would be an important sop to the Black Belt legislators who will kick and scream that the pupil placement plan is bending the knee to the Court. ("I'm afraid," says one legislator who wants to keep the schools open, "that if a vote were held in the Assembly today, it would eliminate public education. But Almond is a smart man and he may be able to feel his way through this thing and convince the Assembly his approach is the only way out.") It would also help conceal the fact that if Virginia administered the placement law in good faith, she would in reality be taking the path of token compliance for which her officials vilify North Carolina and Tennessee every day.

To further show his serious intention that private segregated schools are meant to be the main attraction and the slightly desegregated public schools only a side show to please the courts, the Governor will most likely request authority to sell unused schools as surplus to provide buildings for private schools, and to repeal compulsory public school attendance laws so as to provide pupils for the private schools.

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It is fitting that Virginia, which pioneered in "massive resistance," should lead the search for a way out of the constitutional impasse that doctrine has produced. Watching her progress should give some clue as to when the Deep South will finally surrender—as it must eventually—on the *principle* of public school segregation. The *practice* of desegregation, of course, will be farther in the future.

FROM THE *Richmond News-Leader*

1955

"In May of 1954, that inept fraternity of politicians and professors known as the United States Supreme Court chose to throw away the established law. These nine men repudiated the Constitution, spit upon the tenth amendment, and rewrote the fundamental law of this land to suit their own gauzy concepts of sociology. If it be said now that the South is flaunting the law, let it be said to the high court, *you taught us how.*"

1958

"This newspaper has concluded, in the light of recent events, that new defenses are urgently needed. If Virginia is to avoid defeat—if we are to be spared the awful tragedy of violence and race hatred that would result from integrated public schools to which there was no workable alternative—then we must prepare ourselves for speedy abandonment of a legal position that cannot be held much longer."

The "New Negroes" in Alabama

"IT'S JUST a question of who gets tired first, our side or the niggers. And it won't bother us a bit to spend the next generation in court," the lawyer said.

The "New Negroes"—cast in the mold of Martin Luther King—one meets in all the cities of the Deep South are no less resolute in their own cause.

It is strength matched against strength, with the Negro gathering confidence and determination by the day. And nowhere, everyone agrees, will the test be longer or more exhaustive than in Birmingham.

At the moment the contest there looks very one-sided. Everything is working for those who would pay any price to preserve segregation in the schools. Birmingham's largely industrial population (40 percent Negro), low in income and low in education, would face the possible closing of public schools—for a time—with greater equanimity than other cities of the region. A young city, founded only in 1870, Birmingham lacks deep cultural roots to steady it in times of change. And perhaps as a result, in the last 10 years the city has permitted the police free use of extra-legal methods against those who show any tolerance for integration.

Mail tampering by the police led to a federal conviction in 1955. Private interracial gatherings are customarily broken up by squad car officers with no warrants for search or arrest. Acts of violence go unpunished. The white press has reported 22 bombings and four cases of arson against Negro homes or churches in Greater Birmingham since 1947. Not a single arrest occurred, however, until last summer when Negroes caught two white men near a dynamiting and beat them up; the police arrested the two later in the hospital.

Compared with their peers in New Orleans or Atlanta, the "power structure" of Birmingham—known since Populist days in Alabama as the "Big Mules"—are lacking in financial courage and imagination. More interested in economy (they fought building a new city hall for years after the old one was condemned as a fire trap) than in growth (no new industry employing more than 1,000 workers has come to Birmingham since the war), they fail to see what sacrificing schools for segregation could cost the city.

The two daily papers are totally unreconstructed.

There are no effective voices of moderation. Those trade union leaders who have tried to talk reasonably about the Supreme Court position on the schools have found themselves in trouble when they came up for reelection. The state president of the Alabama AFL-CIO rode out such a storm (among other things he was accused of sneaking union funds to the NAACP), but race-baiting has become the accepted lethal weapon in factional union politics. White unionists had a large share a year ago in electing as city commissioner of police and education the most violent racist in Alabama politics, Eugene "Bull" Conner. Hayes Aircraft workers wrote Walter Reuther threatening to pull out of the UAW unless he stopped attacking segregation. And few Negroes attend union meetings any more.

The only faint sounds of respect for the Supreme Court ruling on segregation come from the clergy. The two manifestoes issued by the overwhelming majority of Atlanta ministers in support of compliance with the law respecting public schools evidently have pricked the consciences of some in Birmingham. A significant number of clergymen have condemned the bombings from the pulpit; a smaller handful make no secret of their belief that segregation is sinful. But a Birmingham manifesto on the order of the Atlanta declaration does not appear possible.

The men who dominate the Birmingham Ministerial Association are pastors of the oldest and biggest churches who have negotiated with businessmen in the building of their $3-$4 million plants for so long that they have come to think like them. And courage has not been synonymous with the Association. Last spring when there was an attempted bombing of the Beth-El Jewish Temple, the Ministerial Association met in special session to issue a strong condemnation. Two months later when a second attempt was made to blow up the Bethel Negro Baptist Church, presided over by Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth who had led the move to abolish segregation on buses, the Association had nothing to say. (When a meeting to protest was requested, it was refused on the ground that some members disliked Shuttlesworth personally.)

On the white side of the fence in Birmingham everything is running smoothly for the segregationists who are moving merrily along toward 1960, heating up race hatred to help carry Alabama for an Orval Faubus States' Rights ticket.

But in the longer run they have the likes of F. L. Shuttlesworth to deal with.

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White people in Birmingham who are inclined to sympathize with Negro aspirations for equal treatment generally do not include the Rev. Frank Shuttlesworth, pastor of the Bethel Baptist Church, in their expressions of good will. He "stirs the others up," they complain, "gives them ideas." Which is true. But except for Shuttlesworth the day of some token recognition of race equality in Birmingham would be much farther off than it is today. His critics can't cry "outside agitator" or "Northern influence," for Frank Shuttlesworth has rarely set foot outside of Alabama in all his 37 years.

Born in Montgomery, the slight, soft-spoken but extremely self-confident young preacher grew up on the outskirts of Birmingham where his stepfather worked in the mines at Oxmoor. After graduating from Rosedale High School, he married almost immediately, got a clerical job on the Air Force base at Mobile and started raising a family. In Mobile, Shuttlesworth began taking night courses at a Baptist seminary five miles away at Pritchett. That made him want to go back to school so much that in 1947 he quit his government job and moved his wife and three children to Selma, Alabama, where he entered Selma University, another Baptist institution. He did odd jobs at night and his wife worked, too. He stood first in his class. The next year he began preaching at a rural church 10 miles from Selma, and a few months later another little church at Potter's Station "called" him to be their pastor, too.

When the Shuttlesworths moved to Montgomery the next fall, in 1949, so that Frank could attend a college —Alabama State—which could award him a certificate to teach, he commuted the 50 miles back to Selma each weekend to tend his two rural flocks. And when the big Selma First Baptist Church lost its pastor the next spring, it was Shuttlesworth they called to replace him. He moved his family into the parsonage and went back to school.

When he received his A.B. at Selma University, he started commuting to Montgomery to complete the work for his teaching certificate, and after he got it he taught happily in Dallas County, an intransigent island of Confederate philosophy, for two years ("That was before I got into civil rights.")

In March, 1953, the Bethel Baptist Church called Reverend Shuttlesworth to North Birmingham where he did get into such things. In 1955, he took a hand in a long-standing effort to get Negro officers appointed to the city police force. Reverend Shuttlesworth persuaded 77 other Negro ministers to sign a petition, and he began knocking on doors at City Hall to find out why the delay on what every public administration study of Birmingham had recommended. "That was when I found out that the Southern white man can smile like he means 'yes' when he means 'hell, no'." City officials had actually promised to put Negro police on in 10 days when Emmet Till was killed. "I knew then there was just going to be a fight."

In recognition of what he had done on the police matter, the Birmingham chapter of NAACP invited Reverend Shuttlesworth to make the Emancipation Day speech on January 1, 1956. His talk on the three P's—Patience, Persistence and Perspective—made a big hit. He joined the NAACP then and as membership chairman had helped to build the local group to more than 3,000 when in June an Alabama circuit judge enjoined the NAACP from further activity in the state. "Nobody can explain how we felt that day they outlawed us, except it was like the day President Roosevelt died. Everybody went around asking everyone else, 'What are we going to do now?' "

"A few days later I happened by Arthur Shores' (local counsel to the NAACP) office on some other business and found a number of them sitting there asking each other what the NAACP could do. 'Gentlemen', I said, 'it is time the masses got in this struggle. . . . I have decided to stake my all on the altar and call a mass meeting.' I did, and that day we organized to attack segregation in Birmingham."

Shuttlesworth visited Montgomery where the bus boycott was on. And when the Supreme Court in December ruled that segregated seating on the Montgomery buses was illegal, he decided that it was time to move in Birmingham. On December 20 his people petitioned the city to rescind the segregation rules; otherwise, they warned, Negroes would "ride the buses unsegregated." On Christmas night, the Bethel Church parsonage was destroyed by a bomb; Shuttlesworth, his wife and children and a guest were slightly injured. But the next morning, as planned, Negroes seated themselves in the "white" (front) sections of buses and 22 were arrested. Shuttlesworth himself sat in the front seats of two buses and reported to the police that he had done so, but was not arrested for violating the segregation laws; he was, however, given a ticket for driving his car without a license. The following day he called off the massive non-violent defiance: "We have accomplished our purpose in getting these people arrested" and so requiring a legal test of the segregation laws.

(During the two years since the Christmas bombing the Shuttlesworth home and the Bethel Church have been under constant guard. Not by the police—they have never offered protection although detectives sit in Shuttlesworth's congregation every Sunday—but by vol-

unteers on regular shifts. One is always on duty in a shack back of the new parsonage that was built across the street from the church. Another guard keeps watch over the church from a high porch that has been added to a house across the way. When Shuttlesworth has to leave town overnight, someone stays in his home in his stead.)

An effort to test segregation in the waiting rooms of the railroad station soon after proved harder. Two Negroes, husband and wife, seated themselves in a room marked "Interstate and White Passengers" in the Terminal Station, and were arrested and jailed for daring to do so. When they brought suit in US District Court to test their rights, however, the police court charge against them was withdrawn in time to permit Federal Judge Seybourn Lynne to dismiss their petition because it had become "hypothetical."

That September Shuttlesworth took two of his children and two others to a white school to enter them on opening day. He was beaten by a mob outside the building, and the children were turned away. But suit was filed to test the constitutionality of the Pupil Placement Law which Alabama had passed in 1957 as her answer to the Supreme Court on desegregation. That suit was lost last November 24 when the Court refused to find the Placement Law unconstitutional *on its face*. But the next order of business on Shuttlesworth's personal calendar is to find another way to reopen the question of the law's legality.

Shuttlesworth had planned to press ahead on desegregating the public parks in 1958 too. A suit was to have been filed on November 18, but as it happened that day Shuttlesworth was in jail and his lawyers were busy. He and 17 other Negroes had been arrested in "white" seats in the buses again to test a new segregation ordinance.

These excursions are not without plan. Shuttlesworth believes that there must be attack along with resistance. It is not enough, he says, to refuse peace on the white man's terms; Negroes must take the initiative. "They should *ask* for the repeal of segregation laws even if they are not ready to file suits." And they should not pause between attacks. Timing is all important. And it is better to be ahead than behind. "Eisenhower always catches the bull by the tail rather than the horns and so gets tail results."

At first there were those among the Negroes who thought Shuttlesworth was too bold. The older preachers always had found it more comfortable to stir the fire with a long-handled poker. But there is no "vocal" opposition to his strategy now. The Negro ministry in Birmingham, like the teaching profession, is becoming younger. (Between one-third and one-half of the ministers could now be called "young.") They and the whole Negro community have felt delight in finding "that the Southern white man is not nearly the bugabear they thought he was" and in seeing Shuttlesworth give "Bull" Conner as good as he is given. And since January, 1957, the movement in Birmingham has gained status from alliance with other cities in what is called the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Martin Luther King, Shuttlesworth, C. K. Steele of Tallahassee and T. J. Jemison of Baton Rouge founded the new organization somewhat to the annoyance of the NAACP. The group has repeatedly denied that any rivalry exists, but Shuttlesworth does not shy away from expressing their difference in approach. He speaks with deep sincerity of the debt owed to the NAACP for preparing the ground for what is happening in the South today. The experience of Southern Negroes in the war, the Supreme Court decision on the schools, and the work of the NAACP produced the "New Negroes," and the NAACP should not be rated least of the three, he emphasizes. Shuttlesworth honors its work so much that he intends to take out a life membership when he gets the money. But the NAACP, in his view, "hasn't revised its policies to keep up with modern trends." Any organization that is "more class than mass" can not be truly effective now. "It is only through the masses, spiritually organized and committed to non-violence, that you are going to get the devotion and fervor it takes to go ahead. . . . It takes masses to meet massive resistance." The NAACP will probably be needed again "to put on the brakes," but there is no occasion to apply the brakes now, Shuttlesworth points out, "when the car isn't even moving."

The burden now must rest on the Southern Negro. There are liberal whites who would like to help, "but it is too dangerous for them. The bombings prove that." The federal government could help end segregation sooner, Reverend Shuttlesworth adds, but if it doesn't use its powers more forcefully than it is doing now, whether the Civil Rights Act has a "Section 3 or a Section 10, won't make any difference." He scorns the Civil Rights Commission for compromising with the State of Alabama on the matter of subpoenaing registration records. Compromise is no good, he says: "Where did the Missouri Compromise and the Wilmot Proviso lead but to the Civil War?"

Frank Shuttlesworth does not try to conceal his pride in his new-found gift of leadership. He frankly takes credit for firing the minds and imaginations of Birmingham Negroes to claim their rights. And he considers it a personal triumph that after 2½ years and 33 mass meetings his following is not discouraged. They come as often as they are called together, and they give whenever they are asked.

The main thing, he says, is to keep on keeping on. "The Alabama situation is like a rock you know is hard. You keep pounding and chiselling and it probably won't break with the stroke you expect, but it will fly wide open with one you didn't."

The Segregationists Go North

THE STATES of the Deep South are shifting their strategy of "massive resistance" from defense to attack. They will lose their leader, Virginia's Governor Almond, on January 19 (Robert E. Lee's birthday) if the courts, as expected, on that day declare void the laws Virginia passed to evade the 1954 decision desegregating the public schools. But the six remaining Confederate states which have refused to take even one step toward compliance with the 1954 Court order are resolved not to go Virginia's way without much more of a struggle. There is plenty of fight left in the Eastlands, the Russells, the Talmadges and the young fire-eating Governors of Alabama and Georgia. And they are now about to take the battle into enemy territory. A second battle of Gettysburg is about to begin, this one to be fought with the techniques of psychological warfare, aimed at the public outside the South, the Congress and conservative leaders in both major political parties. Object: to win sympathy for the segregationist view behind the enemy lines, support for curbing the powers of the Supreme Court by law, and agreement to nullify the New Reconstruction of 1954 as the Compromise of 1877 nullified Reconstruction before.

The first task—making common cause with new allies outside their region—the New Confederates approach with great zest, for most of them sincerely believe that down inside most people outside the South feel toward the Negro about the way Southerners do. The trouble, they feel, is that the average person above the Mason-Dixon Line doesn't understand how fair and kind—how separate but equal—the South is willing to be. The misunderstanding comes, they further believe, largely because of the "paper curtain" which the Northern press has placed around the South; "all they print is the gory stories." "Lay your case before the American people," Senator Eastland recently assured the convention of the Mississippi Farm Bureau Federation in Jackson, "and you will be surprised to find how similar their opinions are to those of your own." And so the massive resisters have decided to tell the rest of America "just the honest story," "with no Bilbo business."

This Southern campaign to convert the North, East and West will not be of the order of magnitude of a Billy Graham Crusade, but it is well-organized and well-financed. Some states have already allocated public funds to propaganda bureaus which are pouring out pamphlets and "fact sheets" on the shortcomings of the Negro and the Supreme Court. Over the Great Seal of the State of Louisiana, the Joint State Legislative Committee, headed by Sen. W. M. Rainach, who speaks for the Louisiana White Citizens Councils in the legislature and is a leading candidate for Governor next year, has printed as a full-page advertisement in *The New York Herald-Tribune* a message addressed "To the People of New York City" on "The Position of the South on Race Relations" (See p. 11). The Committee subsequently "distributed several thousand tear sheets of the ad to key officials, publications and organizations throughout the United States," Senator Rainach says. "And after running out of all the tear sheets except a handful, we reprinted the ad in mail sheet form and distributed several thousand of these sheets also."

Senator Eastland is urging that the other defiant states go and do likewise. Citing the *Herald-Tribune* ad as an example of the wise use of public funds, Eastland told the Farm Bureau convention that "the Southern people have got to lay their case before the nation, and we must use our tax money to get the job done."

There are leaders in all six bitter-end states who agree. Out of Alabama has come a new "Putnam Letter Committee," headed by James E. Simpson, leading Birmingham Dixiecrat and lawyer for some of the biggest of Alabama's "Big Mules." The Committee's purpose is to publicize a beguiling "Dear Mr. President" letter, signed by Carleton Putnam, a Northerner who has spent many years as an airlines executive in the South. The "Putnam Letter," has already been published as a large ad in *The New York Times* and is to be placed in newspapers all over the country. Arguing that the Court decision in the school case is personal opinion, not law, and that equal protection under law is not a right in the United States but a social privilege, the Letter declares:

> Neither the North, nor the court, has any holy mandate inherent in the trend of the times or the progress of liberalism to reform society in the South. In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and, in

ADVERTISEMENT

To The People of New York City

The Position of the South on Race Relations

Recent tragic events in the integrated schools of Washington, D. C., Kansas City, Little Rock, and your own New York City, suggest that an accurate presentation of the views of Southern people on the race question might receive sympathetic consideration in the North and might even contribute to the solution of a problem in which we are now all concerned.

A PROBLEM UNIQUE WITHIN OUR NATION

Here in the United States, we are witnessing an unprecedented attempt by certain white and Negro leaders to force the Negro people of our country to abandon their own culture and mores, lose themselves physically and culturally within other races, and commit racial suicide.

Meanwhile, outside of the United States, every dynamic racial group in the world pridefully promotes its own culture. In view of their examples, should we not look twice before we leap?

In looking, we do not propose here to review the influences behind the "integration" movement. (For detailed analysis of a major influence we recommend that you review "Subversion in Racial Unrest," a documented study recently released by this Committee). Rather, let us here consider the logic of the movement and its ultimate effect on a country that we all love and cherish.

THE AMERICAN MAJORITY: A BLEND OF HOMOGENEOUS PEOPLES

You may ask: Doesn't this great country of ours represent a melting pot of different races? From a scientific standpoint, the answer is an unequivocal – NO!

The vast majority of this nation represents a blending of like peoples of common European ancestry, rather than a mixing of divergent races. But the energy and vitality which made America a great nation arose neither from racial self-idolatry nor racial suicide – it was an outgrowth of a passionate love of individual liberty, balanced by a sense of justice and individual responsibility which makes this liberty possible. On such a foundation, a new nation was created, capable of winning and retaining the love and loyalty of peoples of different races, different cultures and different religions.

WHAT ABOUT THE AMERICAN NEGRO?

We in the South think of our colored friends as Negro Americans, rather than as American Negroes. The normally cordial relationships between Southern white and colored people are regulated by a set of conventions or customs, the product of years of experiment and experience in adjusting to a bi-racial society.

RACIAL PATTERNS--A COMMUNITY MATTER

These customs vary widely from state to state and indeed from community to community. Until May 17, 1954 each community in the South was a laboratory in which many of these customs were being constantly examined and revised to meet changing conditions. Each community adapted itself to the problems which confronted it.

It is significant that all of the communities in the South and, indeed, many of the communities in the North, agreed that separation of the races in the fields of elementary and secondary education was essential.

THE SOLUTION NORTH AND SOUTH

This method of adjustment, which has been loosely referred to as "Segregation", enabled both the Negro and white people in the South to overcome the devastating effects of the War Between the States and pile up a record of progress second to none in history.

We believe it will, in practice, enable our Northern friends to adjust themselves to the more than one-half of the Negroes in this country who will live in the North by 1980.

A DANGEROUS PARALLEL

Now we are told that this is all wrong – that each community must conform to one unvarying racial pattern – complete integration – prescribed and enforced by a central governmental authority. But, the disastrous results of this policy are causing Americans to ask themselves: **Is forced racial integration the answer?**

At one time the belief was prevalent that all must attend the same church to prosper in the next world, as well as in this one. Many futile attempts of powerful groups in Europe to force their religious views on others only succeeded in dividing the continent into hostile camps. Ghastly wars and senseless massacres occurred in the conflicts over the rights of mankind to individuality, **this time in the field of religion.**

Today peoples of different religions may attend different churches without "degradation" or "psychological injury" to their personalities. Indeed, no one questions the right of a great religion to prohibit nonmembers from participating in certain of its rituals or partaking of its sacraments. **"Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other!"**

THE BEACON OF THE FUTURE

The trend to differentiation, racial and religious, represents a natural law, as well as a basic human right. Any attempt to force a rigid conformity in such matters of human relations must inevitably result in a repetition of the deadly European pattern of religious conflict.

Upon the establishment of workable race relations hinges the very fate of our great country. In the Talmud is a saying to the effect that **time may, in some situations, resolve problems which cannot be solved by human intelligence at the moment. Now is the hour for Americans of all races to heed the wisdom of this counsel.**

The Joint Legislative Committee

State of Louisiana

Baton Rouge

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the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word "association" here, I mean the right to associate with whom you please, and the right not to associate with whom you please.)

The Putnam Committee raises funds privately for its promotion. But Florida legislator William H. Reedy shares Eastland's view that such projects are public business. He proposes a program of Southern aid to federal education on the Southern view, to be supported by appropriations of $1 million per year from each state participating. "The South must sell its ideas the way Hollywood producers sell starlets," Reedy says. And the Conference of Southern Governors has invited him to its next meeting to discuss details.

(Georgia's Sen. Richard Russell is for educating the rest of the country to Southern problems, too, but he would let those on the receiving end pay for the privilege. He promises us a bill this year to provide federal aid to Southern Negroes who wish to move to states with smaller Negro populations in order "to give each state an equal share of the race problem.")

THE FUNDS the South is willing to invest in enlightenment of the North are supposed to yield dividends this very year in the form of aid toward passage of the Smith bill to curb the Supreme Court.

First introduced in 1955, HR 3—which would repeal the long-standing doctrine of federal preemption and place primary jurisdiction in the state courts unless specifically withheld by Congress—passed the House last year by a large majority of Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans (241-155). In the end-of-session confusion the Senate defeated it by only one vote. Rep. Howard Smith (D, Va.) has reintroduced HR 3 in the new Congress and because of his position as chairman of the powerful Rules Committee should be able to push it through the House again, even though the measure has lost supporters because of Republican casualties in the November election. For the same reason the new Senate should be more opposed to passage of HR 3 than the old, but the foes of the Court are also vastly more determined.

The Smith bill of itself is an important Southern objective, as a symbol of antagonism to the Court's leadership in forcing the segregation issue in the most direct way since Reconstruction days. But even should passage fail again, a close hard-fought decision would be worth the price of the propaganda effort required to produce it. A lengthy battle over the court curbing measure in advance of consideration of new civil rights enforcement legislation—which Southerners could easily manage with their command of traffic through their committee chairmanships—would contribute to their larger objective: preventing the Congress from adding the force of its approval to the position of the Court on desegregating public schools "with all deliberate speed."

At all costs the massive resisters must prevent reenforcements from reaching the Judiciary, which stands today as the lone leader in the New Reconstruction. The murmurs of encouragement to the courts which have risen faintly from the Department of Justice and the ill-calculated relief offered by the President in the Little Rock affair hardly qualify as major assists. Congress, in effect, has remained neutral. And it is imperative for those who defy the Court to keep it that way. Lyndon Johnson helped a lot by taming the new Senate a few hours after it walked into his cage, and so leaving the filibuster in good working condition. But a hard-fought, even if finally losing battle to punish the court for its recent conduct would offer invaluable opportunities to make sure that Congress does not suddenly decide to get behind the Supreme Court. In the midst of debate and backstage maneuvers there is always room for wheeling and dealing. When the vote is close, trades can sometimes be made which change other close votes on other days. In such a situation the South's polished professionals would surprise everyone if they walked out of the cloakrooms without a stack of IOU's payable when federal enforcement of school desegregation became the question before the house.

If the states which shout "Never!" can prevent the 86th Congress from passing legislation supporting the Court, they will be free to attempt the next huge step in their plan for total escape from the toils of the New Reconstruction: Persuade the reformers to give up. Historically, this is not so far-fetched as it sounds. The ephemeral historic importance "of such earlier landmarks as the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, the Dred Scott decision of 1857, the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and 1875, the Fourteenth Amendment of 1867, or, for that matter, the Volstead Act of 1919—all of which were in some degree nullified by events or public sentiment—should remind us," Vann Woodward, the leading historian of the American Reconstruction period remarks. " . . . how precarious are the fortunes of American statesmanship when it operates against the mass opposition of a significant section of the country."

"Reconstruction," Professor Woodward observes,

> affords the most extreme example in our history of an all-out effort by the majority to impose its will upon a recalcitrant and unwilling minority region. . . . In spite of the relative weakness and helplessness of the resistant South, in spite of the determined idealism of the Northern reformers . . . the fact is that the great experiment ended in disillusionment and default. The gains made on paper were never fully implemented in practice, or they were eroded away by compromise, concession and "interpretation." Apathy and indifference replaced the original idealism of the reformers. It was the will of the defeated, discredited and, for a time, helpless South that prevailed in the end.

Atlanta Is Different

THE MANNER in which the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals and a special Federal District Court in Norfolk chose to celebrate Robert E. Lee's birthday this year (January 19) has changed things for the South.

The "little bit of integration" which will surely result from the orders outlawing the Virginia brand of "massive resistance" to the 1954 Supreme Court decision on segregation in the schools will make compliance easier in the states where that has been the course. North Carolina and Tennessee will be relieved of jeers from their neighbors about their faithlessness to the white man's cause. (Only a few weeks ago former Governor Tuck of Virginia was expressing public sympathy for the poor people of North Carolina whose leaders lacked the gumption to stand up to the Supreme Court as Senator Byrd and Governor Almond were doing.) And additional towns and cities in those states will be willing to try "token" integration if Norfolk and Charlottesville and Alexandria are trying it too.

Farther south, also, this can happen. The considerable sentiment for integrating a "pilot school" to test limited "voluntary" desegregation which already existed in Miami, Florida, is strengthened. Gov. Leroy Collins has warned that the state's pupil assignment law won't stand up in the courts forever if it is used to bar Negroes from white schools completely. "We must be prepared to accept some desegregation, somewhere, sometime," says the Governor who has visions of representing the moderate South on a national Democratic ticket. And the cosmopolitan community of Miami, led by men who know that racial tensions can be bad for business, may decide to make the sacrifice. What has happened in Virginia should make that decision easier to swallow for the majority of Miamians who oppose integration but want a peaceful, prosperous community.

But the January 19 Virginia court decisions will not temper defiance in the other five Confederate states which have refused, along with the Old Dominion, to take one voluntary step to obey the Supreme Court. Too many political lives are now staked on keeping schools segregated. The new young Governors Georgia and Alabama inaugurated this month won out in contests during which extravagant promises were made. (Georgia's Ernest Vandiver even pledged to use state troopers and guardsmen to keep the schools segregated after his opponent seemed to be causing trouble with the charge that Vandiver was "soft on segregation"; Vandiver, he said, had permitted Negroes and whites to be served barbecue in the same line at a political rally in Thomason.)

This year's campaign for Governor of Louisiana, with the leader of the White Citizens' Councils, State Sen. W. M. Rainach, as the man to beat, will be in the same groove. And both Senators Sparkman (Ala.) and Russell (Ga.) know what could happen to them in 1960 if they display the slightest doubt that it is better to close the schools than desegregate them. (Former Gov. Marvin Griffin, who did so much to egg on Orval Faubus, is searching for grounds on which to challenge Russell.)

It is politically necessary for defiance to go on in the Deep South. But the January 19 decisions in Virginia leave only one way open—a hard way. The laws passed since 1954 to give Southern Governors the power to close individual schools rather than desegregate them when ordered are now useless. To close one school without closing all is to deny some children their right to equal protection under the 14th Amendment, the federal Court has ruled. All that is left to try is the far more difficult expedient of creating a "private" segregated system of schools to take the place of the public ones. In the case of Virginia the Court has ruled that the state must maintain unsegregated public schools (how adequately supported is another matter), but it also grants the right of a state to make tuition grants to pupils who prefer to attend other schools (including segregated ones) provided that the funds for those grants are appropriated especially for this purpose and not taken from public school monies.

Georgia's new Governor was ready with bills to put such a system in operation—complete with tax deduction privileges for those who contribute to private education—the day the Virginia opinion was announced. (A team of Georgia lawyers had been conferring with officials in Richmond beforehand.) The "private" school tuition grant is undoubtedly to be the South's new second line of defense now that the battle of Richmond is lost.

For states like Mississippi, South Carolina and Ala-

bama there is no particular hurry in preparing the new position. Thanks to the restraint of the NAACP, hard-core black belt areas are not the object of early suits to force school desegregation. White leaders there have plenty of time to plug away at the larger tasks of building sympathy for their point of view on race matters in the North, East and West, blocking support for the Supreme Court school opinion in Congress, and preparing the ground for a strong states rights third-party effort in 1960 (see *NR*, January 26, 1959).

But it is much later in Georgia and Louisiana, where federal court orders to admit Negroes to white schools in Atlanta and New Orleans are expected before the new term begins next September. In both places the emergency could be met with comparative ease by rescinding laws restricting state support to segregated schools and allowing the two cities to decide for themselves whether to shut their schools or take in a few Negroes. But in both places, although the opposition would not be inconsiderable, the likelihood is that the schools would remain in operation if there were a referendum on the question of desegregated schools or no public schools. And for that reason there is no inclination in the capitals of either state to take the local option way out. No other Georgia or Louisiana city, town or hamlet would vote as Atlanta and New Orleans might today. But one small instance of integration, the politicians have learned, lets the steam out of the whole issue—not with a whoosh, but by slow leak. (Just look at North Carolina and Tennessee!)

For practical reasons, therefore, Deep South politicians cannot back down before 1960. For such equally practical reasons as money, buildings, teachers and taxpayers suits it is hard to imagine anything like a workable system of segregated private schools ready for operation in Atlanta and New Orleans by the time the courts have ordered them to cease operating segregated public schools. And the practical result can only be that more than 100,000 children (1/3 Negroes) in Atlanta and 86,000 (more than 1/2 Negroes) in New Orleans may find themselves without schools next year, as Virginia children have this year. That is, unless the cities affected can force the states to cut them free from the laws which require defiance to the bitter end.

ATLANTA is the first Southern city to become greatly exercised about the possible loss of its schools far ahead of the time it might occur. Virginia, remember, was not concerned until after the fact. But though the decision of the Federal District Court in *Calhoun v Latimer, et al,* the case testing segregation in Atlanta public schools, will come late next summer at the earliest, the subject of the schools was already the number-one news story in Atlanta last November.

The reasons are several. Most important is the fact that Atlanta has—and has had for 22 years—a mayor with remarkable foresight. Bill Hartsfield has made Atlanta the leading city of the region—replacing Richmond, the recognized Southern capital for so long—by anticipating what roads, schools, parks, airports and other facilities were required to make it so and arousing in its citizens the same pride he feels in the city. He can see ahead now to what Atlanta would be like if its schools were shut down, and he does not intend to have his fifth —and probably final—term as mayor end on a sour note, if there is any way to prevent it. He has taken pride too in the fact that race relations are admittedly better in Atlanta than elsewhere in the Deep South. Rural Georgians who have moved to Atlanta and industrial jobs in recent years, however, resent the mayor's insistence on fair play for the Negro and expressed their hostility in his last re-election. Hartsfield won his 1957 primary by only 3,000 votes. Many times that number of Negro votes were cast—and Hartsfield was solid in Negro wards. Some human gratitude may underlie his concern that Atlanta consider the school question coolly.

A good chance to start the city thinking early came when a local lawyer, Morton Rolleston, Jr., ventured the opinion last November that Atlanta should be preparing to sell her school buildings to private parties in line with state plans to prevent desegregation. Months in advance of the time he had expected an open move to abolish the schools, the mayor was ready with a prompt and pithy answer. Closing the schools was unthinkable, he said, and Atlantans should have a chance to vote on whether they wanted public schools (desegregated) or no public schools.

The mayor's blast at Rolleston set off bursts of fire in his support. His years of good government have built up reservoirs of public confidence. So it was not the job it would have been in most cities to organize the manifestoes of support for Hartsfield's position which quickly came from 311 ministers and rabbis, 419 Atlanta doctors, two-thirds of the Emory University faculty, Agnes Scott professors, the local chapter of the Scientific Research Society of America and Parent-Teacher Associations all over the city.

Few communities have so effective a group of public-minded professionals to rally them in time of need. In almost daily touch with one another in their regular businesses of the law, journalism, merchandising, advertising, banking, social work, the ministry and education, their lines of communication extend to Negro leaders of the city as well as City Hall. "You hear a lot about the closing of the lines of communication between the races since 1954," one Negro leader says, "but it isn't true here. Even if the schools were closed I don't think the existing channels for bringing white and Negro leaders together when needed would be broken. Some superficial ones would be. We might not be meeting with the church ladies so often to discuss race relations, but with the experienced and sophisticated whites we have

moved into a deeper level of communication that would last."

Atlanta opinion makers, now alerting the city to the danger to the schools while there is still time to protest, have far more positive forces to work with than a similar group — if it existed — would have in any other Southern city. In Editor Ralph McGill and the *Atlanta Constitution* the city has a constructive voice almost unique in the South. McGill's front-page editorials after May, 1954, were the first to warn where massive resistance would lead. They are still about the wisest, most illuminating writing one can read in the South—and the most comforting to the much-abused Southern moderates who, McGill says, will rise again. ("They have learned the difference between frustration and defeat.")

The city of Atlanta, like the state, has an uncommon interest and pride in its educational system. Since the early days of this century when public education was exceedingly meager, progress has been great in Georgia. Fifty-three percent of the total state budget now goes for schools. This amounts to three times as much for schools as Georgia's total budget 15 years ago, and local expenditures are on top of that. State money pays only one-third of Atlanta's school bill; the balance is financed from local taxes. So large an investment is not tossed away lightly.

The fact that Atlanta is a hub city, with thousands of branch offices and a daily flood of visitors from other states with non-Southern ways gives it metropolitan values. ("People are always coming through Atlanta on the way to some other place. But you have to deliberately set out to go to Birmingham and Nashville and Memphis.") Atlanta, under Mayor Hartsfield, has courted the outsiders—for their trade—even when this has meant some bending of local custom. (Georgia laws forbid the sale of mixed drinks in public places, but Atlanta's better hotels serve cocktails without subterfuge. The "woolhat" boys in the legislature make a big to-do about it every year or so, but Mayor Hartsfield says how can you expect Big City people to bring their conventions to Atlanta unless it acts like the regional capital it is?)

As a university center for more than 50 years, Atlanta has a large pool of high-quality Negro leadership. These educated men and women create a different, more acceptable image of the Negro than white people in most other Southern cities see. A Negro professor of history was elected over a white candidate to the Atlanta City Democratic Committee not long ago. Due to the pioneering of men like A. T. Walden, who began the practice of law in the city 40 years ago when Negroes were not even welcome in the courtrooms, strong interracial business contacts exist. Negro executives of the Citizens' Trust Company, working with fellow members of the Federal Reserve System in leading white banks like the Fulton National and First National, have negotiated financing for millions of dollars worth of Negro housing. Atlanta Life and Southeastern Fidelity, two large Negro insurance companies, have helped obtain more such mortgages through their contacts with white companies in the same fields.

All of these forces are working to save the public schools by persuading the legislature to cut Fulton County free from state laws which prevent compliance with the Supreme Court. But the strongest potential force in the community has not chosen to make itself felt. The so-called "power structure"—the name commonly applied to the ruling business groups by the knowing ones in every Southern city—has not had the urge to assert its political power on behalf of the schools. The Mayor has called more than one meeting of the financial giants —Georgia Power, Coca-Cola, Rich's Department Store, Ford and General Motors branch managers, and the bankers and insurance mortgagers—to try to arouse them to head off the crisis in the schools, but though agreeing about the damage that closing the schools would do, they claim that their former political influence with the state government has evaporated.

True, they say, they once had enormous power over elected officials through the legal retainers and campaign contributions they conferred. But that was when Georgia's Governors in the 'thirties had to run the state on a budget of $30 million. Today's Governor has access to well over $300 million per year, generated by sales taxes and the new prosperity of the region, and is not dependent upon the "power structure" as his predecessors were. But it is also true that when its influence was at its height the "power structure" was reluctant to test it in the field of race relations.

Nevertheless, the present campaign to rally the city to the support of the schools has produced impressive results. By good publicity techniques, for example, a routine speech to the PTA of Spring Street Elementary School was turned into the kickoff of a sizable "Save Our Schools" movement. Two days after Hartsfield's initial attack on the "sell the schools" proposal, Fulton County Representative M. M. ("Muggsy") Smith, a beloved Georgia Tech football star 30 years ago and a Presbyterian deacon ever since, told an audience which overflowed the school auditorium why he agreed with the mayor and would fight for local option in the legislature. His words were on every radio and television station an hour later, and hundreds of "We *Want* Public Schools" stickers were ready for the audience to paste on their cars that night. The next morning, mothers from neighborhoods all over Atlanta gathered downtown to plan rallies in their schools similar to Spring Street's. Someone had been alert enough to have pamphlet reprints of "Muggsy" Smith's speech of the night before ready by 10 a.m. for the ladies to take home and distribute.

The spark has spread in Atlanta. The Fulton County grand jury called on the Chamber of Commerce to set

up a bi-racial commission to ease the tensions which are likely to grow as time for the school segregation decision approaches. The Chamber says it is not the proper body to do so. But a dozen civic groups have now joined to create such an interracial citizens' committee in the near future.

Concern for Atlanta's schools, however, stops at the Fulton County line. The war between Atlanta and the state of Georgia assures the city of little sympathy or consideration at the Capitol. Under the Georgia County Unit System, Fulton County with its 571,600 people has no more power in state affairs than Troup County, with a population of 54,700.

Since 1917, votes cast in each of Georgia's 159 counties are counted under a system which gives the average voter outside of Fulton County 11.5 times as much voting power as a resident of Fulton. And as more Georgians move from the rural areas to the city the inequality becomes even greater. (In 1920 Fulton County contained 8 percent of the total population of Georgia but wielded only 1.5 percent of the voting power; in 1948 Fulton had 14.6 percent of the population, but still only 1.5 percent of the voting power.)

Governor Vandiver and Senators Russell (his uncle by marriage) and Talmadge (his associate in business) can afford to ignore Atlanta's wishes and preserve the segregation issue for 1960, and it seems that this is what they intend to do.

New Orleans Knows Better

WITH THE SURRENDER of Virginia, the present-day war against the Supreme Court is actually over, but word of this, as in Andy Jackson's day, may not reach Louisiana until after a second Battle of New Orleans has been needlessly fought. Those Louisiana leaders who see a third-party states' rights bolt in 1960 as the final desperate way left to nullify the 1954 decision desegregating the schools need the drama of a pitched battle if they are to win the Governorship this year, and through it control of the state Democratic Party machinery before the 1960 convention.

Lawyers on both sides of *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board*, the New Orleans public school desegregation case under appeal for three years, anticipate that a final ruling will come before the next September term. If, as there is every reason to expect, Federal Judge Skelly Wright then orders the New Orleans School Board to admit some Negroes to some white schools, the way will be open for the extremist White Citizens' Councils to make school segregation the central issue in the Governorship election in December. What happened when this occurred in Alabama and Georgia in 1958 will most likely recur in Louisiana in 1959. The other candidates, taunted by the spokesman of the WCC, will outpromise each other on the lengths to which they will go to preserve segregation, and Louisiana will wind up with a Governor committed in advance to closing the public schools, as the new Governors of Georgia and Alabama are today.

New Orleans would be the first to suffer and, if allowed to choose for herself, would probably, like Atlanta (see *NR*, Feb. 2, 1959), accept some Negroes into the white school system rather than relinquish public schools entirely. But like Atlanta, New Orleans is at the mercy of the Governor and the legislature. Although Louisiana has no discriminatory County Unit System like Georgia's, Orleans Parish is definitely a minority voice in state government (with 600,000 people out of 2.7 million, who cast 165,000 out of the 617,000 votes for President in 1956). It is only one of three separate and nearly equal parts: "the North, the South and The City —New Orleans," as Harnett Kane explained so well in *Louisiana Hayride* some years ago:

> The South is the Louisiana of earlier stories, though altered somewhat by economic trends: the land of the swamps and the bayous, of liquid French and semi-liquid topography, an area of alluvial enriched soil that "grows where you stick your finger in it." Its people are fishermen, trappers, sugar and rice workers; and plantation owners are still powerful figures.
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> The North is another land, another people, the red hills and the red necks. The soil is dry, hard, thin, the kind over which a man may break his back and yet not make a living. Its population are small farmers, country store-keepers, small town clerks. They are so-called Anglo-Saxons with little mixture of race.
>
> The South is tolerant, easy-going, Catholic. The North is tight-lipped, grim-eyed, Puritan, Protestant. Between the "hard-shelled Baptist country" and the "soft-shelled crab land" are barriers of economics, of race, of creed. In each want . . . is differently accepted. In the North it has brought cankering hatred; it has meant lynchings of Negroes, membership in organizations of dissent, anti-Papism, anti-liquor, anti many things. In the South it has meant volatile debate, perhaps; but that has ended in quiet if regretful assumption of the burden, with a shrug and an "Eh, bien!" South Louisianans have seldom tortured the blacks or one another. They have been inclined to orthodoxy in politics and have often accepted New Orleans and what it stood for, to them, while the North coldly rejected the scarlet witch.
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> A rule to herself, then, remains New Orleans. . . . No Atlanta, no city of Southern go-getters, she is still the place of good food, good times, good manner of living; still the place wicked (mechante is the proper word) and happy in her wickedness. She draws much of the wealth from the rest of the state and from her trade territory in adjoining states. In her business area center the financial resources of the lower valley of the Father of the Waters, and the control of these resources. The South has distrusted the North, the North has hated the South; speaking strictly, of course, of Louisiana. Both, however, have feared New Orleans.

And they fear New Orleans today, with good reason, as a chink in the wall of "states' rights" defiance of the Supreme Court. "New Orleans should have been the leader in peaceful integration in the South," a Jesuit leader in the city for 20 years explained to me on a quiet Sunday afternoon.

> We have had a steady mixing of races and cultures since the first French settlers came. Our Catholic culture is Latin, not Irish, a difference in terms of tolerance. People from all over the world who swarm through here teach us cosmopolitan ways, and our daily trade contacts with Latin America are as close as those with Houston and Mobile.
>
> New Orleans has never had tight residential restrictions. No Negro section of town was more than four blocks from a white one, until new suburbs were built up after the war (private builders following the public housing pattern now build them all-Negro or all-white). And New Orleans Catholics are accustomed to sitting beside Negroes in church. (There are 14 Negro Catholic parishes in the city but there is lots of mixing of races for Sunday Mass. The present Archbishop has insisted on no segregation in services and gets it, at the great St. Louis Cathedral as elsewhere.)

Certainly there is a tendency in New Orleans to go along with non-Southern ways. The community has given in, slowly but finally, on every one of the federal court decisions which have been chipping away at segregation in the city for years: admitting Negroes to the golf links, the public library (which had Negro branches but did not admit colored to the Central Library), the new New Orleans branch of Louisiana State University, to all seats in the public buses, and finally and most recently, to all the recreation facilities of the city. "When change does come, nothing happens."

Naturally this is exasperating to the WCC, which has sunk a lot of time and money in its missionary work among the heathen New Orleaneans. "What's the matter with you white people?" the chairman of a suburban WCC group in Gentilly asked the audience at a meeting last autumn. "Aren't you interested in the preservation of the white race? To me the whiteness God put in me is the supreme thing in me." WCC membership in New Orleans, he went on to say, "is very low" (falling from an estimated high of 30,000 a year ago), and the lack of concern people showed when the buses were desegregated last Memorial Day "very surprising." (The WCC had advertised the race violence that would surely occur if "white" and "colored" signs were removed from street cars and buses and had alerted listeners to its regular Sunday night telecasts to report all incidents to the Council. Ten days after the buses were peaceably integrated the program announcer sadly remarked that he would report on trouble on the buses as soon as someone sent in an account of some.)

THE TV program helps draw crowds for WCC mass meetings and informs people of which "moderates" are entitled to anonymous telephone calls the next week. Its listening audience is large, but tucked in among the true believers are probably a few superficial amusement seekers. The night I caught the show, after a rousing chorus or two of "Dixie" Dr. William Lee Erwin, dentist-chairman of the New Orleans Council, rose beneath a banner proclaiming "Remember Little Rock" to give us the "Segregation News" roundup. Flash: "Nixon Girls Transferred to All-White D.C. School"; "Earl Warren Portrait Barred from Federal Court House in Los Angeles as Controversial"; "Eastland Says Only Five More Votes Needed to Curb Supreme Court." Not as rousing as the show I heard about where Erwin held in his hand a book used in the New Orleans public schools which "preached integration" and quoted volume and page. (The mad chase to check the reference revealed that the volume was a text in the field of education and the page made favorable reference to the "integrated curriculum.") Enough to keep you coming back for more. But not quite enough to inspire New Orleaneans whose ancestors observed the motto "Understand and Live" to go out and look for trouble on the buses.

But in another way the WCC has been very effective in New Orleans. Few "moderate" voices today are raised in support of upholding the law as interpreted by the Supreme Court. There were a number soon after the 1954 decision. But then several ministers were fired and more were warned to hold their tongues. The legislature took care of the educators by including in its massive resistance package one bill providing for dismissal of any school employee advocating integration or expressing an opinion about it. The New Orleans Chamber of Commerce fired its press agent for signing a petition in support of LSU professors who defended the Court. And a campaign of harassment by anonymous phone calls began. The result is stillness in New Orleans.

THERE is no organized effort—as in Atlanta—to encourage people to think in advance of what the loss of the public schools would mean to them and to make their views known. To be sure, only half as many parents are concerned: almost 50 percent of New Orleans children are in private schools. But there is no organized defense of the schools by Protestant clergy or professional men and women, and most Negro leaders in New Orleans seem more interested in their personal political organizations than in matters of principle. The press—an anemic force in New Orleans life—gives its readers no hint that there is cause for concern about the future of the schools.

Even the conduct of the Roman Catholic Church has been influenced by unrelenting WCC warfare against "moderation" in any form. The strong constructive influence for Christian brotherhood exercised by Arch-

bishop Rummel in the 20 years of his office has flagged in the last three years, seemingly because of division on the race question within the Church. Repeatedly, in pastoral letters quoting Papal Encyclicals, the Archbishop has dubbed segregation "a mortal sin," and in 1956 he announced that parochial schools would soon be desegregated. The plan was to begin with the lowest grades—as in Nashville—and gradually work upward. Parochial schools are so crowded that the number of Negroes admitted would have been small and could have been selective. But before the plan could go into effect, an Association of Catholic Laymen publicly took issue with the Archbishop. Its leader was the moving force behind the statewide WCC, Deep Delta Boss Leander Perez. Quoting the Pope's Encyclical back at the Archbishop, the association said it could find no specific statement that segregation is immoral. The Archbishop ordered the association's members to disband or be excommunicated. They disbanded their organization. But in a newspaper ad, signed by 90 men who contribute generously to paying the Archbishop's bills, they challenged his authority and appealed to the Pope. (The Pope, of course, has never acknowledged their letter, but the challenge stands.)

The Orleans Parish parochial schools remain segregated—although Catholic schools in the majority of Southern cities are not. And so the diocese has missed the opportunity to serve as a powerful example of peaceful compliance with the law. (The Church schools themselves, however, teach the immorality of race discrimination, according to the pastoral letters, and a New Orleans college teacher says, "I can see the difference in the attitudes in my social problems course between sophomores from the public high schools and the Catholic highs.")

Only the "power structure" of New Orleans business and finance appears to be beyond reach of the WCC. They have no congregations or clients to consult or fear, and their main preoccupation is to keep New Orleans the flourishing center of a growing state. The forward-looking "reform" Mayor, deLesseps S. Morrison, whom they have kept in office for 13 years, looks coldly on anything that might sully the image of the modern progressive city he has helped create. The mayor, the chief of police, and the superintendent of schools are determined that there will be no mob rule in New Orleans. (The police have been professionalized under Mayor Morrison: the assistant chief says in cases of violence his force is trained to crack skulls, no matter what color.) And past experience indicates that coordination between city officials and the judiciary is such that they will succeed in keeping the peace—when and if desegregation of the schools is ordered.

Judge Skelly Wright—the man who will decide the school case—has an excellent sense of timing. He chose the evening before the long Memorial Day weekend, when the city would be on holiday, to order the end of segregation on New Orleans buses. And before he acted, motormen had special instructions on what to do and 75 plainclothesmen on 24-hour duty had been assigned to ride the buses or trail them in cars in case of trouble. When regular riders boarded the following Monday, "mixed" seating was a *fait accompli*. (The WCC leader in the legislature, Sen. W. M. Rainach, could not stir interest in a "seatmate bill," requiring the first occupant of a seat to give his permission for another to join him. Today older Negroes usually sit in the back where they always did; older white women up front sometimes get up and stand when Negroes sit beside them; but most younger people of both races pay little attention to each other as they jostle about in between.)

It will be hard for the WCC to make New Orleans into another Little Rock. Their candidate, W. M. Rainach, head of the State Joint Legislative Committee, is not likely to be swept into Baton Rouge as easily as Faubus won his third term in Arkansas. Louisiana has something approximating a two-party system in its traditional bi-factionalism (Long and Anti-Long), and there will be plenty of competition for the job Governor Earl Long must relinquish under the state's one-term law. Among those who show strong interest in running are Mayor Morrison, former Governors Jimmie ("You Are My Sunshine") Davis and Robert F. Kennon, the present Secretary of State Wade Martin, State Auditor Bill Dodd, Superintendent of Schools Shelby Jackson, Highway Chief Richardson and Congressman Otto Passman. Most of these men are members of the new United Democrats of Louisiana, established to head off any bolt from the national party this year, and conceivably through it they could agree on one man—or at most two—to take on Rainach in the first primary. Past history, however, argues against this. The Long faction would never allow their old foe, Morrison, to represent them on the ticket. And within the Long faction there are dozens who aspire to succeed the Governor. It would not be to Long's interest to pick any one over the others since he will need all their support to get the top job back for himself four years from now.

In a field of more than three, Perez believes his man has a good chance to get into a run-off. Certainly, as the UDOL knows, there is danger he could be right. A private poll recently made by a group respected for accuracy indicates that if Faubus were running for President on a states' rights third-party ticket today, he would carry Louisiana. (Only 28 percent of those polled in Orleans Parish would vote for him, but 59 percent of North Louisiana would.) The proper manager might be able to translate that Faubus popular sentiment into a Rainach victory, and Perez's followers say that he is the man who can do it.

Firmly in alliance, behind the scenes, with the "best people" who head the WWCs in North Louisiana, Perez has been undisputed boss of Plaquemines and St. Bernard

parishes in the Deep Delta since the early 40's (an early ally of Huey Long, he is still using and improving upon the Kingfish's methods). No one in Louisiana politics denies Perez's power to do as he will with the votes of this rich region of offshore oil and minerals, fur and fishing. Charges of voting irregularities are commonplace. In Plaquemines parish, the voting "registrar" keeps no office hours; he seeks out the citizens he chooses to have register and passes by those he does not favor. Those who appear to vote need show no receipts to do so and are not checked off any list to prevent enthusiastic reappearances at the polls.

Local, state and federal officials have repeatedly confessed their impotence to deal with Plaquemines' carefree ways; the US Department of Justice has investigated the area after almost every election for 20 years, and nobody has gone to jail yet. (In 1944, when "reform" Governor Sam Jones named a replacement as sheriff of Plaquemines displeasing to Perez, it took 600 soldiers of the State Guard to break through the road blockade, complete with flaming gasoline, which stood in the new man's path into the parish. Last year Perez's spiritual leader, Archbishop Rummel, met with the same kind of respect for superior authority when he named a Negro priest to the Bend Mission in Perez territory. The parishioners barred the priest; the Archbishop closed the church; the church stayed closed until a white priest was sent as a replacement.)

Accusations recur that Perez has used his position as Attorney-General of Plaquemines to obtain off-shore oil and mineral concessions for himself and his friends, but no one has ever produced the evidence. Obviously money is not one of Perez's problems, however, and if his supply of local funds runs dry, he doubtless can tap old friends —offshore oil and otherwise—from the Byrd-for-President Committee, which he helped organize in 1944, and the Dixiecrat Party, of which he was a prime mover in 1948. Senator Eastland of Mississippi, a close friend, has been known to help out in times past with information from his Internal Security Subcommittee on Perez's opponents. Certainly Perez's and Rainach's friend and neighbor, Orval Faubus, can be counted on to drop over for a few personal appearances.

Whatever the outcome, the kind of campaign the WCC will wage for Governor in 1959 will mean money in the bank for the Faubus-for-President ticket in Louisiana in 1960—and less freedom of action for whoever is Governor when the school crisis comes in New Orleans.

THE SOUTH: 1954-1959

States Desegregating as Ordered:

Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

States Divided or Delaying:

Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

States Resisting:

Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina.

Nashville—First Steps Firmly Taken

IN THE CAPITOLS of the Deep South not many cheers go up at mention of the names Kefauver, Gore and Clement. These three "Golden Boys" of Tennessee politics—who as national rivals regard each other with mutual suspicion—are held in equal disregard for refusing to defy the Supreme Court and, what is worse, proving it possible for Southern politicians to turn their backs on massive resistance without having the voters turn their backs on them.

Aside from Lyndon Johnson who as Majority Leader was excused by his Southern colleagues from taking a regional stand, Kefauver and Gore were the only two Southern Senators who did not sign the 1956 Southern Manifesto against the Court decision desegregating public schools. And Governor Clement that same year called out the state police and the National Guard to prevent mobs from interfering with desegregation at Clinton, Tennessee, and the next year encouraged the Mayor of Nashville to take strong measures against hoodlums who sought to prevent Negroes from entering Nashville schools. Nevertheless Senator Gore won reelection in 1958 by a 3-2 margin over an opponent who tried to make the Southern Manifesto the issue. Senator Kefauver seems in a strong position to withstand a similar assault in 1960. And Governor Clement succeeded, narrowly, in picking his successor, under Tennessee's one-term law, in last summer's primary. ("All the other candidates were running against me," Mr. Clement says.)

This is not the kind of news that Deep South "eternal defiance" leaders like to have get around. Nor is there any more cheer for them in reports of what is happening where the law is being obeyed.

You don't meet many people in Nashville who fail to remind the visitor that this is the "Athens of the South," and they show you a model of the Parthenon, left over from the 1898 Centennial celebration of the state's admission to the Union, to prove it. More tangible evidence is the comparative ease with which Nashville has begun desegregation of her public schools. And now that the fury of September, 1957, is fading from memory, there is a good deal of pride that this is so.

Thirty-four Negro first- and second- graders are now attending five Nashville schools which were all-white two years ago. Eleven of them entered the first grade last year in spite of riots, led by John Kasper and his followers outside several of the schools and dynamiting of one (the Hattie Cotton School in East Nashville). Twice as many Negro parents were willing for their children to pioneer in mixed classes this year, and at least three times as many are expected to apply for transfer to the white schools next term.

Parents, teachers, pupils and administrators report Nashville's experience to date a success. Which shows the wisdom of those who picked Nashville for an early legal test. Nashvilleans have been exposed to more enlightenment and Christian tolerance than most other Southerners. There are 10 colleges and universities—Negro and white—in the city. Baptists, Methodists and the Churches of Christ make their regional headquarters and publish most of the South's church and Sunday school literature there.

Negro and white colleges in Nashville maintain an exchange library service; Negroes attend graduate courses at Vanderbilt, Peabody, Scarritt, Maryville and the University of Tennessee School of Social Work; white students go to Fisk University and Meharry Medical College. Parochial schools are desegregated. Both races can belong to the local League of Women Voters, AAUW, Academy of Medicine, American Nurses Association and National Association of Social Workers. Whites have served with Negroes on the boards of local colleges and settlements for a generation. And Nashville is one of the few Southern cities with housing and eating facilities for interracial meetings—various campuses have had them for 10 years or more.

The city has lifted race barriers on the municipal golf courses and at the public library and the railroad station without incident. And more recently, before pending suits could come to trial, the transit system was quietly integrated. Ads for Pepsodent and Wildroot were simply pasted over the signs on the insides of buses which had read "colored this end" and "white this end."

But "up to the time the school decision came, only women and do-gooders had thought much about integration," one of the leading do-gooders says, "When it grew clear that we couldn't avoid the issue any longer

without jeopardizing the schools, however, some of the really substantial men in the community became concerned." (The Nashville Community Relations Conference had conducted a campaign to get these men into action: "We sat around a table one day and parcelled out the names of 200 of our leading men, 15 apiece. Then we called on them and explained why they should help get the school board to make plans for carrying out the orders of the Court.")

When the important men in the community took over, there was a series of meetings with school officials where board members were given the assurance that "so long as they acted in good faith a number of fairly substantial people would back them up." And when Superintendent of Schools Bass devised a plan he believed would work and would be acceptable to the federal court, they did. Bass, who has since retired, comes from a rural county in northwest Tennessee where white supremacy views prevail; he himself strongly disapproves of integration. But he is first of all a dedicated school man. He integrated the school system's teacher committees when it became clear that white and Negro teachers would benefit from interchange. And when it was definite that Nashville could not have schools and segregation, he developed a plan to desegregate one grade at a time and fought for it. (After he had dispersed a howling white mob with a passionate speech on opening day in 1957, Mr. Bass remarked that "If ever a crowd needed education it is that one.")

The fact that the young federal judge who made the decision on the Nashville school case, Judge William E. Miller, is so highly respected strengthened the hand of Mr. Bass and his supporters. The fact that the sensible people were getting sound guidance from the *Nashville Tennessean* helped too. And the work which Negro leaders in PTA and other groups did to prepare parents for the differences they would face in the desegregated schools greatly eased tensions. But the reason that Nashville did not become another Little Rock was that her elected officials were not Faubuses.

When the opening day crisis came in Nashville, Governor Clement had already had his trial by fire. On a late summer morning the previous year he had called a meeting on the verandah of the Governor's mansion to discuss the urgent matter of the rioting at Clinton set off by John Kasper and White Citizens Council visitors from Alabama and elsewhere. Should he or should he not answer the plea of the mayor of Clinton for state troops to bring the mob under control? To do so obviously involved the political risk of seeming to go to the aid of the federal courts against the local segregationists. Present that morning were his wife, his father, several members of his cabinet, the adjutant general, the chief of highway police and his preacher. The Governor asked his preacher, the pastor of the McKendree Methodist Church, where Clement has taught a men's Sunday School class for years, to lead them in prayer; then he asked each one to give his advice. Before the meeting broke up Clement had ordered 50 highway patrolmen and a division of the Guard into Clinton. But the Governor took the precaution to order that no state troops were to set foot on school grounds. No child was to be escorted to school. This left him with a persuasive defense to use in the next campaign—as he did. He had been acting solely to preserve the peace—not to enforce integration. And he restored law and order in Clinton.

Some point out that Governor Clement, barred from running for reelection, was free of any immediate campaign inhibitions—and that what he did effectively advanced his position on the national stage where his ambition now centers. He explains that his respect for law and order—growing out of his training as a lawyer, as an agent for the FBI, and in the Christian religion—allowed him no choice. But whatever the reasons, his immediate, forceful action established a precedent for his friend, Mayor Ben West, to follow when the peace was threatened in Nashville.

When the 1957-58 school year opened on September 9, Mayor West was in the East, presiding over a meeting of the American Municipal Association of which he was president. A lawyer, with a liberal record in the State Senate, Ben West has been reelected mayor for 8 years. When he left home, there was not much thought of serious trouble. True, John Kasper was back in Nashville after serving time in prison for his performance at Clinton. And for two months he and Fred Stroud, an ousted Presbyterian minister who had set up a church of his own, had held almost nightly meetings agitating the least literate white parents to boycott the schools. But the police were not prepared for what happened that Monday morning.

Mobs gathered at most of the schools where Negro children were entering the first grade. Rocks and insults were hurled. Cars raced through the streets bearing KKK signs and Confederate flags. The police responded in feeble confusion. That night the Kasper crowd gathered on the capitol steps for a pep meeting, and a little after midnight a charge of dynamite went off in the Hattie Cotton School where one Negro child had enrolled the morning before.

Mayor West flew home at once, and by the next morning police had orders to crack down. When the mobs appeared at the schools again police stood in the doors to bar their way. Known agitators were taken into court, and the Mayor sought injunctions against the ringleaders. Judge Miller issued temporary—and later permanent—restraining orders against Kasper and nine others, forbidding them to interfere with school desegregation. And the worst was over.

"As it worked out," one reporter relates, "the dynamit-

ing was to the advantage of the city. It happened at night when no one was hurt, and it woke people up. Most of Nashville just didn't want to face up to what the Supreme Court had said, either for it or against it. And it took the lawlessness to solidify the lawful element."

The "lawful element" and Mayor West have been in firm control in the 16 months since. (Although there are Tennessee liberals who place West in the class with the admirable Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta, cynics in the Negro community suggest that their growing political power may have something to do with the excellent service. The flight of whites to the suburbs has been so massive that today about 30 percent of Nashville proper is Negro and more than half of the 30,000 Negroes eligible are registered to vote. Two Negroes have served on the City Council since before 1954 and there is now a Negro member of the school board.) When Jackie Robinson came to Nashville recently to address an NAACP rally, for example, the Mayor gave him a police escort to and from the airport and the keys to the city.

In the schools there is every sign of intelligent professional planning. A mental health specialist who is giving close attention to the desegregated schools told me he is impressed by the degree of protection the Negro children receive. "Every teacher and principal seems to be operating quietly but with extreme care to see that the Negro children get a strictly fair deal." And mothers in the Negro PTAs also report that from what their children say the principals and teachers are making a real effort.

No one with whom I talked in Nashville, Negro or white, questioned that the first grade was the place to begin—if there had to be a small beginning. (Few Negro leaders, however, believe that there was any need to do less than desegregate the whole school system at one time: "The city could have stood the shock.") Sex questions don't complicate matters in the lower grades, white parents say in explaining their preference. There isn't the problem of different levels of preparation that complicates things later on, and prejudices haven't had time to incubate in first-grade minds, others say.

The first-grade class I visited without prearrangement two days before Valentine Day seemed to bear out the latter. In fact it looked more like a shot from an NAACP documentary than the real thing. How had the mixing of races worked out, I asked the perfect Central Casting Model of a first-grade teacher? Why, just fine. No trouble at all. Some of the other teachers had asked how she was going to seat them and she worried about that but decided to let the children sit wherever they chose, just as she always had. They mixed up naturally. Did the whites and coloreds treat each other any differently, now that they had been together awhile? Well, come in and see. The children were having their mid-day rest, each on his own cot. Tacked all around the wall were paper sacks, each with a name printed on it, which had hung there all week. Everybody had made valentines and delivered them to those they liked. "Go bring your sacks, children, and show our visitors your gifts." Nobody had been short-changed.

One Negro boy, whose family income bracket had permitted him two years of kindergarten — above the reach of most in this school — is the accepted leader. That day he had brought the family encyclopedia to answer some questions that had come up the day before about butterflies.

The classes with Negro pupils play apart from the others so there is little opportunity for older children to create incidents with the little ones. And the few Negro children in Nashville who have experienced contact with white classmates, by all reports, are unshaken by it thus far. But this is not true of the parents.

A young Negro social worker, employed by the Junior-League-financed Mental Health Center, has interviewed the families of most of the first-year Negro children. The parents, she says, felt that the children were not aware of any special tension or excitement. The first days at school were so novel, so overwhelming, that the mob turmoil had made no special impression. The children adjusted. But some of the parents couldn't. Two of the mothers whose children entered the desegregated schools had to have doctor's care; one still does. Some mothers were too frightened by the crowds on opening day to take their children to the new school three blocks away and instead went back to the all-Negro school 15 blocks distant. (The young lady who conducted the study—and is bringing it up to date at present—is an interesting study herself. Educated in the Nashville public schools and the state Negro college, she became excited about mental health work when she held a clerical job in the Los Angeles Mental Health Department for a short time. Family reasons took her back to Nashville, and the Tennessee University School of Social Work accepted her as the only Negro in the class of '54. She works in the Mental Health Center now on an equal professional basis, with white as well as Negro cases she does not feel restricted in her friendships or have the desire to look outside the South for a job. When her youngest child starts school next year, she is not sure whether she will go to the nearby white school or the more distant one where her brother is enrolled: "I will have to find out more to know whether the white school is a better one.")

The experience with the "stair-step" plan of desegregation in Nashville is good so far as it goes. But it doesn't go very far. All except 34 of the 1,300 Negro children still attend all-Negro schools. The great majority will remain there because of residence even when desegregation extends to all grades. And that will be made more certain by improving schools in Negro neigh-

borhoods (the city has built four new Negro schools in the last five years and made additions to two others) and further segregating Negro housing (two $20,000-$30,000 all-Negro developments have gone up in the suburbs, and federal Urban Renewal projects are resettling displaced families in all-Negro areas.)

But far more are eligible for hitherto white schools—which would be more convenient—than are entering them. 126 Negroes were eligible by residence to enter the all-white schools in 1957 when only 19 did. And eight of the 19 dropped out, most of them in the first three ugly days, leaving only 11 to finish the term. The Nashville branch of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a small interracial group of Martin Luther King's followers, made a study to find out what happened to the other 115. "CORE members reported the first-grade approach made it hard if not impossible for many families to take advantage of integration," they state.

> Mothers with babies or pre-school children usually depend on an older child to escort the 6-year-old to and from school. Sending the children to different schools would require the mother to accompany the first-grader. She would then have to leave the very youngest at home alone, or else hire a baby-sitter twice a day. The problem is tougher when both parents have jobs.
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> Aside from the practicalities, some 6-year-olds quite naturally wanted to go to school with their older brothers and sisters. More than one parent said, "If I could send all my children to the neighborhood school, they would go—but not the first-grader, alone."

Some specific answers parents gave when questioned were:

> 1. "I have an older child in the Negro school and my first-grader needs his protection."
> 2. "I am not well, so I am keeping my child out of school the first week."
> 3. "The child is not well enough to go and register."
> 4. "We are planning to move to another community within Nashville."
> 5. "I don't want to make my child a guinea pig."
> 6. "When these folks get off the school grounds and quit threatening on the telephone, I'll send my child to the integrated school."

An NAACP leader estimates that at least 50 of the families who did not choose to transfer to the white schools were restrained by the fact that the older children in the family had to continue in their former schools. Others say the violence and threats of Kasper's followers were the greatest deterrents. And they point to the increasing number of transfers this year and to the fact that only two of the group entering in 1958 have dropped out—and one had expected in advance to move to Ohio during the term. Some emphasize the fact that school district lines were redrawn shortly before the first Negroes were admitted (to bring the number eligible down to the paltry 126, the critics say) and many parents were confused about where their children were entitled to go (school officials are accused of making no effort to clear up the confusion).

White segregationists see in the small proportion of eligible Negroes who have transferred to the white schools proof that Negroes want segregation as much as they do. NAACP spokesmen, and most other Negro leaders as well, say it merely proves that less than full desegregation won't work. NAACP lawyers have attached a brief to this effect to an appeal challenging the present Nashville desegregation plan now pending in federal District Court.

Not even the Federation for Constitutional Government, Nashville's more sedate version of the White Citizens Councils, really feels it worthwhile, however, to agitate for anything less than "stair-step" desegregation anymore.

But Nashville is not Tennessee. And the rest of the state traditionally reserves the right to disagree with "Athens." Tennessee, as V. O. Key explained in his definitive work *Southern Politics*, "is a narrow ribbon of real estate stretching from North Carolina to the Mississippi."

> From Bristol in the far northeast to Memphis in the southwest about equals the distance from Hartford, Connecticut, to Cleveland, Ohio. Tennessee's far western counties are but northward projections of Mississippi; its eastern mountain counties share both the topography and the spirit of western North Carolina and southwestern Virginia. Between West Tennessee and East Tennessee lies Middle Tennessee, a fertile bowl, sometimes called locally the "dimple of the universe," whose principal city is Nashville.

And the diversity in geography has produced a distinct difference in political behavior, going back to the Civil War. "The dispute over slavery and secession," Key says, "forged Tennessee partisan alignments into a form that has persisted to this day."

> Slavery was both unprofitable and unpleasing to the people of the mountains of East Tennessee. The plantation system never flourished in the hills and the small farmer who tilled his own land could take no stock in the theory of slavery as a divinely ordained institution. Even less was he disposed to defend the slave property of his planter neighbor to the west.
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> In 1861 East Tennessee had few slaves and was unionist; West and Middle Tennessee held slaves and Confederate sentiments. . . . Twice—in February and June, 1861—they voted against secession, but the slave interests of West and Middle Tennessee took the state out of the union. . . .
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> Today East Tennessee harbors many Republicans while Middle and West Tennessee are Democratic strongholds.

All these differences will stand out again when the other three big cities of the state face the decision con-

cerning the schools which Nashville has had to make. Knoxville, on the eastern border (capital of TVA territory, university center, with an enlightened city government backed by a sizable labor and Negro vote) will probably accede with reasonably good grace to a court order to desegregate when it comes (perhaps next fall).

Memphis, in the extreme southwest, next door to Mississippi, will find it much harder to accommodate. But the fact that there are few mixed neighborhoods in the city and Memphis' large middle class places a high value on the public school system should help soften the blow. (The city's colleges and the *Memphis Press-Scimitar* would also have a benign influence.)

Chattanooga, on the Alabama-Georgia border, will take any desegregation order far harder. A town of the very rich and the very poor, Chattanooga has a minute middle class and a large Ku Klux Klan. Many of the latter are "Georgia commuters" who work in Chattanooga but live across the state line and look to Talmadge and Atlanta and not to Nashville for direction. And the racist feelings ingrained in them from that source are encouraged daily by the destructive *Chattanooga Free Press*. (The opposition *Chattanooga Times*, owned by the *New York Times* Ochs family, which has urged toleration of the Supreme Court school decision, lost 10,000 subscribers last year.)

WITH ALMOST no local organization Albert Gore's strongly segregationist opponent for the Senate, former Governor Prentice Cooper, swamped Gore in Chattanooga in 1958. In that same primary, promising the voters to put up the kind of battle to preserve segregation they seemed to want, attorney Ralph Kelley was elected to represent Chattanooga in the state legislature. And since the General Assembly convened in January he has introduced bills to change the school laws written in Governor Clement's term to make it far more difficult for other school boards to go even as far as Nashville has gone toward compliance.

Support for the Kelley bills is reported to be growing, and the Governor, Buford Ellington, who was elected last year by less than 9,000 votes over a violent segregationist, Andrew "Tip" Taylor, says "If the bills reach my desk, I'm probably obligated to sign them because of campaign promises." However, his friends believe Ellington will change his mind when he hears from the attorney-general. Lawyers for the state who have studied the proposed laws fear that "if the Kelley bills are enacted, the courts may look at all our school bills and declare them all part of a package to maintain segregation in defiance of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and throw them all out." In that case, all would be confusion —a confusion welcome to the "Tip" Taylors of Tennessee who badly need an issue on which to oppose Kefauver's re-election in 1960 and Clement's aspirations to that seat or to return to the governor's chair in 1962.

Deliberate, Yes—Speed, No

THIS YEAR the balance will tip against "massive resistance" to the Supreme Court's 1954 order to desegregate public schools. In late 1958, four and a half years after the decision, four of the 11 states of the old Confederacy were complying with it—in their fashion. Seven remained defiant. The division became six to five after the courts opened Virginia's school doors in December. And next fall, when Dade County admits Negroes to a Miami, Florida, elementary school, the balance will shift to seven to four — with compliers leading.

But don't expect more such quick capitulations. The Deep South states, from South Carolina to the Mississippi, have dug in for the duration. Most of the men elected to high office in those states last year won because they promised to keep Negroes out of the schools. Such sure-fire vote-getting issues are rare, and they intend to keep this one hot as long as they can. Segregationist leaders with a more objective view see bigger things to be gained by delaying the final surrender: a chance in 1960 to try a long-shot plan to nullify the decision of 1954; and time for the North, East and West to experience the effects of the mass migration of Negroes which, without much notice, has already nationalized the race question.

To them, the delay is more important than the cost. If it is necessary to close all the public schools to prevent desegregation they are willing to do it, and most of their constituents would back them up—for a while. It is impossible to tell how long most people would be content to do without public schools. But probably not as long as Herman Talmadge, who says "Forever." The leaders seem sure that they could organize and begin to operate private schools, supported by state tuition grants to pupils, before the parents' patience expired, and the successful Front Royal boycott of the desegregated Warren County High School has strengthened their confidence. But a preliminary study of the economic consequences of liquidating public education, made by University of Virginia Professor Lorin Thompson, shows that this would be a slightly larger job than most enthusiasts for the substitute system yet confess:

> A few facts taken from the annual reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and other state reports show the magnitude of the problem in quantitative terms. First of all the total value of all school property in Virginia in 1957 was reported to be $576 million. Of this amount $524 million represented sites and buildings, $42 million furniture and equipment and just under $10 million represented school buses. . . . The total net debt owed by the city and county school boards is in excess of $200 million and current annual expenditures are more than $200 million. . . . It is sheer speculation as to what proportion of the value each community might recover from the sale of its surplus school building sites, furniture and equipment. One thing is certain, the bond holders would have in excess of $200 million owed them and would require immediate settlement. . . . If school buildings were sold to private school groups the financial underwriting necessary for the acquisition of property now valued at approximately $600 million would be a most substantial undertaking. Long established private schools have not found it easy to borrow money for new facilities. . . .

This, of course, is but one of the many complications that would arise, and unquestionably, even with the best of luck, the private school plan would mean a gigantic educational loss to the state. With great effort, however, determined men might make such a substitute limp along well enough to mollify public distress for a few years—long enough for the last-ditch segregationists to try two desperate gambles.

Ever since Rutherford B. Hayes won the election of 1876 over Samuel J. Tilden in the Electoral College (185-184), minority political blocs have dreamed of being the balance of power in another such coup. Loyal Dixiecrats have dreamed of it since 1944. By holding out

their combined electoral votes in a tight Presidential contest, States Rights Southerners picture themselves deciding the contest and naming their price, as their Confederate granddaddies did, when by the Compromise of 1877 they elected Hayes and committed him to freeing the South from the 14th Amendment.

This vision now haunts even such pragmatists as Herman Talmadge. "It's the only way we can fight back, build a counter-force to match the NAAPC [sic], and let the parties choose between us," he says earnestly. "And until the South can do that, we won't get anywhere." How many electoral votes would it take? "Well, it is theoretically possible that Georgia's 32 votes alone could be decisive—if the election was close enough, but we might get together as many as 75 to 80." (The votes of Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and Louisiana total 150). Who would organize it? "Those young Governors of Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina are the ones to do it. Georgia has a law setting the electors free to vote as they please, regardless of party—it was put on the books while I was Governor. So has Alabama. And I think Arkansas has, or is getting one. Mississippi would go along with us, I think."

Then in the unusual event that Nixon and Stevenson —or any other pair of nominees—had run and failed to get a majority of the electoral votes, not including the 75-80 votes the Talmadge-Faubus contingent was holding out, the segregationists would be sitting in the catbird seat. What would your terms be then, I asked Talmadge? "I would run it like an old-fashioned Jewish fire sale—take bids." Whichever party agreed in advance to the Compromise of 1961, freeing the South a second time from observance of the 14th Amendment, would win the Presidency in 1960.

If it turns out that the American electorate does not cooperate, the bitter-enders will need to buy more time. For then they will have to fall back on their final contention that the rest of the country does not really want to practice racial equality any more than does the South. Senator Russell's proposed bill to speed the process of dispersing the Negro population more evenly over the US by federal subsidies to Southern Negroes who volunteer to move to areas where fewer Negroes live has been taken by many as a cynical joke. But he and hundreds—if not thousands—of other Southern opinion makers sincerely believe that ignorance more than anything else accounts for the Northern position on segregation. And they wait impatiently for the rest of white America to wake up to what they are sure will be the disillusionment of living at close quarters with the Negro.

White segregationist leaders think the demographic facts are working for them. They cite a recent study of Negro migration made at Princeton University: "There were more Negroes in the North in 1950 than in all the Confederacy at the time of the Civil War. . . .

> The trend is clearly seen when the five Southern and the five Northern states with the largest Negro populations are contrasted. In 1910, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Virginia had a Negro population of 4.5 million; in 1960, 4.6 million.
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> In 1910 Illinois, Michigan, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania together had only 566,000 Negroes; in 1950, 3.2 million. These five Northern states absorbed half the national increase in 40 years, while the five Southern states absorbed little more than a thirtieth of the increase.
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> In recent years this trend has been accelerating. In the decade between 1940 and 1950, the Negro population declined slightly in the five Southern states while the five Northern states absorbed 54 percent of the national increase. California, Florida and Texas absorbed an additional 22 percent.

Because of this massive migration North and West from the rural South "the stereotype of the Negro as a toiling sharecropper is becoming as antiquated as that of the slaves in the cotton fields," the Princeton study points out. "A new stereotype is evolving, though, and it is that of the lowest tenth living in squalor and disorganization in teeming slums . . . the problems of social and economic retardation that were products of the life in the rural South have been transferred to the metropolitan areas of the North."

Segregationist strategists count on the transfer of this burden to produce new allies in Congress against extending federal guarantees of civil rights. If it takes a while for white Northerners to learn where their self-interest lies, the Southern segregationists are willing to wait—and suffer an under-educated generation of children as the price.

IN THE seven states of the old Confederacy which have chosen the course of token accession to the authority of the Supreme Court the interest of the leaders is in making social change as painless—and as slight—as possible. They consider grandiose schemes to prevent the inevitable a waste of everybody's time. But they are no less resolved than the Talmadges to stick to the old way of doing things wherever they can. And as time goes on, Southern ingenuity will no doubt produce some interesting maneuvers for evading the Supreme Court's intent in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (May 17, 1954).

These states are giving immediate priority to setting up a court-proof plan for subsidizing private schools with public money. All of them have black-belt areas which would revolt against any state administration which failed to provide such an alternative to desegregated public schools. But in any case more private schools are needed as safety valves in the long transition period ahead. Many localities are quietly doing what James F.

Byrnes advised five years ago. Fearing the verdict his former colleagues of the Supreme Court were about to hand down, Mr. Byrnes told his fellow South Carolinians that "to meet this situation we are forced to do now what we should have been doing for the past 50 years." Making "separate" facilities for Negroes "equal" was what he had in mind. (South Carolina the previous year had reported current expenditures per white pupil double those for Negroes—$195.50 and $98.14 respectively. And that ratio prevailed generally throughout the South.)

The states have not kept separate records on educational spending for the two races since 1954, but almost everywhere one travels across the South there are new Negro school buildings under construction or recently completed. School boards and taxpayers view this as one of the most practical ways to limit desegregation. Negro children may choose to stay in a Negro school rather than transfer to a white school if the former is more modern and attractive than the latter, they believe. In Charlottesville, Virginia, this was reported to be the case. And Front Royal expects it to prove true when a new Negro school opens there next fall.

Where there are no new buildings to attract Negro children to the schools where whites wish them to go, gerrymandering is accomplishing much the same purpose. In most communities a little judicious fiddling with the boundary lines of school districts produces the desired black-and-white pattern. Most Southern cities had taken this step well in advance of 1954. Others are adjusting district boundaries to follow the color line.

In older communities where whites and Negroes live mixed in together by custom dating back to slave days more drastic remedies are required. Officials in these places laughingly explain that they have a long way to go to catch up with the North in segregating housing. And a good deal of catching up is being done. White banks which never granted credit for Negro housing before are financing middle-class Negro developments in the suburbs—new and modern, but segregated. The Federal Urban Renewal Program is transplanting more Negroes from mixed downtown areas to segregated projects on the outskirts. As Southerners grasp the central fact in the recent report of the Commission on Race and Housing, signed by such men as Henry Luce and Elliott Bell—that housing policy currently dominates the whole issue of segregation in the US—they will act on it to construct a more solid foundation for segregation. But in the process, many Negro families will move from unspeakable squalor into homes from which children can more easily make the transition to desegregated schools when the time comes.

All this suggests for the future a very "deliberate" rate of speed toward desegregation. And if the task of bringing about compliance with the law respecting the schools remains—as it is now—the concern of only one of the three branches of the federal government, it will indeed be a slow process. The Judiciary, lacking the active support of the Legislative and Executive departments, is necessarily limited in power. It must proceed case by case, school district by school district, to determine where good faith compliance is not forthcoming.

It may take years to define the tests of good faith with respect to the Alabama Pupil Placement Law, which now becomes central to the litigation over the schools. Because the Court ruled that law was constitutional on its face, other states have adopted similar statutes as an escape route from the 1954 order. Judgment on the constitutionality of these measures will hinge on how they are generally applied, not on any one case. And if it takes as long to determine "good faith" in the case of admission of Negroes to schools as it has in their admission to duty as jurors, it will be quite a while. *Neal v. Delaware*, establishing the rights of Negroes as jurors, was decided by the Supreme Court in 1880, and cases arising from that decision are still coming through the courts.

There is little reason either to believe that desegregation will gather momentum as it goes. Fisk University sociologist Dr. Herman Long writes that:

> positive policies toward desegregation do not easily and naturally diffuse from one area to another. The established ways of doing things, custom and habit, tend to create resistances which segment the changed situations and cause them to stand relatively independent of each other.

He comments as an aside that desegregation has not "diffused" even from the golf course where he has played for several years to the rest of the all-white park which surrounds it.

There are those who see "diffusion" as a greater force than Dr. Long does. But few who have studied recent events in the South share commentator Chet Huntley's view that segregation would disappear more rapidly if the NAACP ceased its legal attacks on the institution. It is hard to find a single significant example of voluntary desegregation which has occurred without legal action or threat of it. And if "deliberate speed" is construed as less than the next hundred years, "diffusion" won't produce change in time for that deadline.

But there are other forces that may speed things up in the South. Congress could—and may—decide to give its moral support to the position taken by the Supreme Court. (Sen. Paul Douglas' proposed Civil Rights Act of 1959, embodying Section III as deleted from the Civil Rights Law passed last year, is not likely to receive favorable consideration. But some compromise between the President's and Sen. Lyndon Johnson's much more modest proposals can probably be passed if Senator John-

son puts his mind to it.) Or another President two years from now could decide to exercise the authority of his office in that direction. Either or both could vastly change the outlook—and could have at any time since May, 1954.

Even if the courts are left to enforce the 14th Amendment virtually alone, however, there will be changes in the South which can make that task less unbearable. The mass migration of Negroes in the past 10 years has been within the South as well as outside it, and always to the city. The number of Negro farmers in the South declined 17.1 percent in the four years from 1950 to 1954, until by 1954 there were only 160,000 farms operated by Negro sharecroppers in the South. And as they move to the city, rural Southern Negroes begin to vote. As the Negro vote climbs in city after city, the interest of elected officials in enforcing civil rights grows, as Atlanta, Knoxville, Nashville and New Orleans demonstrate.

Negro leaders in these and most other cities of the South are aware that the vote is the ultimate power and are giving increasing priority to registration and voter education through the churches as well as through the NAACP and fraternal organizations. One of the first activities Martin Luther King inaugurated when he was called to his church in Montgomery was a weekly meeting to instruct church members in the techniques of registration and voting.

Today the Southern Regional Council estimates there are 1.2 million Negroes on the voting rolls in the 11 Southern states. This represents a steady growth of suffrage since white primaries were outlawed in 1944. And if Negro voting increases proportionately with Negro migration from the farms to Southern cities, pressure on elected officials to get on with desegregation will mount substantially.

University of Alabama political scientist Donald Strong reminds us, however, that the recent rate of growth in the Negro vote may not continue. He wonders whether "we have not perhaps reached a temporary plateau in the move toward re-enfranchisement of the Southern Negro."

> In its unvarnished form, the proposition is that in most areas of the South, a Negro with political consciousness, who really wants to vote, can overcome the relatively mild obstacles in his way. Similarly, in the rural black belt the obstacles are so formidable and the number of politically-conscious Negroes so relatively few that it is hard to foresee a substantial increase in registration in the near future.

Strong says that part of the problem of increasing the number of voters is that of overcoming indifference to politics on the part of many. "If all extra-legal obstacles to Negro voting could suddenly be swept away, Negroes would not rush to the polls," he states. It was not, after all, until 36 years after women had been given the vote, in 1916, that they voted in substantially the same numbers as men. He draws another analogy with various immigrant groups, and says only when these had produced their own lawyers and prosperous merchants were they able to command a respectful hearing in politics. "Negroes, too, must develop a corps of middle-class leaders with substantial education and economic independence of whites. . . . Despite the progress of the past decade, it is probable that the second million votes will come harder."

Yet, it is certain that the migration from the country to the city will mean better schools for the Negro and more income too as a rule—which will contribute toward developing more competent leadership for the continuing test of strength which will go on for years.

But the Southern Negro is only one aspect of a vast change in prospect. "The South is no longer the Economic Problem Number One of the Nation," Walter Prescott Webb, the Texas historian whose book, *Divided We Stand*, inspired Franklin Roosevelt's Southern Economic Committee in depression days, pointed out in an address last year comparing 1950 with 1930. "In many ways," Professor Webb says, "it looks like the Number One economic opportunity."

> The South today has a latent industrial trinity that may be as potent in the future as coke and coal, limestone and iron have been in the past. The South has a complete monopoly on one of these, more than half of the second, and about one-half of the third. This trinity is hydrocarbons, sulphur and water which exist together along the Gulf Coast. They are the basis of the petrochemical industry which is already concentrated in that area and growing at such a rate that no one can calculate its future. The North has no sulphur and less than five percent of the hydrocarbons. In this new chemical trinity it has nothing but water . . . industry is coming from all corners . . . to all parts of the South, promising to make the Gulf Coast a golden crescent. Not only is industry coming, but people are coming too. . . . The South that formerly exported its talent and imported its capital is now importing talent and exporting capital. . . . The New England textile factories are moving to Virginia and the Carolinas. To Dallas came airplane factories and all their trained personnel, whole trainloads. The petrochemical companies line the Gulf Coast. The depletion of the Mesabi Range may transfer much of the steel industry to the South to use the baser ore, and to receive that which will come up from South America.

Twenty thousand new corporations were formed in the South in 1957. And the percentage of income derived from manufacturing in the South that year increased by five percent, compared to three percent for

the country as a whole.

All of this points to more urbanization. (The region is now about half urban and half rural). The South which has never had a city of a million should have half a dozen in less than 10 years. In that same span every good-sized town will be tied in with hundreds of others through the new federal highway network which will give the South almost 250,000 miles of new roads, 40,000 miles of superhighways, bringing tourists and new ways of looking at things. "The bright lights of the highway cloverleafs will shine on the Ku Klux Klan before they can get five miles away from a cross-burning. And anyway the new roads will give the Kluxers so many places to go they won't be bothering people out of idleness," one Southern optimist observes.

In the next decade the South will rapidly take on the look of the rest of the country. And when it accepts the fact that it is bound by the same laws, it can join the rest of the country in searching for answers to race problems.

about The New Republic . . .

A nationally-known scholar and professor of political science at an Eastern university was recently heard to say:

"It has not been generally recognized as yet, but The New Republic is enjoying a veritable renaissance. Having had one period of glory some years back, it is now entering its second golden age."

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October 6, 1954

Mr. Richard L. Tobin
Director of Public Affairs
New York Herald Tribune
230 West 41st Street
New York 36, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Tobin:

We are pleased to learn that you are considering distribution of "Answers for Action" at the opening session of the Herald Tribune Forum.

We have only about 2,000 copies left from the first printing, and, though a second printing is in the works, it would not be completed in time for the Forum. That means that we could supply a maximum of about 1500 to 1700 copies.

Unfortunately, we are not well enough off to supply them free, much as we would like to. We would have to charge $15.00 per hundred, which is the cost of the pamphlets to us.

As a small matter of information, I should make it clear that the fold-out map is an integral part of the pamphlet, prepared and printed by us. The "Bureau of the Census" label was erroneously carried over from the blank, outline map to which we added the population data and colors.

Let me know what you decide and I will see that any order you place is promptly filled.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

Air Mail

October 14, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell will be happy to be present at the reception in honor of Speakers at the Herald-Tribune Forum Tuesday evening, October nineteenth following the final session at eleven o'clock Perroquet Suite, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York.

Elizabeth Brantley
Secretary

Mrs. Ogden Reid

Mr. and Mrs. Whitelaw Reid

Mr. and Mrs. Ogden Rogers Reid

invite you to attend a reception

in honor of

Speakers at the Herald Tribune Forum

Tuesday evening, October nineteenth

following the final session at eleven o'clock — P.M.

Perroquet Suite, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel

R.S.V.P.

ADVANCE TEXT of an address to be delivered at approximately 8:40 P.M., Monday evening October 18, 1954 at the first session of the 23rd ANNUAL NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM in the new Hunter College Auditorium.

by

George S. Mitchell

Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

Steps Toward Racial Integration

Panel: The South's Resources - Organization

This speech will be broadcast over:

The Municipal Broadcasting System Station WNYC

The people in the Southern states have a tough job ahead of them. They carry a high responsibility for showing whether the democratic tradition of the Western World can accomplish by peaceful, legal means a change which, as it has come to successive areas around the world, has brought in its train repression, violence, revolution, and war.

The change involved is in the relative status of two peoples racially distinct, but whose lots -- economic and otherwise -- are cast together. Be it noted also that this supreme test of the democratic tradition comes at one of the weak spots; for the Southern states, conceived as most of them were in slavery, have throughout their history known only a fore-shortened and limping democratic tradition.

What are the prospects of success? First, you need to know a little about the differences between various parts of the South. Extensive areas of hill country are populated with small and mainly land-owning white farmers, with a stout tradition of independence. Another whole belt of the South -- the Piedmont -- having also a sturdy farm population, contains the great bulk of the new industry of the region. In still another area -- the Coastal Plain -- the aftermath of the plantation system lingers on with wide inequalities in power and status between the mainly white land-owning population and the mainly Negro farm workers.

It is a little known fact that ten per cent of the counties in the South today have less than one per cent of the Negro population, and forty percent of the counties have less than ten per cent of the Negro population. It is in these counties that you will find the separate Negro school bus hauling a handful of Negro children ten, or thirty, or even fifty, miles to the extra, separate Negro school. Segregation is extremely expensive in this area; the habit of independence arms the local people with some disposition to reasonableness in meeting the new arrangement; and it is natural to expect that segregated schools will be dropped in such areas with comparative ease.

Even before the Supreme Court's decision, the State Superintendent of Schools in Kentucky was asking, officially, for a Kentucky law that would allow the mountain counties to get rid of segregated schools on their own. (more)

In the industrial districts, cash money jingles in everybody's britches pockets. Television sets, and white paint on the houses, and white refrigertors in the kitchen, begin to come to all the homes. And people in their daily work are accustomed to being together -- white and Negro and where they are organized, they are quite frequently in the same unions. Perhaps this situation is a little more difficult than that in the mountain counties, but still it is manageable, particularly because in most of the cities and towns, residential segregation, as it exists, means that in any case there would be only a comparatively small number of children of one group in schools normally patronized by the other.

Almost inevitably matters will run more slowly in the old plantation areas. In scores of these old cotton counties, the white population is smaller than the Negro population. The almost feudal inequality of the old plantation system is breaking up rapidly, but the memory lingers of a time when all black people were wholly dependent, and when the annual need to make them make a cotton crop armed the white man's sense of superiority with economic necessity. To tell you the truth, the long-range remedy in all that area is a matter of economic organization. Land ownership, secure land tenure, industrial opportunity, good opportunity, good education and technical education. These are the real cures for the problems of the older South. Unsegregated education would help and would speed the needed economic changes, but there is no use denying that it is going to be resisted in many of those counties tooth and nail.

One great institution reaches all the counties and all the towns and cities, and that is the Church. Religion in the Western World has been the tap-root of democratic institutions. Time was when the parish and its vestry governed. And trade unionism in many parts of the South is still today visibly sprouting out of the people's experience of local church administration. Close your eyes and open your ears in a meeting of cast iron pipe workers in Birmingham, and you would think you were in a country church. The Church in the South reaches every participant in the legal and political struggle over what to do about the schools. If its message is conciliatory, if its modern representatives can walk in the path of its prophets, we are a long way nearer to agreement and integration. And church

(more)

leadership in nearly all parts of the South has shown a high loyalty to religious duty.

The Southern Baptist Convention, in June of this year, after recognizing the fact that the Supreme Court's decision is in harmony with American Constitutional guarantees, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men, urged its people and all Christians "to conduct themselves in this period of adjustment in the spirit of Christ." The Methodist Church as a whole years ago declared that there is no place in the Methodist Church for racial discrimination or racial segregation, and a good majority of those Southern Conferences of the Methodist Church which have met since the Supreme Court's decision have resolved in favor of peaceful implementation. The General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, meeting this June, urged that that Church's own institutions of higher learning open their doors to members of all races and asked "in this time of crisis and concern . . . the earnest cultivation and practice of the Christian graces of forbearance, patience, humility and persistent good will."

The Southeastern Province of the Protestant Episcopal Church, meeting the day after the Supreme Court's decision, agreed as a group that the decision of the Supreme Court was just and right, and urged on public authorities "proper support and direction toward putting this ruling into effect as best manifests our Christian heritage." The Catholic Bishops of the South last year spoke of the Church as having "deplored the practice of racial segregation and the injustices that flow from it." And in Diocese after Diocese in the South, separation has disappeared in the Catholic churches and parochial schools. Similar statements could be quoted from the Disciples of Christ, from the Lutherans, and from various Assemblies of Church Women in the South. B'nai B'rith, the oldest and largest Jewist fraternal organization, recently resolved, partciularly for and in the South, that the American people, "working together in a cooperative and democratic spirit . . . can attain this goal (of unsegregated schools) by orderly and legal adjustment consistent with both religious and democratic ideals."

(more)

It is easy to say that these brave proncuncements of religious bodies mean little when by and large prevailing Protestant Christianity in the South worships in strict segregation. But even that arrangement crumbles in more Southern places than most people know about.

If I might try to put the situation graphically: Here is a two-strand cotton rope. One strand is black and one strand is white. Because we have had so little twist, so little interwining, of the rope, it is pretty weak. The name of the rope is democracy in the South. And on this rope comes today a fierce pull and stretch. The poor rope shows signs of breaking. Mercifully, there is an emergency rope which could be brought out to hold things together; the Christian Church. It reaches the conscience of almost the whole people of the South. The churches of the region could spin, if they would, in a matter of weeks, a rope that would hold.

It has fallen to my lot to have unique opportunities in recent months to sound out trade union opinion in the South. I can report that nearly everywhere the view is "it's coming." And white trade unionists have now, in a large majority, many years' experience within their own union movements of the friendly and fairly equal working together of the two races for a common purpose. Some of the unions in the South, considered among the more conservative ones, have already resolved against the plans of state government to break up the public school system. I do not argue that the labor movement in the South will be in the forefront in pressing for local integration. But I do think the prediction can be risked that as organizations they will not fight desegregation. And most of them will put their strength on the side of orderly enforcement of the law.

I began by saying that the crisis which now grips the South is the reflection on these shores of a world-wide movement of oppressed peoples for equality and status. I think the inner meaning of the demand for unsegregated schools in the South is the demand for recognition of the dignity and worth of every American without regard to color. The transition in the South will almost inevitably vary within each state, and sometimes within a county. The law is an inflexible instrument which rightly tries to get itself enforced without distinction of time and place. Truth is, I think, that in those parts of the South in which the white people will

(more)

bring themselves to approach Negro citizens with full respect for their dignity and importance, agreement and adjustment to a program for unsegregated schools can be reached. Where white people are stiff-necked and say, "Never, 'nary a one," then the law will have a try at running its course unassisted by conciliation and public agreement.

Never was a time in the South when so small a thing would buy so much. For a heart's burden of a new respect for human dignity, any Southern town can accomplish this change with comparative tranquility.

For the method. The best arrangement is opening the administration of the school system to courageous representative Negro citizenry. A dozen Southern cities and towns have done that within the last couple of years. A workable substitute is numerous local bi-racial discussion-meetings to agree on the issues, to find the facts, and to make a plan. Such meetings are occuring in many parts of the South. Most of them will succeed in their objective of finding a way to make the change. And in all of them the small flame which must burn, the spirit which must appear, is a new one of respect the people of the South can muster.

Lastly, for those who would organize resistance, I quote a textile worker in South Carolina, speaking a few weeks after the Supreme Court's decision: "Looks to me like," he said, "when a tree has done been cut and is falling over at you, ain't no time to holler, 'hold it back'."

###

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HELEN WALLER=

RECEIVED 10/14/54 Southern Regional Council

2:45 pm

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Air Mail

October 25, 1954

Mrs. Theodore Waller
Forum Director
New York Herald Tribune
230 West 41st Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mrs. Waller:

All of us here in the Council have been so interested in the reports of the Herald Tribune Forum - both the accounts in the paper and Dr. Mitchell's account today.

This note comes to ask you to do us a favor if it is possible. As you know, we have had great difficulty securing a good picture of Dr. Mitchell for publicity purposes. The one which was made and which appeared in the Tribune on October 16th is so good we would be most grateful if you would secure for us a dozen glossies, and if newspaper mats are already made we would like to have a supply of those - as much as could be spared. If it is possible for you to arrange to have these sent to us, we would be most grateful. Please let us know what the charges are and we will see that it is taken care of.

We hope that you will have an opportunity to visit in Atlanta again.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Asst. Dir. for Program Planning

GTH/rf

October 25, 1954

Mrs. Theodore Waller
Forum Director
New York Herald Tribune
230 West 41st Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Helen:

Many thanks for the copy of the Forum report and congratulations. I had already seen the Forum account in the Herald Tribune, and Dr. Mitchell, who is back in the office today, confirms the fact that it was a smoothly handled and constructive occasion all around.

If and when you do the tabloid reprint, let me know. We might want to get hold of a modest supply.

I hope you will come back to Atlanta again when time isn't at such a premium.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rf

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
A European Edition is Published Daily in Paris

PEnnsylvania 6-4000 October 22, 1954 230 West 41st Street, New York 36

Dear Harold:

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the Forum report. Dr. Mitchell was absolutely superb -- what a wonderful human being! I am sure he and you will be interested to know that the U.S. Information Service has ordered five thousand copies of the Forum section for distribution abroad.

I am not sure yet whether demand here will justify a reprint, but there is the possibility. I would like to do a reprint in tabloid form just of the integration material, beginning with Ashmore and of course without advertising.

Thank you again for all your help when I was in Atlanta.

Yours sincerely,

Helen Waller

Mrs. Theodore Waller
Forum Director

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
43 Auburn Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Lovejoy
Menefee
Huxley

November 23, 1954

Mr. Dan W. Dodson
New York University
School of Education
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Dan:

All right for the meeting in New York December 15th. I will be present.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

I forgot to say -- this will be a "dutch" luncheon, at about $2.00 apiece.

DWD

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SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

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RECEIVED
11/22/54
Southern Regional Council

November 19, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

You will recall that at the Herald-Tribune Forum off-the-record meeting with agency representatives, I was requested to call a small group together to discuss the possibilities of some kind of interchange program among the national agencies who have an equity in the desegregation problem of the South.

A small group met at lunch on that same day after the meeting and informally agreed that an unofficial occasional luncheon might be all that was needed for the purpose we had in mind.

When I got the small group together, they asked me to take the initiative in calling the first of these unofficial luncheons for them. Consequently, I am inviting you or your representative to attend a luncheon on December 15 at the Executive Dining Room of the New York Herald-Tribune, Eighth Floor, 230 West 41 Street, from 12 to 2 o clock. At that time George Mitchell is to be in town and will report on what has been happening. At the same time, it is hoped that we can report the discussions of the small group which I assembled.

Since the meeting is to be restricted to a group small enough for discussion purposes, it is suggested that not more than one from each agency attend. But we would appreciate your sending a representative in case you cannot personally be there.

I hope I have the pleasure of breaking bread with you on December 15.

Sincerely,

Dan

Dan W. Dodson
Director

January 11, 1955

Mrs. Helen Hiett Waller
The New York Herald-Tribune Forum
230 West Forty-First Street
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Waller:

Many thanks for the neatly printed version of the 1954 volume done for USIA. If we could have as many as twenty copies, we would be very appreciative.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Not on letterhead

Newspapers - NY - HT

April 5, 1957

Mr. Bob Bird
c/o Luke Carroll
New York Herald-Tribune
New York, New York

Dear Bob:

Here are thermofax copies of the insurance letters and a copy each of copies of Jordan's letter to the President and the Attorney General's letter to Jordan. Also enclosed are photostatic copies of the two key insurance letters.

The letter from Alexander and Company definitely should not be used until I indicate clearance. Sorry.

Personally, I think you are still in business as planned.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:mm
Enclosures

Newspapers
NY-HT

NOT ON LETTERHEAD

April 10, 1957

Mr. Robert Bird
c/o Mr. Luke Carroll
New York Herald-Tribune
New York, N.Y.

Dear Bob:

A good story and helpful. Sorry you had to rush it.

The grand jury business is likely to keep drawing fire. You may be interested in the enclosed statement from the United Churchwomen of Georgia.

Koinonia is scheduled to have an answer to the grand jury soon.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:mm
Enclosure

May 1, 1957

New York Herald Tribune
230 West 41st Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Sirs:

Please send us one copy each of the editions in which are contained the "Ku Klux Klan" series by Bob Bird of your staff.

Bill us for same and thank you.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:cj

December 29, 1958

Mr. Whitelow Reid, Editor
New York Herald Tribune
230 W. 41st Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Reid:

We are interested in reprinting the article by Professor Arthur E. Sutherland of Harvard which appeared under the heading "1886 Ruling Tips Court's Hand in Alabama Case" in your December 1, 1958 edition. If permission is granted it will appear in a forthcoming edition of our magazine, New South, the latest copy of which is enclosed.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

Rec'd 1-5-59

Law School of Harvard University

Cambridge 38, Mass.

January 2, 1959

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for your letter of 29 December. I am entirely willing to have you reprint the Herald-Tribune piece to which you refer.

Would it be possible to carry a note that the heading, "1886 Ruling Tips Court's Hand in Alabama Case", was supplied by the Tribune?

Very truly yours,

Arthur E. Sutherland

Arthur E. Sutherland

AES:mlm

December 29, 1958

Professor Arthur E. Sutherland
Harvard Law School
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Sutherland:

We are interested in reprinting the article which appeared under the title "1886 Ruling Tips Court's Hand in Alabama Case." If permission is granted, the article will appear in a forthcoming edition of our monthly magazine, New South, a copy of which is enclosed.

We have written the Herald Tribune for permission also.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
A European Edition is Published Daily in Paris

PEnnsylvania 6-4000 230 West 41st Street, New York 36

January 6, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Your letter of December 29th, addressed to Mr. Whitelaw Reid, has been referred to me inasmuch as my office handles all inquiries regarding permission to reprint our copyrighted material.

We are pleased to grant permission to reprint in NEW SOUTH, the article by Professor Arthur E. Sutherland, "1886 Ruling Tips Court's Hand in Alabama Case," which appeared in our paper of December 1, 1958.

It will be necessary for you to also obtain the approval of Professor Sutherland.

Proper credit should be given to Professor Sutherland and New York Herald Tribune.

Very truly yours,
NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

A. V. Miller
Vice President

AVM:DH

February 1, 1957

Mr. Stan Opotowsky
The New York Post
Seventy-Five West Street
New York 6, New York

Dear Stan:

We are still interested in seeing your series on the South. In this regard, since we are not able to subscribe to the Post, we are fearful of missing your work without some warning.

If the series has been run could you send us a copy? If not, would you be good enough to let us know when to watch the newsstands?

Your notes and related information, within the limits of our discussions, would still be of much value to us. Know it's quite a task to assemble such things, but if and when you find the time to send them on to us, whatever their condition, we would be most deeply grateful. In turn, if there's any follow up or checking we can do, let us know.

Hope for the opportunity to chat again within the not-too-distant future.

Best regards,

Paul Anthony

PA/eab

Newspapers - NY Post

February 20, 1957

Mr. Stan Opotowsky
The New York Post
75 West Street
New York 6, New York

Dear Stan:

A belated note of appreciation for your "Dixie Dynamite" series. We especially appreciate the handling of the material we passed along and the generous way in which you mentioned SRC.

As to notes and material, I can well understand the difficulty anyone else would have with them. However, a copy of the transcript of the first Mississippi meeting for our files would be helpful.

We shall look forward to seeing you again on your next Southern jaunt.

Warmest regards,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:mm

NC7.

(Do you want the Series? Please H.)

→ PA

WHITEHALL 4-9800

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New York Post

75 WEST STREET • NEW YORK 6, N. Y.

Feb. 5, 1957

Dear Paul,

I've had precious little time to myself to make good my promises to you, and the job was more difficult than I anticipated for two reasons:

1. The series, as it developed, turn out to be simply an expansion of what you told me.

2. My notes don't make sense (excpet to me).

Therefore, do this: read the series. Then, if there is any point on which you want more information, just say the word. I'll write for you as detailed a report as possible. I rpobably do have a few papers you'll want, such as the transcript of the first Citizens Council meeting in Mississippi.

But, for purposes of being practical, I'll wait until I hear from you so I can be certain of what you want.

I should have written this letter many weeks ago, I know. But my procrastination has nothing to do with the deep sense of appreciation I have for you and for the Council; the help to me personally was tremendous, and the work you're doing is a genuine glimmer of light.

Best regards,

Stan

Stan Opotowsky

March 14, 1958

Circulation Manager
New York Post
75 West Street
New York 6, New York

Dear Sir:

In our recent order for issues of your magazine, the magazine section was missing from the February 25th issue you sent us. Would you please mail us a copy as soon as possible as the magazine section contains a series on segregation that we are interested in.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

March 3, 1958

Circulation Manager
New York Post
75 West Street
New York 6, New York

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is seventy-two cents to cover the cost of the Segregation Series mentioned in our letter of February 26.

We thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl. (Seventy-two cents in coins)

February 26, 1958

Circulation Manager
New York Post
75 West Street
New York 6, New York

Dear Sir:

Please mail us the issues of the Post containing the series on Segregation by Irwin Ross, which started in your paper February 24.

Bill us for cost.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

June 16, 1954

Dictated June 15

Mr. Cabbell Phillips,
New York Times,
1701 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Cabbell:

I have been in such a swivet that I have not yet read your story about the Indiana town, but various people have told me about it, and you have sent it to me, and one of these nights soon I am going to read it and enjoy it.

Meanwhile, I hear from Will Alexander, the dean in all these matters and now living on a farm in North Carolina, that Frank Graham is interested in doing an article for The Saturday Evening Post or the New York Times Magazine on problems that confront the South and how they can be met. Frank Graham can be reached at the U.N.

Alexander has no contacts with The Saturday Evening Post, and I have only this contact through you with the New York Times, except for Bob Garst -- and this is a bit out of Bob's line. Anyhow, if the Times is interested, here's a guy who is prepared to write something good on a subject of greatest interest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

February 25, 1956

Mr. Russell Porter
The New York Times
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Porter:

I have been cruelly pressed and haven't yet had a chance to write you the off-the-top memo you wanted, though I still have hopes of doing so today or tomorrow.

Lest I fail, however, I'm sending the enclosed copy of the news story in the Atlanta Constitution reporting a speech made by Attorney-General Cook which may have escaped your notice. This is one of the most significant evidences I have seen of the strategy of delay being followed by segregation leaders here.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/mef

CONFIDENTIAL

THE NEW YORK TIMES

C
O
P
Y

Times Square New York 36 N Y

LAckawanna 4-1000

March 25, 1956

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, President
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Hutchins:

Thanks very much for your nice letter on the Southern talk, and it was a pleasure to meet with you and your folks.

I didn't want to take time to rehash some of the basic points I wrote out to expedite things earlier, but maybe it might be of some help if I re-typed the outline. This is obviously not any idea of The Times, and maybe it's too superficial. But at least it went like this:

1. The first consideration is that any solutions have got to come from a community itself.

11. The communities in Alabama and Florida have had lots of propaganda for segregation, little if any for desegregation. They might use some basic compilation on that side, perhaps including:

A. Moral base for integration--as in sermon by Bishop Louttit of South Florida Protestant Episcopal Church.

B. Legal base--Supreme Court texts.

C. Practical base:

1. Labor--Keeping one element down tends to keep all parts of population down, cheap Negro labor is threat to wage standards, boycott law in Alabama was aimed at unions and used on Negroes.

2. Economic--extra costs of building separate schools or long-distance transportation, high cost of out-of-state tuition for Negroes in higher institutions, potential effect of turmoil on South's uplift industrialization efforts and tourism.

3. Peace--Negro rise has been a revolution, and revolutions in past have tended to be violent and hurt the innocent; problem to preserve peace for all.

4. Educational--arguments over benefits from wider contacts.

5. Warnings from history of anti-Negro movements turning into anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish movements.

6. Examples of integration and effects, such as "Schools in Transition" showing different settings and efforts.

7. Historic--U. S. tradition has been to promote opportunity, effect overseas.

--more

111. The need is for some positive efforts at understanding and mediation - - understanding of the Negro desire to attain both equality and dignity, understanding of the real recent Southern educational efforts, moves that will try to save face for both sides as is a necessity in something like the Montgomery bus boycott now.

A. The Alabama and Florida Councils on Human Relations, affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, and other community groups, including the National Urban League branches, offer a starting point.

B. Such groups might be equipped with handbooks of data as above.

C. The most effective tactic might be some community education effort such as in the Puerto Rico Department of Education, where individual workers go out into the countryside and towns to spend weeks and months just chatting until they get people themselves to start self-help efforts. In New York, a similar tactic is tried in street-gang work by the Youth Board. This is very long-term.

I was glad to come over to talk about something constructive, instead of the recent critical encounters. I was glad also today to run into your newly-announced financing of the local bar groups' panel of counsel for security cases.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Peter Kihss

April 27, 1956

Circulation Department
New York Times
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

We understand that copies of your special report on the South from the issue of March 13th are available at 5¢ per copy.

Kindly send us 500 copies, if they are available. The bill should be addressed to me at this office and will be promptly attended to.

I would appreciate your prompt attention to this order.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

May 21, 1956

Mr. Cabell Phillips
Washington Correspondent
The New York Times
1701 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Cabell:

Delighted to see the man Peter Korteweg if he hits here when I am here, which I hope will happen.

I am waiting for Sunday's New York Times to come in right now. Shall read the story with much interest.

Come back; it was a joy to have you. My best wishes to your nice wife.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The New York Times
WASHINGTON BUREAU
1701 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 18, 1956

RECEIVED MAY 21 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear George:

Peter Korteweg, American correspondent for a group of ten newspapers in The Netherlands, is making a tour of the South in order not only to acquaint himself with that part of the country, but to try to get an understanding of the race problem there. I have tried to help him arrange his itinerary and have suggested that he call on you. You should hear from him during the first two weeks in June, and if you can give him a little time I know that he will be grateful and I am sure you will enjoy talking with him.

I enjoyed my brief visit last week with you and Alice very much, indeed. My story on "young Hummon" is in this week's magazine. I hope you approve of all that I have said.

Sincerely,

Cabell

Cabell Phillips
Washington Correspondent
Sunday Department

CP:IH

July 2, 1956

The New York Times
Times Square
New York 36, New York

Dear Sirs:

Burma is not in the British Commonwealth.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - Clip from N.Y. Times
6/30/56

The New York Times
Times Square

July 9, 1956

RECEIVED JUL 12 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

You are right, of course. Burma was removed from the British Commonwealth in the second edition. Unfortunately, you received the first edition.

Thanks for calling the error to our attention.

Sincerely yours,

Emanuel R. Freedman

Emanuel R. Freedman
Foreign News Editor

amg

The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York 36, N. Y.

C. L. SULZBERGER

August 28, 1956

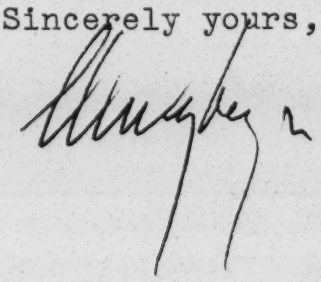
RECEIVED AUG 31 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It was indeed kind of you to send that nice letter of August 22nd concerning my column of August 20th, and I want you to know how much I appreciate it.

Sincerely yours,



CLS/h

FILE COPY

August 22, 1956

Mr. C. L. Sulzberger
The New York Times
Times Square
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Sulzberger:

I would like to add one more to the slim stack of letters you are likely to receive from the Southern states giving praise and appreciation for your column in the New York Times of August 20th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Clip - Practice what we preach -
the Big Issue.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, AUGUST 20, 1956.

Foreign Affairs

Practice What We Preach—The Big Issue

By C. L. SULZBERGER

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 19—The most important moral issue facing the United States during the next four years is that of racial integration on a basis of full freedom and equality. Advances have been made along this troubled path. But much remains to be done.

We cannot hope to assert world leadership unless we resolve this tragic and perplexing question. Asia and Africa have become key continents whose future political sympathies will fix the international balance. Yet every time their multitudinous peoples are reminded that we, in the professed land of liberty, still treat many Negroes as second-class citizens, our prestige diminishes.

The Republican party, which draws relatively little support in the traditionalist South, is in a favorable strategic position to stress this argument during the forthcoming campaign. Should it again win the elections, it might, paradoxically, be able to do the Democrats great service by healing this cancer on our national conscience.

For only when there has been total cure can the oddly factional Democrats, still bothered by political needs for bland, semantical compromise, draw more firmly together.

Century-Old Problem

It is extraordinary how this fundamental heartache, which helped foster the original Republican party, has remained at the core of American politics for more than a century while the country grew from lusty immaturity to super-power. In 1858 Lincoln described the problem in words which even today find echoes from India to the Gold Coast. He said:

"Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in our bosoms. Our defense is in the preservation of the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of *all men, in all lands everywhere.* Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism around your own doors."

Two years later, curiously enough, the Supreme Court's attitude became politically important in the argument on Negro slavery. The Northern Democratic faction (in a split party) used judicial decisions on private property to defend an equivocal position. Its platform advised the electorate: "The Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of Constitutional law."

Does this remind one hauntingly of recent arguments? Even today, some Southern Democrats, stanchly defending an outmoded cause, speak in a fashion that provoked Republicans (in 1876) to use words strikingly familiar to this campaign for other and shocking reasons. Their platform then said: "We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it *sympathized with treason.*"

Governor Timmerman of South Carolina, favorite-son candidate in Chicago and a world traveler who apparently wears blinders, still argues that integration of our armed forces, by sending Negro troops abroad, "is building deep-seated hatred for the United States. "India," says he, "isn't interested in the Negro—or the white man. It is ridiculous to think these people worry about what Americans do."

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Governor's Recommendation

Tiimmerman considers desegregation in District of Columbia schools "is not a good advertisement of democracy to foreign diplomats." He recommends that envoys from "colored" nations should, when traveling in the South, stay "in the best available nigra hotels."

This kind of bigotry does the United States more harm in a world that has evolved somewhat more than South Carolina than can be remedied by any number of exquisite speeches pronounced in world forums by our statesmen.

There is no easy answer to the question. Neither sensible Democrats nor Republicans of any race wish to fan conflicts in this troubled land. Courage and self-sacrifice on the part of our national leaders are constantly required. They must say to the American people, and to the point of redundancy, that we cannot aspire to any position of moral leadership unless we can succeed in giving a happy place in our own life to the colored people here.

When one regards the violent history of nationalism and racism in the rest of the world, one must be thankful for the astonishing gentleness and good humor of the Negroes in the United States. It is our fortune that they neither showed the traits of sullen Peruvian Indians nor banded together in armed outrage like the Palestinian Stern gang or Cypriot E. O. K. A. All communism's concentrated power never attracted from their ranks more than a handful of "intellectuals."

But these people do not yet feel, as a race, admitted to equal citizenship, although asked to make the ultimate contribution of joining our armed forces. The question cannot be rushed to the point of provoking trouble or frightening the South. But all of us must constantly remind ourselves that the bulk of this world's population is colored differently from ourselves. We cannot pretend to be a valid model for democracy if we continue, even regionally, to insist on race superiority.

The New York Times

TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK 36 N Y

LACKAWANNA 4-1000

August 24, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED AUG 27 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of August 20, pertinent to a daily and Sunday subscription addressed to the Council. We are extremely sorry for the inconvenience caused by missending of issues.

The error has been rectified, and we do hope future service will be satisfactory.

As it now stands, your order is paid to January 17, 1957.

Cordially,

W L Murray

William L. Murray
Subscription Manager

WLM:zwp

AIRMAIL

October 5, 1956

Reprint Editor
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York 36, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

We are writing concerning the New York Times Magazine article A Southern Negro's View of the South by Charles S. Johnson which appeared in the September 23rd issue. We are interested either in reprinting it in our magazine New South or reprinting it as a separate mailing piece. In either case it would be distributed to our mailing list of more than 5,000 persons. Any consideration in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Managing Editor - New South

JC:mbo

AIRMAIL

October 22, 1956

Reprint Editor
The New York Times Magazine Section
229 West 43rd Street
New York 36, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

On October 5, 1956, we wrote to you concerning the possibility of reprinting an article by Dr. Charles S. Johnson which appeared in your September 23rd issue. Since we have not heard from you, we are wondering if the letter might have gone astray.

We are interested in one of two possibilities: 1) reprinting the article in New South, our monthly magazine or 2) reprinting it as a separate mailing piece.

We would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Managing Editor - New South

JC:mbo
CC: Dr. C. S. Johnson

November 1, 1956

Publicity Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Sirs:

Recently, we wrote the New York Times Magazine requesting permission to reprint the article by Dr. Charles Johnson and sent a copy of the request to Dr. Johnson. A copy of the Times letter is enclosed for your information.

We are, of course, aware of Dr. Johnson's untimely death and are aware of the tremendous loss to our nation and our region. We do think that it is now especially important that Dr. Johnson's valuable words be circulated as widely as possible.

Since Miss Anna Holden, who is on the staff at Fisk University, informs us that you are distributing copies of the article; we wonder if you might be able to tell us the correct procedure for obtaining full reprint permission of the article.

Our mailing list is now approximately 5,000 and regardless of how the article is reprinted, either in our magazine, New South, or in a separate mailing piece, it would be circulated throughout the Southern region and to many persons in the non-South.

We would appreciate your advice at your earliest convenience.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Managing Editor - New South

JC:mbo
Enc.

The New York Times

TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK 36 N Y

LAckawanna 4-1000

October 29, 1956.

Mr. John Constable
Managing Editor - New South
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for your letter of October 22nd. Apparently your letter of October 5th went astray, otherwise you would have heard from us by now.

As far as we are concerned, you may reprint Dr. Johnson's article which appeared in The New York Times Magazine of September 23rd, either in your monthly magazine or as a separate mailing piece. Since Dr. Johnson retains rights in this article, his permission also must be secured, and I note from your letter that you have written him.

Sincerely yours,

Elliott M. Sanger, Jr.

Elliott M. Sanger, Jr.
Asst. Promotion Manager

EMS,Jr.:rm

December 18, 1956

Mr. John Popham
New York Times
c/o The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear John:

That was a very nice story you did Sunday about my going out to the other side of the world. Above all other talent in your line I esteem the power to take one, two, or three sketchy items and write something that bangs down every nail: one swat, one nail. You and that good man who writes editorials for the Washington Post are the only two I ever knew who had the skill completely.

There is to be a two-unit motel next door to our croft in Scotland. For fear of British income tax I will only let the motel earn $400 a year. Each year after the $400 has come in the motel is free; emphatically to the Pophams.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

December 27, 1956

Mr. Cabell Phillips
New York Times
1701 "K" Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Cabell:

Here are two paragraphs attempting to respond to your phone call.

I think you could stick 'em in!

If I didn't hit it, call again.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM;fc
Encl.

You may say that there are some people so bigoted that they will never be persuaded. The best I can answer is, try the droplets on them; they frequently work miracles. But people live who can resist that, or who can't be brought to where the flit is. You just have to out-organize them. Persuade so many people around them that they begin to get the drift of things. If they won't, they'll just have to lash about like the last of the diplodocci. Only I doubt if many people were moved by the final threats of critters obviously doomed.

Also there are timid people, who see what's right but don't want to be the ones to start doing it. Simple remedy is for the school officials to ask them to serve on an official committee on what to do about the schools and the Court. Many who won't come along as a voluntary matter will do their official duty, if asked to. The other thing is for all who love democracy and who have a stake in having it succeed (ministers, mayors, Church lay people, all our local leadership) to begin to point out that this question tests our democracy. If we want democracy, this is the way to keep it. Maybe we'll lose it; but a lot of people would greatly like to keep it. And to keep it we must enlarge it. This is the testing-time of our leadership.

January 9, 1957

Mr. Cabell Phillips
Washington Bureau
The New York Times
1701 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Cabell:

Sorry the old boys didn't see it.

I sent it off to The Progressive much improved by NYT editing. Hope maybe they will take it.

We will expect to come to see you when we get to Washington.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The New York Times
1701 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

January 8, 1957

Dear George--

The sad news is that your story has been turned down by New York. It was not so much the ineffable Mitchell style, although that caused some minor boggling of the eyes, as that your valedictory lacked any very emphatic punch. If you had been really prepared to tell the white folks off, I think we could have made the book. I'm sorry about this, but at least I do have the satisfaction of hoping that we will have a chance to see you and Alice, however briefly, when you come through Washington.

All the best,

Cabell

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA87 (45).

A LLR466 (A WA311) PD=FAX WASHINGTON DC 16 404PME=

HAROLD C FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL= 1965 JUL 16 PM 4 48

:63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

DUBLIN FILLS THE BILL. WILL CHECK IN YOUR OFFICE SHORTLY BEFORE NOON WEDNESDAY. MANY THANKS=

:CABELL PHILLIPS NEW YORK TIMES BUREAU=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

RECEIVED JUL 22 1957

Shamrock Hotel Court File

DUBLIN, GEORGIA

7/19

Mr Fleming

Many, many thanks

Cabell Phillips

January 31, 1958

Mr. Elliott M. Sanger, Jr.
Asst. Promotion Manager
The New York Times
Times Square
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Sanger:

Thank you for your letter of January 27, and your permission to reprint the New York Times Magazine article. Proper credit will be given.

Again thanks.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

The New York Times
TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK 36 N Y
LAckawanna 4-1000

January 27, 1958.

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

This is in reply to your letter of January 22nd.

You have our permission to reprint the article entitled "The Southern Negro: Change and Paradox", which appeared in The New York Times on December 1, 1957.

Please give credit to The Times as the source of this article.

Sincerely yours,

Elliott M. Sanger, Jr.

Elliott M. Sanger, Jr.
Asst. Promotion Manager

EMS,Jr.:rm

January 22, 1958

Mr. Lester Markel, Editor
New York Times Magazine
229 West 43rd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Markel:

We are interested in distributing reprints of the article, "The Southern Negro: Change and Paradox," in the December 1, 1957 issue of the New York Times Magazine. We hope you will grant us reprint permission for this article.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

The New York Times
TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK 36 N Y
LAckawanna 4-1000
3d Floor Editorial

return to HCF

LWDV

RECEIVED JUL 24 1959

Answered 7/28/59 HCF/mf

July 22, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your note on the series--I'm glad to hear it was well received in Atlanta.

I did, as you suggest, intend to indicate that the SRC knew specifically of "between 12 and 20 churches", as you put it during our conversation, that have members of a second race. As you say, no accurate study of the number appears to have been made, and I said elsewhere in the article that in any case, many churches would be reluctant to admit that they had accepted Negro members, for fear of reprisals.

So although I feel with you that there are probably more churches that have admitted Negroes, I do not think a further statement in the paper could do much to clarify this point. I did also cite Herman Long's estimate that in the whole South there are about 200 integrated churches, most of them in the border states.

I think the essential fact, whether the number be 20 or 50, is that against the total number of churches in the area, the figure is extremely small.

I want to express again my appreciation to you and to Mrs. Tilly for your help while I was in Atlanta. Your comments did a great deal to put the story in perpective in my mind.

Sincerely,

John Wicklein

John Wicklein

P. S. I received your note today, after a two weeks' vacation, and that's why this reply is so late.

July 9, 1959

Dr. T. Franklin Williams
178 Hamilton Road
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Williams:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to John Wicklein. We were puzzled by the figures attributed to SRC. I have written him as enclosed.

I was interested in your comments on St. John's Church. The John Harmons are friends of ours, and he was a summer worker at the Council a few years ago. As it happens they are presently in Atlanta, and my wife and I spent a pleasant evening with them only yesterday. John asked me to convey his best regards to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.
(Copy of HCF ltr. to Wicklein - 7/9/59)

July 9, 1959

AIR MAIL

Mr. John Wicklein
The New York Times
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Wicklein:

First of all, I want to congratulate you warmly for your series on the churches and race relations in the South. You have covered a tremendous amount of ground with accuracy and skill, for which both you and the Times are due a vote of thanks. I have heard a number of favorable comments on the series in the past few days.

There is one specific point on which I feel I should write you -- that is, the statement in the first article that SRC "has reports of no more than twenty Protestant churches within the eleven-state bounds of the old Confederacy that have members of a second race." This statement has been questioned by Dr. T. Franklin Williams and one or two others.

Their interpretation of the statement seems to be that SRC has surveyed this situation and has been able to find only twenty churches with bi-racial memberships. If I or any other member of our staff gave you that impression, I apologize for the misunderstanding. We haven't attempted any systematic fact-finding on this point, and I doubt that a firm figure could be arrived at, short of herculean efforts; I know of no one who has attempted it.

On the other hand, if the statement was intended to mean that we at SRC know specifically of about twenty such churches -- though there may be, and doubtless are, others -- that would be pretty accurate. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to make a reliable estimate of the total number, since such instances are likely to be obscure and often deliberately unpublicized. Areas like west Texas, where deviations from traditional Southern racial practices attract little attention, would be particularly hard to assess.

Most informed observers would agree that the number is very small, both in terms of the churches (mostly in the upper South) and the "members of a second race" involved (usually one or two in a given church). However, on the basis of known examples, they would be justified in feeling that the number of such churches is larger than twenty.

The point is hardly a major one, since it doesn't substantively affect the conclusions of your article. However, I would appreciate your view as to whether the statement should be clarified, either through a carefully worded letter to the editor from us, or through some other means.

And I wouldn't want to do anything that would reflect adversely on the series, which is as accurate and thorough a job as one could wish.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

cc: Dr. T. Franklin Williams

178 Hamilton Road
Chapel Hill, N. C.
July 6, 1959

Mr. John Wicklein
The New York Times
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Wicklein:

In your first article on the churches in the South and integration, in yesterday's New York Times, you stated that according to the Southern Regional Council only about twenty churches in all of the eleven states of the Confederacy have members of more than one race and that about 3/4 of these are Unitarian. These figures are indeed surprising to me, for this would leave only five non-Unitarian Protestant churches with some integration in the whole "deep South". There are at least four such integrated churches (Protestant, non-Unitarian) in Chapel Hill: The Chapel of the Cross (Episcopal) and the Community Church (non-denominational) have had one or more Negro members in their predominately white congregations for at least six years; the Church of the Holy Family (Episcopal) and the Olin T. Binkley Memorial Baptist Church each has at least one Negro member now. These figures are not impressive but they do cast doubt, I think, on the extremely low figure which you quote from the Southern Regional Council. I would think that the Southern Regional Council would be better informed than these figures indicate to me, but if not then I think you had better seek more direct data yourself.

It might also be worth pointing out that the Ministerial Association in this town has been integrated for many years, and that as long ago as twenty years I attended, as an undergraduate college student, integrated Episcopal student conferences in Raleigh, Greensboro, and Chapel Hill, N. C.

Finally, I hope that in your series you will be reporting on what some of the churches are like in which a really substantial part of the membership is from different races. There are not many such churches -- I doubt any in the South -- but there are a few. One such is St. John's Church (Episcopal), Roxbury Crossing, Boston, the most exciting church I have ever been in. From what reading I have done I gather that a similar spirit pervades other such churches. I think people would like to read more about this quality.

Sincerely yours,

T. Franklin Williams, M. D.

cc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council

Reprinted from The New York Times Magazine, September 27, 1959

The Agony of the Southern Minister

In most cases, he is pressed between his conscience, which dictates racial tolerance, and members of his congregation, who have set their faces against even token integration.

By RALPH McGILL

ATLANTA.

IN the 131-year-old city of Columbus, Ga., a town on the bank of the Chattahoochee River with a population of 85,000 whites and 40,000 Negroes, the Rev. Mr. Robert Blakely McNeill, 44, endured with faith and patience the slow progress of convalescence following a coronary suffered June 10.

His severe physical shock came just three days after a spiritual one. A judicial commission of the Southeast Georgia Presbytery had dismissed him from the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church, its chairman reading the brief, almost curt, notice from the pulpit Mr. McNeill had filled for six and a half years.

Seven long months before, the same commission, after a request for a hearing by seven of the congregation, had said that the racial issue was the central one behind the opposition to the pastor. According to Rob McNeill's friends, this "Spanish-Inquisition-like hostility" was fostered by a hard core of "about fifty church members."

Actually, Rob McNeill, Alabama-born, Southern-reared and educated, had never once used his pulpit to urge integration. Even his most bitter enemies admit as much. But in an article published in Look magazine in May, 1957, he had advocated a moderate course of creative contact between the races as a necessary approach to racial harmony and Christian duty. He emphasized that he rejected sexual and contrived social mixing. But he also made it plain he had meant that Negroes should, and must, be accepted in the administration of community affairs.

FROM that day on, there were those in his congregation who, for these mild statements, remorselessly set out to drive him from the church. By June they were appealing to the Presbytery. Statements like these were heard, "No nigger will ever darken the door of the church," and, "If a nigger comes, I go."

It was even reported that some of the more relentless opponents among the 1,200 professed Christians in the congregation were heard to say, on learning of the coronary that brought Mr. McNeill close to death, that the Lord finally had "taken care of him." Others, seemingly dismayed at the possibility that the illness might create sympathy, said, "It's a fake attack."

However, Rob McNeill was not alone. Members of his congregation manned a reception table outside his hospital room in two-hour shifts from early morning until late at night to greet and register visitors and to protect him from intruders. There were special prayers in hundreds of homes, and his wife and three children, who suffered their share of vile language and death threats by phone, were never without friends.

McNeill's supporters agreed then that he must go to another pastorate, though they longed to confront his opposition in a further church hearing. He was, at the time of his heart attack, considering a call to a large Charleston, W. Va., church, but was unwilling to surrender to the malignant forces against him. But now he has accepted.

A leader among those who opposed him is quoted as saying, "Now we must find a preacher with the right kind of religion."

This story of Robert McNeill, Christian minister in the Deep South, who sought to have his own life reflect the two great commandments of love as specifically designated by his Master, is—save for the heart attack and the drama of his unexpected public firing—not an unusual one in the South. In varying degrees it is shared by all Southern ministers and priests who have the courage to take even the most moderate of positions on racial integration. Pressure from some of the congregational leaders, ostracism and obstruction, repeated telephone calls in the dead of night, ugly, whispered filth, threats of violence and death inspired by minds stewing with God alone knows what evil—these are all part of a pattern familiar to the ministers of Southern churches who try to take the attitude of tolerance required by Christianity, the ethics of Western civilization, the Constitution and courts of the United States and their own national church organizations.

Despite the virulence of the attacks upon them, these moderate ministers do not, in general, take the position that each church should have a thoroughly mixed congregation. That is not likely to come about in the South any more than it has or will soon in the North; social and economic patterns of community life preclude it, quite aside from the integration controversy.

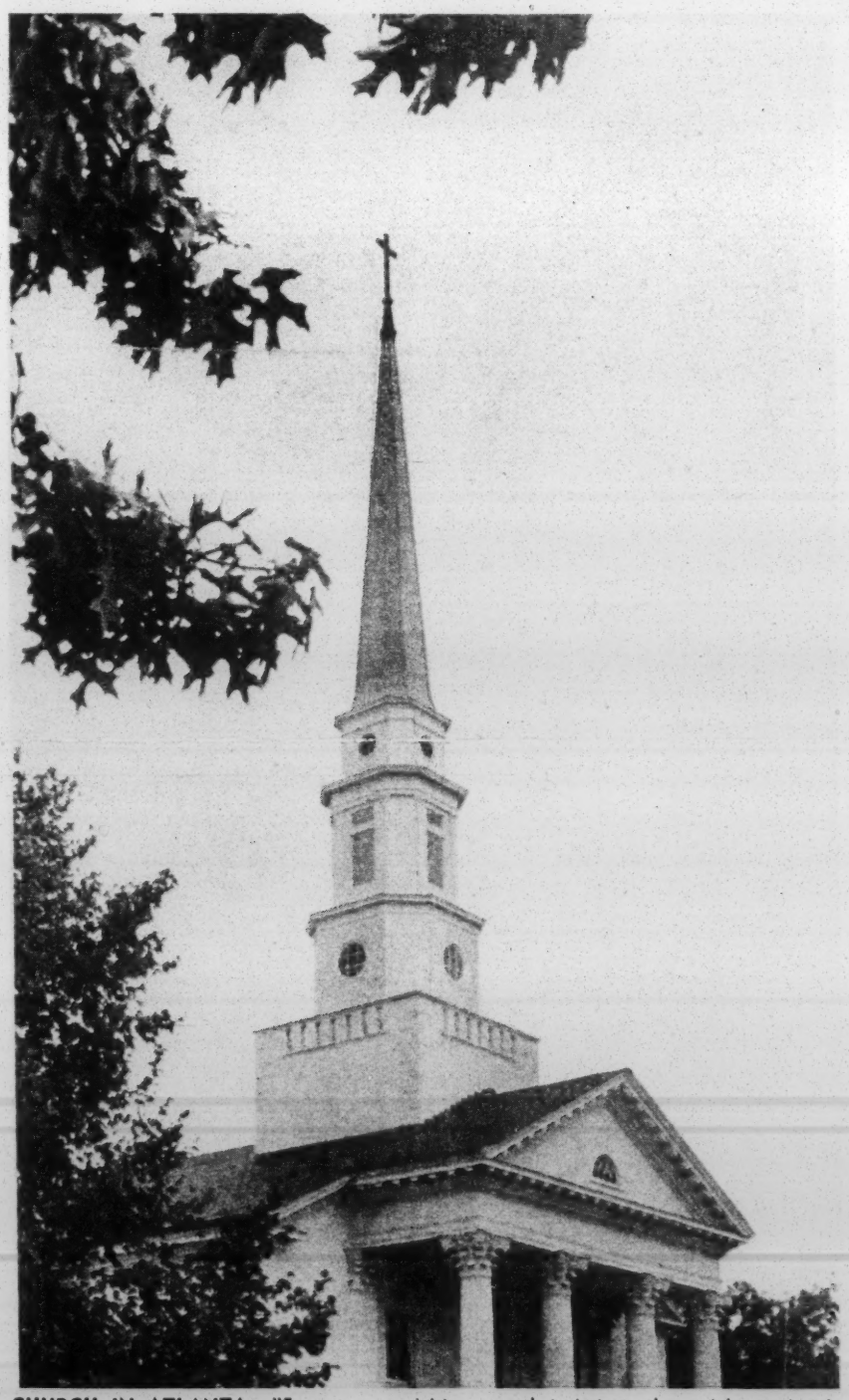
THE stand these ministers do take is twofold: First, Christians and Christian churches should, as a matter of principle, be in the forefront of the forces working for racial tolerance and obedience to the law, particularly in the matter of public school integration. Second, as a token of this principle, white congregations should cease to reject the very thought of a Negro crossing the threshold; although Negroes need not be admitted to full membership, any who wish to worship should be welcomed.

The basic position of the moderates was set forth in November, 1957, by eighty Atlanta ministers who issued what came to be known as a manifesto calling for communication between the races, maintenance of public schools and obedience to law and the courts. A year later 311 ministers and a rabbi representing sixteen denominations in the Atlanta area, issued a stronger statement along the same lines, the principles of which the Catholic Bishop publicly endorsed. In many other Southern states, ministers and church organizations have published similar assertions of principles.

The views of these Southern moderates are, in every case, fully in keeping with the official policies of national church bodies. No such organization—Protestant, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox or Jewish—today supports segregation in principle or practice.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, after the U. S. Supreme Court's school decision in 1954, took a forthright, official position in support of it. In subsequent years it reaffirmed it and firmly put down all attempts to repeal that resolution. The National Conference of the Methodist Church has made a similar affirmation.

THE Southern Baptist Convention—representing by far the largest Southern denomination—met in St. Louis in June, 1954, and adopted a five-point resolution recognizing that "this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the Constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men." In its 1959 convention in *(Continued on Page 57)*



CHURCH IN ATLANTA—"Every aware minister sees that, just as the racial question is the greatest political issue before the world today so it is the greatest Christian issue."

RALPH McGILL, the editor of The Atlanta Constitution, won a Pulitzer Prize earlier this year for his distinguished editorial writing.

Agony of the Southern Minister

(Continued from Page 16)

Louisville, Ky., the convention beat down attemps to repeal this resolution and also heard retiring president Brooks Hays —the former Congressman from Little Rock who was defeated for re-election because of his moderate racial position —read a report denying scriptural basis for the separation of the races.

Bishops of the Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches have, without exception, ordered that every person is welcome in the House of God. When a Roman Catholic layman's organization in New Orleans angrily and publicly defied a local Church order against segregation and appealed directly to the Pope, the Vatican took a "serious and most unsympathetic view" of the appeal. A high Vatican source said "the Church is unalterably opposed to all forms of discrimination — in New Orleans as much as in South Africa."

Such policy statements by national and regional church organizations are, of course, gratifying. They provide a necessary yardstick. Nor is it fair to say they are without influence at the church or parish level. But church congregations — particularly the dominant Protestant ones of the South — either have or assume considerable local authority.

MOST of them harbor an element—perhaps only a minority, but a potent one—who will never agree that a Negro should be admitted to a white church. These all-out segregationists unhesitatingly put the separation of the races ahead of Christian teaching, law or moral principle.

With an example before them of public officials' defiance of the courts on school integration, they find it easier to bomb churches and schools, to defy Christian teaching and church policies and to make life miserable, if not impossible, for any minister who seeks to follow his conscience, secular law and church policy. Publications by extremist states' rights groups and White Citizens Councils repeatedly urge that "weak-kneed preachers" be "whipped into line" by the withholding of contributions. They sneer at the clergy of all faiths, saying, "Money talks and they all listen."

Lay attacks on ministers rarely are so open as that which attracted national attention in Columbus, Ga. For the most part, they take the form of relentless, petty harassments and slow destruction of the pastor's program. Some of the "big givers" reduce their pledges and let their dislike become known. Some move to another church where the "religion" is the "right kind." Or the meeting of the church board will produce budget wrangles and decisions which, while not so stated, have the effect of negating the pastor's program.

WHEN, for example, the congregation of an Atlanta church, sensing the intention of some hostile members to reduce their giving, bestirred itself to extra effort and sacrifice and turned in the full amount of the budget anyhow, the board suddenly found a need for an expensive addition to the physical equipment of the church. By this and other devices, the board so depleted the budget that the pastor's program was wrecked.

One of the largest Methodist churches in Georgia had a strongly worded resolution offered at an April meeting of the stewards which called for the instant dismissal of any church officials (including the pastor) or Sunday school teachers using the facilities of the church to practice or advocate integration. It was defeated—but the chairman of the board said the vote did not mean the church would permit Negroes to attend.

THUS ministers are squeezed between the dictates of conscience and church policy, on the one hand, and the prejudices of those who "run" the church, on the other. Save for the so-called "Bible floggers," the Ku Klux chaplain breed, and those who are sure that God himself is chief among segregationists, this is a time of agony of spirit for the ministers of sensitive heart and mind.

"We are all in a long period of Gethsemane," said one recently. "And once again Judas is with us."

Every minister with any shred of awareness sees that, just as the racial issue is the greatest political issue before the world today, so it is for Christianity. If the first great commandment of Jesus, and the second which is "like unto it," have no validity in the minds of church members, then the churches are finished, or eventually will be.

"The thing that gets me," said one minister who has taken a moderate stand, "is the silence I encounter. I go and expose myself to members of my congregation who I know to be in opposition, so that we may talk. They won't. The silence is worst.

"Then, too, it is uncomfortable to see successful business and professional men, who have been old friends and strong financial props, suddenly become cold and aloof because one voices the opinion that a colored person is a child of God and has a right to worship in any of God's houses. You want to kneel and pray with these men or to put your arms around them and say, 'Please, what is it in your hearts that makes you so stubborn and afraid?' But today too many men are wrapped in the armor of unreasonable fears and anger."

Many ministers sorrowfully note another effect of the church's position on desegregation. It is that many people today love their church, but not Christ and the faith He taught.

"It had never occurred to me," said one, as he talked of it, with genuine grief in his voice, "that for so many people the church was the building, the meeting with old friends, the association in the women's organizations, and that Christ meant little, if anything. But it is true. There is a great gulf between what some mean when they say they love the church and what another means for whom Christ has validity. It saddens me to learn how many persons do not want Christ to intrude on them, indeed will not permit it, if He makes them uncomfortable."

A sense of shame and self-accusation is especially noticeable among younger ministers, encountering for the first time the harshness of some older men whom they had regarded as great Christian lay leaders. They have stories to tell which, while sometimes wryly humorous, are always sad with disillusionment.

MANY a minister today is holding on in a Southern church, developing a technique of survival, merely because he does not want to desert those in the congregation who depend on him and need him. Still others remain, believing that time and God are working together in their behalf.

There are some grounds for this optimism. Slowly but surely, if not always clearly, one may see at work among lay groups the influence of Christian ministers courageous enough, and with status enough to counter some of the fanaticism. More and more individuals, and a slow procession of churches, are making the decision that houses of worship should be open to all seeking God. It will be slow, in some areas tortuously so, but it will come. It will come most slowly of all in those Deep South states where there is sure to be the closing of public schools over the same issue. But there are a few churches even there which welcome Negroes to mass and to worship.

ALTHOUGH no Southern church is integrated in the true sense of the word, almost every Southern city has one or two churches to which Negroes come with some regularity. So far the doors are open mainly in Catholic churches, although beginnings toward desegregation are evident in some others. This development is limited entirely to the cities; solid opposition to integration persists in rural areas.

As some things cannot be measured in dollars and cents, just so the impact of all that has happened, and is in progress, in this field of race, religion and church, cannot be put down in statistics or any sort of box score. It is something which involves the heart, mind and adrenal glands.

An example of what could be called an awakening, or impact, is the experience of a Methodist Church congregation in Georgia whose minister has recently accepted a call to a large church in the Southwest. The board of deacons had harassed him for more than a year without ever making the harassment overt. It had depleted his budget unnecessarily. It had dismissed his assistant and otherwise frustrated his program.

The pastor believed most of the members were on his side, but he did not feel he could appeal to them over the heads of his board. The board was, as usual, made up largely of the major financial contributors.

SOME few of these had come to him privately to protest and argue that his policy of being willing to admit Negroes to worship was wrecking the church and to urge him to renounce it. Some treated him with contemptuous condescension, saying he was just trying to attain publicity at the expense of the church. One, who said he wanted to talk to him "like a father," appealed to him not to ruin his career by being so radical.

Still another board member, a man of considerable wealth, asked him to his office. "I like you," he said, "but you have outlived your usefulness. I will give you $5,000 if you will resign quietly and go elsewhere. It will be a matter between us. No one will know." The minister managed to restrain his anger, refused, and quietly walked out.

The pastor stayed on for about a year. Then, to prevent a tragic, open break, he resigned. He himself did not know what the impact of the affair had been on his congregation. But soon afterward an excited, happy member came to him and said, "We had a meeting to discuss your replacement. And you know, we found that we have just about fifty-three die-hard segregationists in our congregation of more than 2,000. We are going to engage a man with convictions like yours."

Other congregations are slowly learning more about themselves. Without question, the controversy over desegregation is causing soul-searching; the result in the months and years ahead may be to break the race barriers in most churches.

THOSE ministers who have come to grips with this problem see the church as fulfilling its greatest role in the years ahead — that of binding up the spiritual wounds, and of moving mankind another inch or so forward toward a brotherhood of man, under God, so that this nation, or any nation so dedicated, can and shall have a new birth of freedom.

The pastor of one large Southern church has said: "We are all integrated * * * every one of our churches is integrated. The faces in the pews may all be white. But the Negro is there. He is present in the anger and guilt of some of the congregation. He is present in the consciences of many. He is present in the fears of the ushers who wait each Sunday to see if he will come. He waits in the wings, invisible, but present just the same.

"God is at work. Some of the churches may become private clubs and establish rigid rules against the presence of nonmembers. They will never be happy. They will never know peace. We are all integrated and here is nothing we can do about it save ask God's grace to make us see it."

The New York Times
TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK 36 N Y
LAckawanna 4-1000

JC

November 11, 1959

Dear Mr. Rilling:

We are sorry that we have no reprints of Ralph McGill's article on "The Southern Churchmen," but we are glad to give you permission to reprint it yourself, with proper credit to The New York Times.

Any permission to reprint material from The Times does not extend to the reproduction of our logotype, the Old English letters for The New York Times on page one and other pages of the newspaper.

Sincerely,

Samuel A. Tower

Samuel A. Tower
Assistant to the Promotion Director

Mr. Paul Rilling
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

North Carolina "Sit-ins"

REGARDING:

~~Material submitted~~

Additional background information regarding; released by ACLU

DATE

February 15, 1960

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

ACLU - News Release

Claude -- Here are several paragraphs for quotation on the "sit-ins." I know this is more than you can use, but will leave it to you to pick any sentences and phrases that will round out your piece.

H. C. F.

The spread of lunch counter "sit-ins" holds much significance for Southern race relations. It demonstrates something white Southerners have been reluctant to face: the mounting determination of Negroes to be rid of all segregation barriers. It also marks a shift in leadership and technique -- to the younger, more militant Negro group, and to new and flexible uses of the non-violent protest.

The "sit-ins" are further evidence of Negro Southerners' capacity for orderly, disciplined resistance to segregation. And they show that Negro Southerners are not limited to the traditional court action and formal petition to bring about change. They can muster formidable economic leverage, and have a more negotiable claim on community opinion and sense of fair plan than is often recognized.

Those who hoped that token legal adjustments to school desegregation would dispose of the racial issue are on notice to the contrary. We may expect more, not less, protest of this kind against enforced segregation in public facilities and services of all types.

HCF/mf
February 11, 1960

Sent also to Dan Bacon Wall St. Journal Indianapolis Star 2/15/60 John Hope + Lew Killian 2/24/60

Public Accommodations Laws

Private proprietors who serve the public and are not under duty to serve all (like carriers, inns, and perhaps other places suggested above) may discriminate on racial grounds unless forbidden by state or local law. Twenty-six states have enacted such laws, including Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire (covering advertising only), New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, as well as the District of Columbia.

Source: Race Relations and American Law, p. 101
Jack Greenberg

* * * * * *

DEL. CODE ANN. tit. 24, Sec. 1501 (1953) (innkeeper, restaurateur, etc., not obliged to furnish services to persons whose reception would be offensive to major part of his customers, and would injure his business); MISS. CODE ANN. Sec. 2046.5 (1956 Supp.) (Anyone in "public business" authorized to select patrons); TENN. CODE ANN. Sec. 509.092 (1958 Supp.) (public lodging and public food establishments declared private; owner has right to refust service).

Source: Race Relations and American Law, Footnote #67, p. 97, Jack Greenberg

* * * * * *

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS
Restaurants--North Carolina
State v. Mary Elizabeth Clyburn, etc.

Supreme Court of North Carolina, January 10, 1958, 101 S.E.2d. 295.

SUMMARY: The defendants, a group of Negroes led by a minister, entered a Durham, North Carolina, ice cream and sandwich shop which was separated by a partition into two parts marked "White" and "Colored." They proceeded to the portion set apart for white patrons and asked to be served. Service was refused and the proprietor asked them to leave, or to move to the section marked "Colored." The minister asserted religious and constitutional bases for remaining. A city police officer placed them under arrest. The defendants were tried and convicted on warrants

charging violation of state statutes which impose criminal penalties upon persons interfering with the possession of privately-held property. On appeal, the Supreme Court of North Carolina affirmed the conviction. Finding no "state action" within the prohibition of the Fourteenth Amendment, the court held that the constitutional rights of the defendants had not been infringed by refusing them service or by their subsequent arrest.

Source: Race Relations Law Reporter, April 1958, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 218.

* * * * * *

While there has been much litigation about public accommodations in the South, almost all of it has been directed against state action, to which the Fourteenth Amendment is limited. There is no established way of legally getting at private action without a civil rights law -- the various common law rules have usually, as a practical matter, been nullified.

Source: Race Relations and American Law, p. 112, Jack Greenberg

* * * * * *

Increasing Negro economic strength and community organization are playing an important role in desegregation. This factor has had a telling effect on intrastate travel (where there is a clear legal duty), hotel accommodations (where the law is state, not federal, and often less helpful to those seeking equality), and retailing (where there will usually be no duty unless there is a civil rights law). Wherever legal and social forces are both strong and are combined, change has been greatest. Because bus passengers include a disproportionately large number of Negroes, after a showing in Montgomery of what a bus boycott can do, the judicial declaration that segregation on buses is illegal brought on considerable bus desegregation throughout the South. Although the innkeeper's rule and contractual duty to honor reservations may oblige hotels to receive colored persons, the pressure of conventions which refuse to meet in whites-only lodgings probably has been more effective in opening some of them. Even where there is no legal duty many retail stores which once discriminated against Negro customers in various ways now solicit their increasingly valuable trade and treat them with utmost courtesy. But there still remains the problem of responsiveness to the right: many Negroes still ride in the former Jim Crow section on buses; in some Southern or border communities where hotels have opened up, transients take advantage of the new rights, but almost all residents follow the old patterns.

Source: Race Relations and American Law, p. 113, Jack Greenberg

Copy sent to Dan Pearce Wall St. Journal Okla. City, Okla 4/15/60 John Hope & Lucius Walker 3/24/60

There are scads of instances of recent years in which Negroes have sought and been refused service in eating places; a number of these have led to court suits. More rare, and more dramatic, has been retaliation of one form or another, including the technique of "sit-in" (as it is called in the Negro press) now being employed in several cities of North Carolina.

One of the earliest, if not the earliest, "sit-in" occurred in Wichita in August, 1958, and which, after about four days, led to service at the lunch counters of the Docum stores. Our files do not show whether other Wichita stores were involved or affected.

The next week, the movement spread to Oklahoma City, for its most widely publicized episode. It was the culmination of a long and planned project of the local NAACP Youth Council, and was supervised throughout by the Council's advisor. Beginning in October 1957, occasional Negro youth had sought service at downtown lunch counters. On August 19, the "sit-in" began at ~~Katz Drug Company~~ KATZ DRUG CO. This was one of five stores selected, and by the end of a fortnight all of the five except the John A. Brown department store (said to be the largest in town) had changed their policies. (One store - Kress - removed all stools at lunch counters before complying; everybody - white and colored - had to stand.) During this time, Negro youth from six to 17, (a 15 year old girl was spokesman), sometimes accompanied by adults, and varying in number from a usual 35-40 to a high of 135 on August 28 at Brown's, had occupied all available seats at the recalcitrant stores; they were clean, well dressed, disciplined, and mannerly: before and after their activity they held prayer-sessions. There was little disturbance: a few jeers from white youth; and a one-day counter "sit-in" by 15 white boys, was about all;

the police were generally in attendance. On Sunday, August 24, the Negro youth divided into 20 pairs, and attended 20 white churches: were put out at only three. The movement spread, with some success, to a few other Oklahoma cities: Enid, Tulsa, Stillwater. In Oklahoma City, it ended with Brown's still a holdout and with the appearance of a church-affiliated mediation committee of citizens. In early October, the Youth Council began a mail survey of restaurants in the city to determine their policies. What has developed since neither our files nor the Southern School News Library show. (See attached round-up piece Wall Street Journal, 9-12-58.)

The issue flared again, with different implications, in 1959. On two occasions - in February and December - Negroes sought service at Ralph Adair's cafeterias, and were refused. Adair was abviously singled out because he is a county commissioner, representing District 1 of Oklahoma County, which is said to include 90% of the county's Negro population. The February attempt was made by four members of the Youth Council, and the December attempt by adults and youths.

From November 1958 to February 1959, other tactics were used in Kansas City, where three years earlier a single Negro minister, by repeated and persistent visits, had effected a policy change at the lunch counters of a drug-store chain. Refused restaurant service at five down-town department stores (Emery-Bird-Thayer, Jones, Kline's, Macy's, Peck's), Negroes began (a) to picket the stores, especially during Christmas rush, asking Negroes not to shop at them; (b) a campaign - which they claimed to be pretty successful - to get Negroes to cancel their charge accounts at these stores. Rather prolonged negotiations set in, which ended abruptly when Negroes scheduled a downtown protest parade on Saturday morning, February 28. Four of the five stores (all except Jones) capitulated on February 27, and the parade was called off.

Other forms of retaliation have been employed. For example, Elgin Baylor, rookie star of the Minneapolis Lakers, after being denied a hotel room in Charleston (W. Virginia) refused to ~~paly~~ play in that night's basketball game with the Cincinnati Royals. This got three paragraphs in Time, January 26, 1959. In October, Charleston's largest hotel accepted a Negro (labor union official) - apparently the first time for the city. In September, in Fairfax County (Virginia), a Negro farmer resigned from a county grand jury when offered a segregated lunch in the courthouse cafeteria.

The Miami events of 1959 followed a different pattern from those of Oklahoma City. In the first place, not the NAACP but CORE was the supporting organization. Secondly, the "sit-ins" were not sustained, and led to no definite outcome, except the closing of all eating facilities in one downtown department store. Thirdly, some flare-ups of violence occurred. Activity dragged off and on from May 1959 through September. (See attached round-up piece from The Progressive, February 1960).

March 4, 1960

Mr. Morris Abram
3620 Ridgwood Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Morris:

Here is what I have sent off to Markel of the New York Times Magazine. Whether he will consider it publishable, as is or with revision, God only knows. If it is used, I will let you know, since you may want to call Heckscher's attention to it.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

March 4, 1960

Mr. Ralph McGill
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

You may remember my mentioning Lester Markel's interest, relayed by Johnny Popham, in an article on overseas interpretation of the South's racial troubles. I finally managed to do the enclosed. Since it is an expansion of my letter to you on the subject, I thought you might like to see a copy.

Of course, I have no idea whether Markel will find it publishable. Judging by his reputation as an exacting editor, I doubt it.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

MAR. 1, 1960

REMINDER:

If HCF has not written article for Markel (N.Y. Times Maggie) by this date, he should be reminded to do so.

I suppose the attached ltr. to McGill is what's to be expanded.

M.F.

BC: John Popham - Chatt. Times

Recd + Original
10/14 [illegible]

via air mail

February 19, 1960

Mr. Lester Markel
The New York Times Magazine
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Markel:

Johnny Popham has told me of your interest in my brief memo on the need for better overseas interpretation of Southern race relations.

I shall be glad to try an expansion of the statement to an article of 2,000 to 2,500 words. In doing so, my assumption will be that the memo can stand as an outline or summary of the points to be spelled out.

The lunch counter "sit-ins" in North Carolina and elsewhere are claiming a large share of our time and attention just now. But I hope to be able to send you a draft in the very near future.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The New York Times
Times Square
February 10, 1960

Dear Johnny:

I have been away in Florida or I would have answered your letter long before this.

The Fleming statement is a very eloquent document and, to my uninformed mind about these things, a very rational statement of the case and an important one.

But I do not think the memo should be used as it stands, first because of its brevity; second because it does need some spelling out. I should be delighted to have Fleming expand it to 2000 or 2500 words. It could be, as I have indicated, a most important contribution and I hope you can persuade him to do so. In any event, thank you very much for your help and your thought of us. As always I send my fullest regards.

Yours, sincerely,

Justin Dart

LM:lg

Mr. John Popham
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tennessee

63 AUBURN NE

(3)

December 30, 1959

Mr. Ralph McGill
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ralph:

Here are some paragraphs on the point we were discussing the other night:

In recent years, the Southern Regional Council has played host to hundreds of foreign visitors brought to this country by the State Department and other government and private agencies. Many of them are editors and reporters, some employees of USIA -- in short, persons of more than ordinary exposure to information about the United States.

As Southerners closely concerned with the great changes convulsing the South, we are disturbed by the superficial and usually negative views of the region held by these overseas leaders. Too often, they see Little Rock and other eruptions as the atrocities of an undemocratic and unchanging society -- or, even worse, as a backward step in history to a revival of Ku Kluxery and white supremacy. Visitors from the emergent young nations of Africa and Asia are particularly prone to this dismal interpretation. Here, to their mind, is the arch-enemy colonialism in American dress and on the ascendancy.

The injustices, reprisals, and political excesses with which much Southern leadership has greeted the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings cannot be denied or suppressed. To try to do so is to incur the distrust and contempt of those whose good will we seek.

But not only can we present a more positive image of the South; truthfulness and accuracy alone compel us to do so. The turbulence of the past few years is symptomatic not of regression, but of forward movement, bitterly contested but inexorable. This is no resurgence of the old order, but its last desperate rally against new forces it can neither understand nor control. As the pressure for change pushes into the Deep South, the reaction may be even more severe. But this, too, will be the backlash of a mortally stricken system, not a rebirth of oppression.

Nor are the new aspirations and rising status of the Negro the sole, or even the main, causes of the traditional South's malaise. It is shaken by the chills and fever of profound economic change, of population shifts, of big city growth and rural decay. Old roots have been torn up and not yet replaced; outword patterns of decision-making and political power have yet to be reshaped to changing circumstances; the central cities are choked with newcomers, under-educated, unskilled, and uninitiated to urban ways. Above all, the old isolation has broken down, leaving the South open and unprotected against the influx of people and ideas alien to its once-stable "way of life."

These are the realities of the Southern revolution -- and he who tries to find the meaning of racial upheaval apart from this broad transition, is on a fool's errand.

The dark-skinned peoples of Asia and Africa are peculiarly equipped to understand the conflict of old and new that disturbs the peace of the South. For, though different in detail, in essence it is not unlike the revolutionary ferment they know in their own countries. The upthrust of a people long denied, the fearful and sometimes cruel resistance of the long dominant group, the clash of new technology and ancient custom -- in one form or another, these are the common realities of our time, in Southeast Asia and Southeast United States alike. One need only consider the persistence of caste and religious intolerance in India, tribalism in Nigeria, internecine strife in Indonesia, ideological conflict in Iraq, ethnic and language barriers in Malaya, revolt in Algeria, unrest in the Belgian Congo; and everywhere the stumbling blocks of ignorance and superstition, poverty and disease, inexperience and apathy. The path of progress, there no less than here, is clogged with this detritus of the past.

The failure to see the South's difficulties in these terms, a failure shared with foreign observers by many Americans, betrays lack of historical perspective. The South is perpetually being rediscovered in times of crisis by reporters and pundits and moralists. But in the obscure intervals between the limelights, the flow of history has continued. The outbreaks in Little Rock, Clinton, or Tuscaloosa should be viewed against a background, not as self-contained incidents but as part of the continuity of transition.

The USIA, through its informational output from Washington and through its overseas offices, can and should do more to offset the sensationalism and superficiality of the press. Airing instances of social progress and itemizing Negro achievement are helpful. But far more important is analysis of the South that reveals the deeper meanings and has the familiar ring of truth to people of other lands.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

...edy, wh... color in the ... with Denholm Elliott, Peter Lorre, Beverly Bentley, Paul Lukas and Diana Dors in the leading roles.

This is a night opening slated for 8:40 as an Actors Fund benefits sponsored by the New York Theatre Brokers Association. Showings starting tomorrow will be on a reserved-seat basis.

INFORMATION STUDY SET

N.Y.T. 2/18/60

President Names Panel to Scan U. S. Program Abroad

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17 (AP) — President Eisenhower created a nine-member committee today to survey overseas informatioin programs and policies.

Mansfield D. Sprague, former Assistant Secretary of Defense, was named to head the group. The others are:

C. D. Jackson, former Presidential aide on psychological warfare; Philip D. Reed, board chairman of the General Electric Company; Livingston T. Merchant, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and George V. Allen, chief of the United States Information Agency.

Also, Allen W. Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency; Gordon Gray, aide to the President on national security matters; Karl G. Harr Jr., Presidential assistant for security operations coordination, and John N. Irwin 2d, Assistant Secretary of Defense for international security affairs.

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The New York Times
TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK 36 N Y
LAckawanna 4-1000

April 25, 1960

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In response to your letter to Lester Markel, we are glad to give you permission to reprint the article by Harold Fleming from The Times of April 3, 1960, with credit to The New York Times Magazine. Since Harold Fleming is Executive Director of the Council, there should be no problem in getting the permission of the author that is also needed for reprint.

Sincerely,

Samuel A. Tower

Samuel A. Tower
Assistant to the Promotion Director

SAT/mt

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 11, 1960

Mr. Lester Markel
The New York Times Magazine
Times Square
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Markel:

Mr. James M. Dabbs, President of the Southern Regional Council, has asked that I request permission to have the Council reprint the article, "A Southern View of the South," by Harold Fleming which appeared in the New York Times Magazine of April 3, 1960.

Thank you for your courtesies in this matter.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

May 17, 1963

Mr. John D. Pomfret
The New York Times
1701 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pomfret:

I am afraid my "letter to the editor" got misunderstood. Lord knows I meant no criticism of what you had written. I don't like these fellows "replying" -- if that is the right word -- in the way they did, and I attempted an answer by the only device that occurred to me at the time.

Enclosed is a copy of my letter of today to Hobart Taylor.

Don't know when I'll be in Washington, but will look you up.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures-2.

The New York Times
1701 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

May 7, 1963

RECEIVED
MAY 9 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

My editors in New York have sent along your letter to me for reply. I am sorry this has been so long delayed, but I have been away from the office for some days and found your letter on my return today.

I don't know that the point is susceptible to precise proof, but I suspect you are being too modest when you attribute the compliance reviews to the initial Government check rather than the Council's own report. It seemed to me - and still does - that the Council's report was Genesis in this affair.

I have inquired about the descrepancy in the figures, but have no explanation yet.

I've read the Council's report carefully and I take it we may have a semantic difficulty over what a "conclusion" is. It seemed to me the report contained more than the sole one you note.

I hope to meet you if you have time to give me a ring the next time you come to Washington.

Sincerely,

John D. Pomfret

John D. Pomfret

The New York Times
1701 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

— file

April 22, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks very much for the clippings. I will look forward to seeing you, if you can spare an hour or so, the next time you get to town.

Yours truly,

John D. Pomfret

John D. Pomfret

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

PLANS FOR PROGRESS: ATLANTA SURVEY

REGARDING:

Notes of a telephone conversation between LWD and Hobart Taylor of Pres. Cttee. on Equal Employment Opportunity and copies of LWD telegram to Taylor.re: above subject.

DATE

Apr. 17, 1963

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT

U.S. Govt. - "President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity"

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Line N.Y.T. cr. ref. Pres. Office

April 19, 1963

Editor
The New York Times
Times Building
229 W. 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

On April 17, 1963, the Times reported from Washington on the results of a Department of Defense review of the racial employment practices of government contractors operating in Atlanta. The report said that the review was prompted by a Southern Regional Council study.

I would like to supply an omission, in what was otherwise an excellent news analysis. Our study was issued last January. In late February, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity sent its own investigators to Atlanta to evaluate our findings by on-the-spot examination of the firms. Separate stories in the columns of your March 1 international edition and March 8 western edition indicated that their findings substantially confirmed ours.

It was, in other words, this February report by the government's own investigators -- not our earlier one -- which caused the military services in March to order compliance reviews in Atlanta.

Not having been permitted to see either the government study on which you reported on April 17, or the earlier one which occasioned it, we are not in any position to comment on any divergencies there

may be between their conclusions and ours. There is, however, an obvious question of the accuracy of figures. According to your April 17 account, the military services state that only four companies were found in compliance, but that these four employ all but 4,759 of the persons working in Atlanta for the 24 companies which have been under discussion. General Motors is not one of the four, and yet a telephone query to its offices as recently as April 18 indicates a work force of over 6,300.

Inasmuch as our study has been made a matter of controversy, I would like to repeat its sole conclusion as to the effectiveness in Atlanta of the President's Committee's much publicized Plans for Progress program. We said in January, "To sum up, indications are that the interpretation of the voluntary and affirmative provisions of the program is being left to the individual signers themselves."

Of course, a definitive evaluation of the achievements of the entire equal employment program for federal contractors cannot be made until the government releases comprehensive data on progress since March 1961, when the President issued his Executive Order. Such data has not yet been made available. This is more the pity, because the President's Committee has created a compliance system which, if carefully enforced, would assure steady improvement.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

NEGRO-JOB PLEDGE IS FOUND FLOUTED

24 Atlanta Branches of Big Companies Are Studied

By JOHN D. POMFRET
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 16 —Investigations of the Atlanta branches of 24 companies disclosed that only four are in compliance with President Kennedy's executive order barring racial discrimination by concerns that do business with the Government.

Eleven branches are not obeying the order, the studies found, and no conclusions were reached about the nine others because they had few employes and little employment turnover.

The investigations were made by the Army, Navy and Air Force. The services acted after the Southern Regional Council issued a report critical of what it said was the failure of most of the 24 branches to carry out their obligations under the Plans for Progress.

Under these plans, companies voluntarily pledge to take affirmative steps beyond the requirements of the Executive order to provide equal opportunities for Negroes in hiring and promotion.

The regional council, a biracial agency that seeks to assure equal opportunity for Negroes said in its reports that seven of the 24 branches it interviewed produced evidence of affirmative compliance with their pledge.

Of these, three demonstrated what appeared to be a vigorous desire to create job opportunities, the report said. It said the 17 remaining concerns had paid varying degrees of attention to plans for progress, ranging from ignorance to indifference.

Plans Prompt Report

The council report said its survey indicated that, except for a handful of the companies, the Plans for Progress were "largely meaningless" for the Atlanta offices.

Officials in the Government investigations disagree on whether its results bear out the council's conclusions.

Some were understood to believe that the findings of the investigators for the services did not support the council's conclusions about the Plans for Progress. In this view, there were no cases of ignorance of the plans and no cases of outright indifference, although there were deficiencies in several of the programs.

6 24 & last add Rights 77W

Technical violations such as failure to post equal employment opportunity posters were said to have been the basis for findings of violations in the case of many of the 11 branches found not to be in compliance with the Presidential discrimination ban.

The most prominent major criticism was understood to hav been the failure of some of the noncomplying concerns to establish broader sources for recruitment of Negroes for employment.

Some of the 11 concerns were said to have been doing a good job at other locations of assuring equal opportunity for Negroes.

Other officials believed that the investigations bore out the conclusions of the council's report. It was substantially correct, they thought, in its implication that the obligations under plans for Progress and the Executive order did not mean very much to many of the Atlanta branches.

In this view, understanding among top corporate officials was all right, but company policy was administered carelessly in many cases.

[illegible] concerns in compliance were said to employ is, 325 of a total of 23,084 employes for all 24 Atlanta area branches. One of the complying concerns had nearly 15,000 employes. The 11 branches not in compliance had 4,501 workers and the nine for which no conclusion was possible had 251.

Employment Pres. Comm.

Bias Ban Working in Plants Here

4/17/63

By JOHN D. POMFRET
(Copyright 1963 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON — Investigations in Atlanta have disclosed that only four branches of 24 companies were complying with President John F. Kennedy's 1961 executive order barring racial discrimination in employment by concerns that do business with the government.

Eleven such branches were not complying, the study showed. No conclusions were reached about the other nine because they had few employes and little if any employment turnover.

MAJORITY COVERED

The four which did comply, however, employed three-fourths of the 23,084 Atlanta employes of the 24 companies.

The investigations of the employment practices of the 24 branches were made by the Army, Navy and Air Force. The services acted after the Southern Regional Council issued a report critical of what it said was the failure of most of the 24 branches to carry out their obligations under the so-called Plans for Progress.

Under these plans, companies voluntarily pledge to take affirmative steps beyond the requirements of the executive order to provide equal opportunities for Negroes in hiring and promotion.

CONCLUSIONS DISAGREE

The government investigators disagreed on whether its results bear out the council's criticism.

Some were understood to feel that the findings did not support the council's conclusions about the Plans For Progress. These held that there was no ignorance of the program on the part of the Atlanta officials and no outright indifference, although there were deficiencies in several of the programs.

Technical violations, like failure to post equal employment opportunity posters, were said to have been the basis for findings of violations in many of the 11 branches found not to be in compliance with the presidential discrimination ban. The major criticism was understood to have been the failure of some of the non-complying concerns to establish broader sources for recruiting Negroes for employment.

FOUR COMPLYING

The four branches in compliance are Western Electric Co., Ford Motor Co., Lockheed Aircraft Corp. and International Business Machines.

Those non-complying — it is pointed out that in many cases their non-compliance is technical rather than failure to live up to the spirit of the discrimination ban —are branches of International Harvester Co., Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., American Machine and Foundry Co., Burroughs Corp., Continental Motors Corp., General Dynamics, General Electric, General Motors, Radio Corporation of America, Minneapolis-Honeywell Manufacturing Co. and the Westinghouse Corp.

The other nine, about which no conclusions were reached, are Hercules Powder Co., Chrysler Corp., Thompson-Ramo Wooldridge, Inc., Philco Corp., Garrett Corp., Pan American World Airways, Kaiser Industries, Raytheon Corp. and the Collins Radio Co.

June 24, 1963

Mr. Claude Sitton
Room 542
Journal-Constitution Building
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Claude:

This is simply and only my draft, and will undoubtedly get changed by the others who were at the conference. So, it is strictly unofficial. But I thought it might be of a little interest to you.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

See: Newspapers, et. al
New York Times

December 30, 1963

Mr. Fred Powledge
The New York Times
229 West 43rd
New York, New York

Dear Fred:

I have been very much impressed by your reporting from and about Dallas. Many thanks.

Happy New Year, and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Newspapers, et al

Read 6/10/65

The New York Times
Times Square

June 9, 1965

Dear Les:

Please call me the next time that you get to New York and plan to come out to dinner with Eva and me.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Claude Sitton
National News Director

eg/CS
Enc.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Atlanta, Georgia

File - newspapers, etc - N.Y. Times

September 1, 1965

Mr. Fred Powledge
175 Congress Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear Fred:

Let's have lunch Friday, September 17. I'll call that morning to make sure you are in town.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 8/31/65

175 Congress Street
Brooklyn, 1, New York
Aug. 29, 1965

Dear Les:

I have gotten myself into a serious kind of trouble by being about to sign two contracts to do books. One (with World Publishing Co., Cleveland) is about Negroes, power structures and big city politicians. The other (Hill & Wang) is about the student left.

Obviously I need help. Obviously I need sane advice. Obviously I need you to come by here next time you're in town, or soon after you move up, and straighten me out on all my crazy ideas. If you are up this way, please consider yourself invited for dinner and to spend the night on a sofa that opens up into a medieval torture rack at night. The phone number at home is 212/624-7007.

Fred

Fred Powledge

P.S. All this above applies unless you are so burned up at my Esquire piece that you no longer want to have any truck with me, in which case I'll understand. FP.

VIA AIR MAIL

September 14, 1965

Mr. Fred Powledge
175 Congress Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear Fred:

I have got to beg off from lunch Friday whether or not you are picketing. My new job calls, and I answer; a lunch with fellow philantropoids. The shape of my future.

I go to work in New York on October 4. By that time your strike will be won, lost, or called off. Let's get together for lunch right after that. I'll call you, or you call me.

The Esquire piece was so-so. Too easy on New York -- too easy on Atlanta. But I share your bias.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js

The New York Times TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK 36 NY LACKAWANNA 4-1000

Rec'd 9/8/65

W-f-y-i
MI file

September 5, 1965

Dear Les:

Lunch for Friday, Sept. 17, sounds fine. There may be one hitch. The Guild has set a strike date at The Times for not later than the week of Sept. 12. That means that unless agreement is reached on a contract, there could be a strike during that week. It would most likely be on the 16th or 17th. It looks as if agreement, if it comes, will come at the very last minute. I'm on the negotiating committee for the Guild, and I'm a headquarters picket captain if there's a strike, so I may be tied up that day. However, please give me a ring. Maybe it would be better to call Tammy at home (Brooklyn, 624-7007; same area code as Manhattan), since she'd be more likely to know where I would be than would somebody in the office. If you're staying for the weekend, why not plan to come out and have dinner, too?

Sincerely yours,

Fred

Fred Powledge

file newspapers

LA-4-1000

March 8, 1966

Mr. Claude Sitton
National News Director
New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
Times Square
New York 36, New York

Dear Claude:

I will be in New York for a quick visit on Thursday of this week. On the off-chance that you might be available for lunch I will call your office on Thursday morning. It would be good to get with you.

Enclosed is a statement sent out today about the new Office of Education. It's pleasant to be able to say something complimentary for a change. A copy has been sent to your man across the street.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

March 14, 1966

Mr. Claude Sitton
National News Director
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Claude:

Thanks for the visit and lunch on Thursday.

Under separate cover a copy of the winter issue of the New South quarterly is being sent. In the future the magazine will be some twenty pages shorter and some other changes will be made. Your comments would be appreciated.

Looking forward to seeing you in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

separate mailing: NEW SOUTH, Winter 1966

March 31, 1966

Advertising Manager
New York Times
New York Times Company
Times Square
New York, New York 10036

Dear Sir:

We are considering a national campaign to promote our quarterly publication, NEW SOUTH, and would like complete advertising rates for various size ads in your magazine.

We will appreciate your prompt reply.

Sincerely yours,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

file

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 23, 1966.

South Intensifies Resistance to U.S. Guidelines for School Integration

BY GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 22—Scores, perhaps hundreds, of Southern school districts appear to be headed for a showdown with the Federal Government over its new guidelines for school desegregation.

Although the deadline for filing compliance agreements for the 1966-67 school year fell two weeks ago, about 135 systems still refuse to submit them as the first step toward meeting government demands.

This is twice as many "holdouts" as in the current school year. Yet, it is only a partial picture of resistance in the South. Many more school systems—40 in Georgia alone—have submitted agreements, but attached conditions to them that fall short of full compliance.

And even among the school districts that have signed compliance forms without reservations, there remains hope that they can do less than what the Government is demanding — a "substantial start" toward abolishing the dual school system in the South.

Rights Act Challenged

All this is an open challenge to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and it means that the Government must either soften its demands or cut off Federal school aid in the South on a far greater scale than it has yet contemplated.

Civil rights and human relations organizations are becoming concerned that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which administers the school provisions of the rights act, is giving way to Southern pressure.

Department officials deny the charge and say that they are not pessimistic about compliance, but they acknowledge that pressure against them is increasing.

This month alone, 18 Southern Senators wrote to President Johnson urging that he modify the guidelines on faculty desegregation and pupil integration.

And in Alabama, Gov. George C. Wallace sumoned the state's entire Congressional delegation to the state capital to urge other Southern Governors and local school systes to stand firm against the guidelines.

During the current school year, the number of Negroes attending classes with whites in the South climbed from 2.3 per cent of the total Negro student population to about 6 per cent in the South's 1,942 school districts. But in Mississippi and Alabama, the figure remained below 1 per cent.

This brought sharp criticism from civil rights organizations. Subsequently the education office devised a 10-page set of guidelines in which it said Southern schools would have to desegregate faculties "substantially" and increase the number of Negro students in classes with whites.

At first there was little reaction, but as Southern whites realized that the office wanted to ultimately abolish dual school systems the resistance grew.

"A great many communities last year accepted the notion of having a few Negro children in white schools," said David S. Seeley, assistant United States commissioner of education.

"But the notion that the Negro and white schools will eventually disappear—that we'll just have public schools — is not yet accepted," he said.

Many school officials complain that, despite the assault on the South's dual school systems, the Government is doing little to end de facto segregation in the North.

And Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina and other Southern Senators are contending that the guidelines are illegal because they violate a section of the Civil Rights Act that says "racial balance" shall not be required in schools.

Federal school officials, however, hope that the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit will strengthen their position. In New Orleans on Tuesday the full nine-member court will hear a Justice Department appeal for uniform guidelines for school districts that are under court order to desegregate.

Some court-ordered plans now are less strict than the Office of Education guidelines, according to civil rights organizations, and thus make it advantageous for school systems to refuse to desegregate voluntarily.

Meanwhile, resistance to the Office of Education guidelines has spread to many school officials who supported the office's demands during the current school year.

In Alabama, for example, State Superintendent Austin R. Meadows defied Governor Wallace last year and worked with local school system to bring about compliance. But this year, he is one of the office's bitterest critics, contending that the guidelines would "destroy local self-government of education."

In North Carolina, where many school superintendents complied cheerfully last year, a Federal official reduced superintendents to laughter at a recent meeting by suggesting:

"If I were a superintendent, I would try to get some help from the P.T.A. [in building support for the guidelines]."

The superintendents said that many white parents were rebelling at the thought of Negro teachers for their students and the merging of white and Negro school systems.

And in Greenville, Miss., which has had the reputation of being one of the state's most moderate cities on race, the school board had voted not to comply with the new guidelines.

Office Is Criticized

"I get the feeling from reading the directives and listening to the Government representatives that they look on teachers as 'checkers' who can be moved around and assigned to any school regardless of criteria," the Southern Education Reporting Service quoted Superintendent Ben L. Bryan of St. Lucie County, Fla., as saying.

In trying to allay the criticism of state and local school officials, Federal officials have stirred criticism of themselves.

After a meeting in which Commissioner of Education Harold Howe 2d explained that the guidelines werre "flexible," State Superintendent Jack Nix of Georgia announced that the new guidelines would be easier "to live with" than he had initially thought.

This brought charges from the Southern Regional Council, a human relations and research organization, that Mr. Howe's office appeared to be "backing down."

Paul Anthony, the council's director, says the office brought problems on itself by accepting "only paper compliance from many school boards last year."

He said some school superintendents acted in "good faith" and sharply increased desegregation, only to discover that a neighboring county "had done very little and had gotten by with it."

The council also has expressed disappointment that Federal aid has been cut off to just 12 school districts for failure to comply with the current year's desegregation program. Under the Civil Rights Act, Federal funds can be denied any school district that does not desegregate.

The Office of Education says it is not "overly disappointed" that there are 135 holdouts, adding that the "real test" will come this summer. The office starts examining desegregation plans then to determine if "a substantial start" will be made.

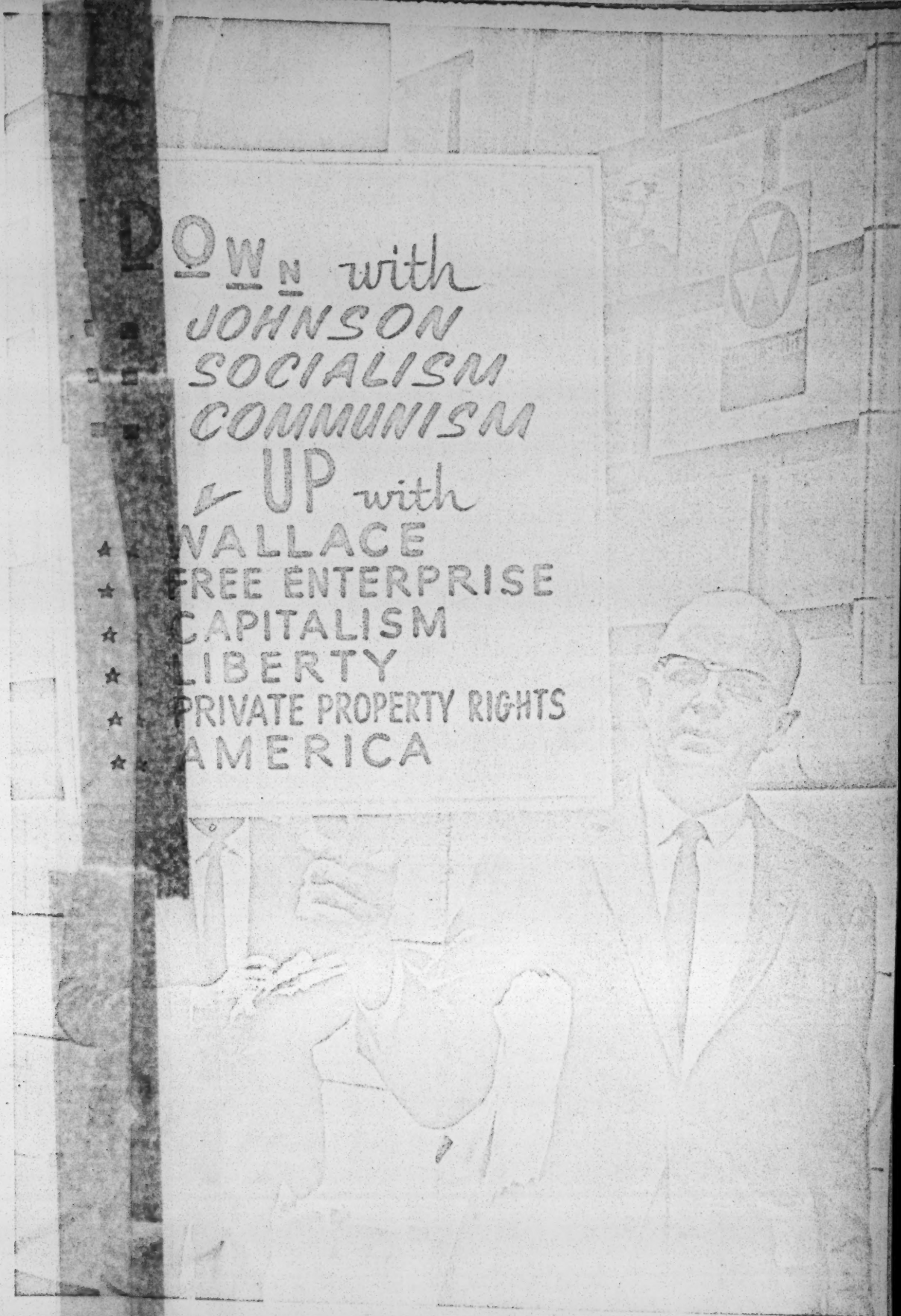
Duplicate

M.T. file

The New York Times Magazine

NOVEMBER 6, 1966

File — Newspapers — New York Times



Meet Lester Maddox Of Georgia

'Mr. White Backlash'

By REESE CLEGHORN

Lester Maddox, now Democratic candidate for Governor of Georgia opposing Republican Bo Callaway, pickets the Federal Building in Atlanta last year.

ATLANTA.

LESTER Maddox, his long, bald forehead, rimless glasses, wavering jawline and amiable smile giving him the appearance of the man behind the prescription counter at the corner drugstore, made his way around the square in the old town of Madison, Ga., a few days ago. He definitely did not look like someone who would brandish a pistol or arm people with ax handles. Running for the governorship of Georgia, he was working hard to be just "Lester" on every Main Street of Georgia.

"Hi," he said as he shook hands in a Madison restaurant. "I'm Lester Maddox. I hope you're gonna vote as good as you eat." Then he was on to a drugstore, handing a stack of brochures to the pharmacist and saying: "Doctor, I want to show you my prescription for Georgia."

Moments later, he was facing some women on the sidewalk. "How are all you fine ladies today?" he asked, beaming, and adding "Ma'am" each time he introduced himself. "Some of you have children in school," he said. "We're going to make education No. 1 in Georgia. We're not going to close schools—we're going to have *more* schools." Then he moved swiftly on around the square, his coat flaring out at his hips as he traveled on, accompanied by no entourage, helped by no hillbilly band, introduced by no leading politician.

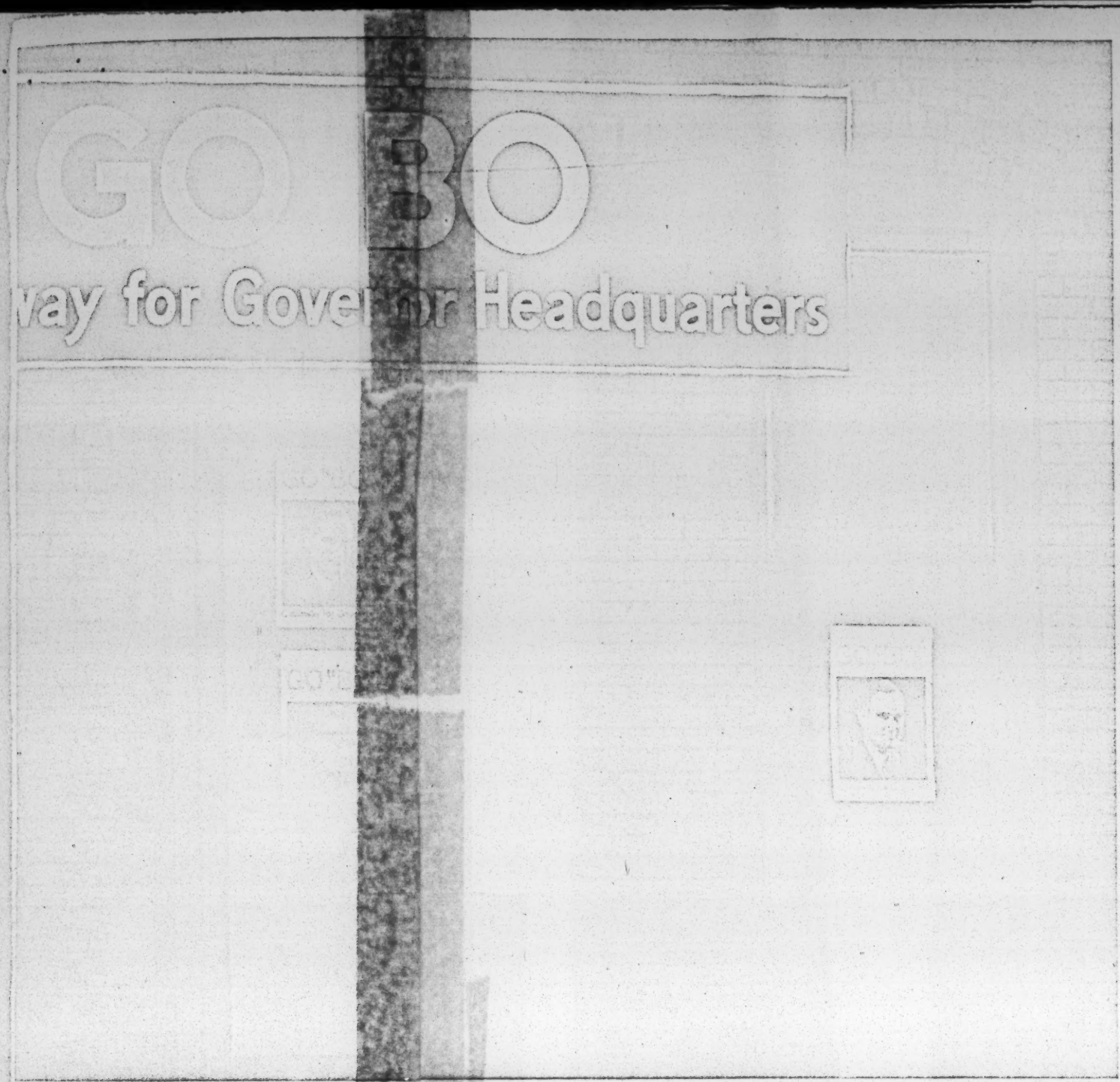
This is the way Maddox, 51, has courted his state's voters this year. He started with a clear public identity: in 1964 he had won worldwide attention by defying the Civil Rights [illegible] waved a pistol and, at the head of a band of whites who [illegible] with ax handles, angrily turned Negroes away from his Pickrick Restaurant in Atlanta.

Although he was not even expected to win a place in the Democratic primary runoff in September, he now has a real chance on Tuesday to defeat the man who had been the favorite all along, Republican Congressman Howard H. (Bo) Callaway. A Maddox victory would be the nation's most dramatic example of the white backlash against racial change, and a triumph for small-town, segregationist resentments against what

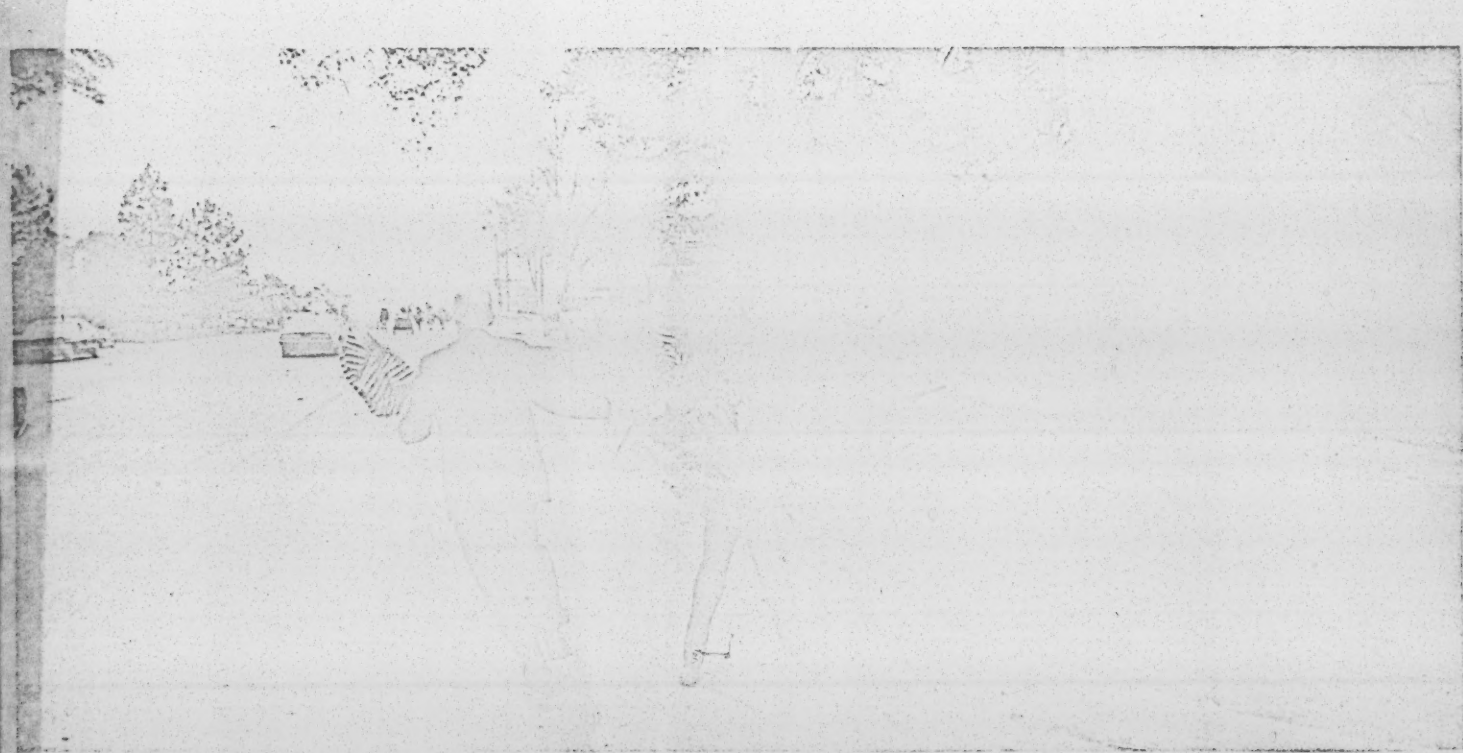
(Continued on Following Page)

No matter who wins on Tuesday, the election in Georgia is showing that old-time Southern demagoguery has not gone out of style.

REESE CLEGHORN is associate editor of The Atlanta Journal.



CHALLENGE—In a Georgia town, a Maddox worker posts a pointed message at local Callaway headquarters. Some Georgians, urging a write-in protest vote against both candidates, have taken to sporting hand-lettered bumper stickers: "GO BO—And Take Lester With You."



CONTENDERS—Republican Callaway (left) and Democrat Maddox (running to catch up with his car) hustle for votes at a Peanut Festival parade in Sylvester, Ga. "I'll tell you what the difference [between us] is," says Callaway. "It's the difference between night and day." But many Georgia moderates feel that the candidates offer little choice: an upper-class right-winger vs. a grass-roots right-winger.

New York Times photographs by GEORGE TAMES

Maddox's runoff victory was an ironic joke on many politicians

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Maddox has called "the kings, the king-makers and the Wall Street crowd."

It may appall some of those who have rested their trust in "the common man," but Maddox clearly is a common man who has been winning against all the odds. When other candidates spent heavily on television, he was spending nothing. When others had four-color billboards, he had no billboards at all. Without help from any well-known political leader or any major business interest, without newspaper endorsements, and even without a campaign button, he not only reached the runoff, but won substantially against his liberal opponent, former Gov. Ellis Arnall.

Maddox's speaking style is flat and amateurish. His fencing with the issues frequently is clumsy. But as the "little man," shaking hands and bantering with fellow small-business men and white working men, he is inspired. He has a personal message not only for the prescription takers and the restaurant diners, but for almost everyone he meets, and frequently it is spiked with swift barbs for their common enemies: Washington, "the liberals and Socialists," Martin Luther King, and all those who "want to take our liberty away" or "get something for nothing."

MADDOX'S triumph in the election would mark a notable political reversal for Georgia. For eight years Georgia has been one of the most moderate of Southern states. With a few exceptions, it has accepted integration under Federal Court orders and Federal guidelines. Its Democratic leaders have never bolted the national party. Although Senator Barry Goldwater carried the state in 1964, he did so by 54 per cent of the votes—not 87 per cent, as in Mississippi. Nine Negroes have been sitting in the Georgia Legislature, and about 300,000 Negro voters are on the rolls. And although Alabama's Gov. George C. Wallace has many admirers in the state, Georgia's Gov. Carl Sanders usually has been cited as the Deep South Governor who stood in sharpest contrast to Wallace.

Once, when Wallace was expounding privately upon a new plan for defying Washington, Sanders gently interrupted. "George," he said with a smile, "*we've* been *through* that stage." But in the September runoff Georgia found strong evidence that it has not finished going through that stage.

Maddox's victory was an ironic joke on many politicians. During the earlier six-man primary race, Arnall had hoped Maddox would run second because he thought Maddox's racial extremism—his only claim to public attention—would make him the easiest man to beat in the runoff. Many Republicans had invaded the Democratic primary to vote for Maddox because they thought he would be the easiest candidate for *their* man to defeat in the general election. But Maddox won so resoundingly, carrying 136 of the 159 counties, that everything suddenly was topsy-turvy.

Callaway had been the favorite to beat any Democrat. But now he saw "conservative" support slipping away to Maddox in the very areas of the state where he had been strongest. "Bo had been playing on all the resentments," one observer said. "Now he's found that when you ride a tiger you'd better be ready to be eaten."

IN his white Pontiac station wagon, Maddox had traveled every part of the state, occasionally alone but usually accompanied by one friend who followed him through the crowds smiling and silently passing out campaign literature. Maddox remarked during the campaign that while other candidates were traveling by plane and helicopter, he knew "you can't shake hands from a helicopter," and he had worn out three sets of tires getting close to the folks. When he won, he said no one had been with him but "God and the people."

Once he became head of the Democratic ticket *(Continued on Page 40)*

'Mr. White Backlash'

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(along with Senator Richard B. Russell, who has no Republican opposition), his support broadened substantially. He had campaign buttons. Friends made a plane available to him. Governor Sanders, always a party loyalist, agreed to address the Maddox-dominated state Democratic convention in October, though he did so coolly, and with barbs for those, like Maddox, who had deserted the party in 1964.

Significantly, the seldom-visible hand of Senator Herman Talmadge, the strongest political power in the state, was discovered at work for Maddox a few days after the primary. Talmadge took a direct part in putting his own people into active roles for Maddox, though apparently only in order to keep control of the Democratic party organization. Talmadge himself would say only, as he had before the primary, that he would support the Democratic ticket.

Maddox's past record, however, shook many Georgia Democrats. Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. denounced the selection of a "symbol of hate," blamed Republicans who had voted in the Democratic primary, and then quietly began lending aid to the Republican nominee. Representative Charles L. Weltner of Atlanta, a young moderate, withdrew as the Democratic nominee to succeed himself, saying he could not "compromise with hate" by supporting the Democratic gubernatorial nominee, as his party primary pledge required.

A write-in movement began for Arnall, whose administration from 1943 through 1946 had been a bright interruption in an era of right-wing demagoguery, and it seemed apparent that there would be write-ins for others as well. Another movement began to establish a new Democratic caucus of some kind to challenge the Maddox-dominated regular party. And a "Democrats for Callaway" organization, led mainly by conservative Democrats opposed to Maddox, came into being.

ALL this constituted a greater rebellion against the Democratic nominee than Georgia had ever seen before. The reason was obvious: It was true that Maddox's position on a wide range of political issues differed little, if any, from that of the currently popular right-wing Southern Republicans (including Callaway), but he was stamped as a pistol-waving extremist who was regarded as a friend by the small but hopeful Ku Klux Klan.

Maddox's entire public career had been built upon violent racist harangues and defiance of the Federal Government. When, after his pistol-and-ax-handle demonstration at the Pickrick, a Federal Court ordered him to comply with the law, he sold the restaurant in early 1965.

His use of racist demagoguery ranges from bold assertions to almost casual slurs. One of the leaflets he distributed at his restaurant asserted that "one drop of Negro blood in your family could push it backward 3,000 years in history." Another reported a major insurance company's plans to hire Negroes in formerly white-only positions. The leaflet was headed: "Sets Pace for Racial Amalgamation, Destruction of White Civilization."

Another told of Atlanta businessmen's agreement to open 5,000 formerly all-white jobs to Negroes in these terms: "5,000 Whites Scheduled to Lose Jobs in Atlanta This Year. Will You Lose Yours?" Still another leaflet bore a crudely drawn cartoon purporting to show the consequences of school desegregation:

66Those who oppose Maddox publicly often have been subjected to anonymous telephone harassment by his admirers.99

white and Negro children playing together, then an interracial courtship and marriage, then shocked grandparents viewing their grandchildren—one white and one Negro.

Maddox himself has referred to Negroes in private as "jigaboos," but usually his public utterances are less characterized by this kind of invective than by slurs. When Mayor Allen recently visited a troubled Negro slum area, risking personal danger to help bring order during rioting, Maddox commented that Allen had been in no danger because he was among his "kinfolks."

SOME of the people who support Maddox cause far more concern than Maddox himself. For example, those who have opposed him publicly often have been subjected to anonymous telephone harassment by his admirers. In one of his political races, threats against the children of his opponent moved the opponent (who has never mentioned the matter publicly) to engage full-time police protection at his home.

Maddox's own entourage at times has shaken those who have encountered it. On the night he won the Democratic nomination over Arnall, he went to Arnall's hotel at the head of a triumphal band of supporters. Arnall congratulated him and parted company, but some Arnall supporters were less restrained. One white woman asked in distress what Georgia Negroes could do now. "They're

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Georgians, too, aren't they?" she cried. Maddox said nothing, but a belligerent young man with him, reflecting what was obviously the view of many others, answered: "No, they're Africans."

In this campaign, Maddox's racial views have unfolded largely through the symbolism of Southern conservative rhetoric rather than in direct references to Negroes. He has flailed the Federal school desegregation guidelines, promising: "We're going to remove the guidelines in Georgia. Negroes don't want guidelines. Just integrationists want them." But most often he has talked about states' rights, "Washington tyranny," constitutional government, "letting the children pray in the schools," "foreign giveaways," and a tide of conservatism which he says is reclaiming the country from "the left-wing Socialists."

He has even evaded direct discussion of racial matters. When he addressed a forum at the Emory University Law School in Atlanta he repeatedly drew questions about his racial views. "I believe it [segregation] is the Christian way," he said in answer to the first question on his racial outlook. "I believe it is the American way. I believe any Negro or white who doesn't want to protect his race doesn't have any racial pride." When the students persisted in asking questions about race, he turned to the chairman and said he would leave if there were more.

He has accused opponents of being racists when they raised questions about his position on racial matters, and recently he sometimes has been waspish when reporters have pressed him with such questions. But he has said his views have never changed and never will.

If that is so, the opinions he expressed prior to his campaign are apropos now. In a free-wheeling commentary some time ago, he told me:

"I'm a segregationist because of a love for my people, because I believe it to be Christian, and I believe it to be American. . . . We know that even today as we have some of our demonstrations that we can't picture back anywhere in the Bible, any time during Christ's time on earth here, that He ever under any circumstances would throw Himself into the street or into the place of business. He even threw the moneychangers out of the Temple."

"So the Bible commissions segregation?" I asked.

"Well, you know," he said, "God set up the boundaries of the habitations of people, by continent, and I think that our trouble today has been

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Maddox sees "big-money people behind integration"

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brought about by integration."

When I asked him to cite more specific scriptural justification for segregation, he faltered, saying he would get back to that subject momentarily.

No, he said, he does not agree with some segregationists who say Negroes are better off in America under any circumstances than they would be in Africa. "In Africa," he said, "the black people are suited for that area, and having been brought into the United States, into our country, a country that's more suitable to the white civilization, I think that we have hurt their opportunities."

Because of the climate? "I think that in God's setting up the people the way He did—the people of Asia, the people of Northern Europe, the people in Africa—and established the bounds of their habitation, I think that we have gone against God's will in moving the people from these areas and to force them into other races."

What about equality? "Well," he said, "I'm sure that history speaks for itself. We've never had an integrated society anywhere that was as successful as a segregated society, in any country any time during history. If you're equal you don't have to prove that you're equal."

Negroes are inferior intellectually, he said, but they are progressing. "I think there will always be progress," he said, "and I think we're restricting progress with the Negro people by teaching them [that] to eat, and sleep, and to worship and educate—to be successful in those areas—that they've got to mix with the white people. ...It would take centuries for them to bring themselves up. . . . Africa has proved their capacity. The white man hasn't interfered with them there. And they have more resources, they had all the opportunities, and the only areas where they've ever developed is where the white has moved in and guided, given the leadership. The same is true in Brazil. Look at Brazil. It's much larger, it has material wealth — terrific — and it hasn't really gone anywhere at all except in the areas where the United States has stepped in to provide financial aid." Was this because of integration? "Yes."

When he talked of the civil-rights movement, he invoked what sounded almost like a Marxist view. "I think the major cause behind the move to integrate is not to help the Negro," he said. (This time he switched his pronunciation from "Nigra" to "Nee-grow.") "It is to help the big financial people. Maybe the Carnegies and the Mellons and the Fords and the various big-money people—they want to please the African countries in order to get into that market where there would be almost a virgin market for heavy industry, for appliances for homes, for furnishings, for clothing, and in order to do that they're trying to indicate to Africa and other parts of the world that the United States has come to be a leader for doing something for the Negro. . . ."

"Do capitalists run the United States that way?" I asked.

"Yes, sir," he said, "through their foundations, which keeps the Southern Regional Council in operation. Various foundations have contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to that particular organization, and in turn it is a kind of forefather over many other organizations — helps to finance various interracial movements—and Atlanta has turned into a headquarters for such organizations." (The Regional Council, headed by an interracial board of Southerners, receives foundation funds for information and research, supports state human-relations councils, and engages in such projects as voter registration.)

"What about Communists?" I asked him. Most of the more vociferous segregationists, such as Leander Perez in Louisiana, speak incessantly of Communists as the real masters of the civil-rights movement and Maddox himself often says Communists are responsible for integration. Yes, he said this time, Communists and big capitalists are both responsible.

"Communists are directly involved. So I would never try to say that the Communists are not involved. I think they are directly involved, but we still have the other area, too, of the men trying to gain more dollars."

White people must fight this, he said. "We are careful enough to protect our pets, our birds, our dogs, our livestock, our cattle—the purity of them—but we are foolish enough to not take the same precautions to protect our own people. I think it's ungodly, I think it's sinful, and I think it's inhuman, and I think it's cruel that we would subject our people to integration and

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racial amalgamation. . . . It would be immoral to bring one group of people up to integrate them into a society that would bring another group of people down, and bring down a country."

Why would integration bring down a country? "Well," he said, "it has everywhere in history, hasn't it? It has in Italy, it has in Brazil. . . . Yes, sir."

The Communists want integration in the United States for this reason, he said, and then he returned to the capitalists. "We see a lot of American business people placing special emphasis on what they are doing for the Negro. . . . I think we are going to wind up in this country with some business firms manufacturing and selling to whites and some to Negroes. And it's going to be more segregated in a few years than we have ever had before."

He cited the financial success of many Negroes in Atlanta as proof that segregation in the past has been good for Negroes. "I am sure there is discrimination," he said, "and that's part of American greatness, is discrimination." Racial discrimination? "Yes, sir. Inequality, I think, breeds freedom and gives a man opportunity."

I asked him what he would expect America to be like a century from now. "With our present no-win policy of our Government, and our forcing our people to bow down to dictatorial government in all walks of life . . . I can't see how we can last a hundred years," he said. "I'd be very much surprised if we survive through [eight more years] as the United States Government. I think we will have a Communist government, unless the people awaken."

What about the Ku Klux Klan? He has never disavowed it, and its leaders in Georgia have been enthusiastic in his support. The Grand Dragon of one small Klan splinter, E. L. Edwards, recently sent a secret advisory to all his subordinates telling them to work hard for "Bro. Maddox" (Brother Maddox). "Well," he said, "I'm not familiar too much with the Klan and I don't know what their organization is today and what they are in size and number." Did he have any doubt about what it is? "Well, it's supposed to be a segregationist movement and back in the earlier part of this century most of our Governors and public officials and Mayors and doctors and bankers and business people were all members of the Klan." He does oppose violence, he said.

Now he returned to what he had been saying earlier

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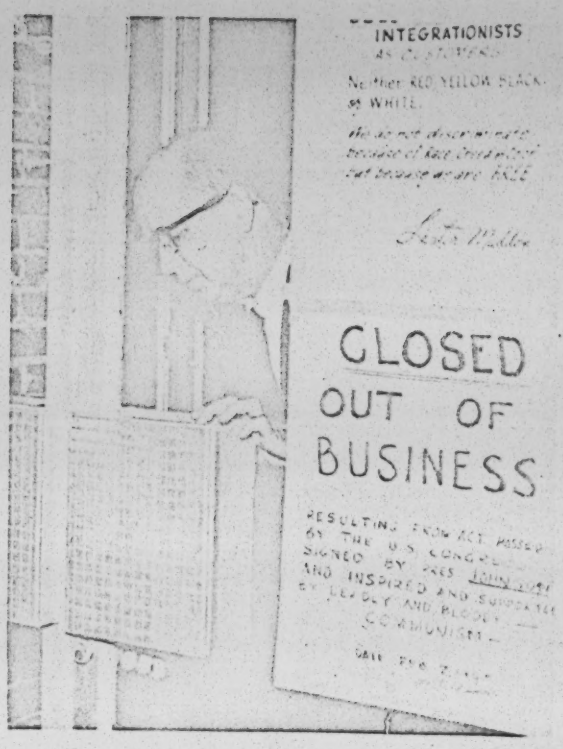
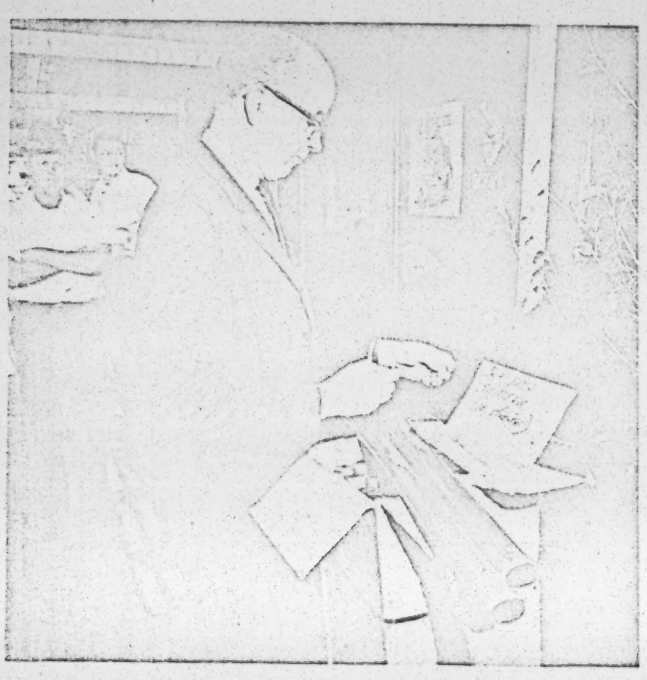


RESTAURANT MAN—Right, Maddox closes his Atlanta restaurant in 1965 rather than obey a court order to integrate. Earlier, he had armed whites with ax handles, and himself with a pistol, to drive off Negro customers. Below, he is shown before the closing, offering ax handles for sale as "souvenirs."



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about Biblical justification for segregation. He had found a mimeographed sheet someone else had prepared, and he half-read from it, mixing the quotations with his own words, in elaborating on the Bible and segregation.

"The breakdown of the purity of the races is ungodly and we can cite some of the verses from the Bible that would tend to support this," he said. "In choosing a wife for Isaac, he was instructed that 'thou should not take a wife unto my son who is a daughter of the Canaanites, among whom I shall dwell, but thou shalt go unto my country, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son.' That's from Genesis xxiv, verses 3 and 4. We also have Leviticus [he pronounced it 'Lectivus'] xix, 19: 'Thou shalt not let thy cattle mix with the diverse kind.' In Deuteronomy [he called it 'Deuteromity'] xxii, 9 and 11 [actually, xxii, 10]: "Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together.' . . . I think it's against the will of God to mix our races. . . . And we are going to be displeasing to God. I believe it Christian to segregate."

Then he returned to talk of individual initiative and free enterprise. "I wish that some way, somehow, we could get away from the trend of teaching people that they can't do things on their own," he said. "I wish that somehow, some way, we would go back to the teachings that has been the foundation of the success of our country. . . . The American way is to do things on our own. And if the Negro people are ever going to reach a greater status in community life it will be through respect and accomplishment as a race."

This was much more of an

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extended philosophical discourse than Maddox has given in his speeches and other public statements since he first began to be heard in Atlanta in the nineteen-fifties. Yet the religious warp of it, and its assumptions of far-reaching conspiracy by both internal Communism and Wall Street have been reflected, piecemeal, in many Maddox pronouncements.

HE first gained widespread public attention by lengthy advertisements in The Atlanta Journal and Atlanta Constitution. They promoted the offerings of his restaurant, a Western-style brick and timber building on Hemphill Avenue that made a specialty of fried chicken and a basic, inexpensive menu. Most of the ads almost ignored the Pickrick, though they usually ended with a short price list that sometimes began: "FOR SUNDAY, and we need you—(but segregated), Roast Young Turkey . . . 55 cents."

The advertisements were published every Saturday in the form of a column with Maddox's picture and the heading "Pickrick Says." A typical one in 1962 began: "I am grateful for your support and interest, and beg you to please excuse me for not being able to answer the hundreds of letters. I have to spend most of my time trying to stay in business, provide for my wonderful family, our fine employes, and have a little left for foreign aid, welfare, and the bums our government has taught that they could live off of people who wanted to amount to something."

Beneath subheadings were passages such as this one: "A GREAT TRAGEDY of our time is that public officials seeking votes, and business leaders seeking dollars, would use and misuse our negro [sic] citizens for their own selfish gains. They are nothing but renegades and scalawags.... BUSINESS MEN surrendering to the unconstitutional and socialistic 'directives' out of Washington, don't deserve to be in business. . . ."

A barbed sense of humor, only slightly disguised sexual references, and the use of scares were joined with his talent for vivid commentary on timely situations to draw readers. "QUESTION," one subtitle said. "What do the race mixers have against swimming with their own kind? If we must share the pools, will bathtubs be next?"

The advertisements also frequently reflected an attitude of persecution. "YOU PINKS AND PUNKS," a 1963 advertisement said, "who

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have, for years, been pushing the Federal Revenue Department on my family, myself and my business, are wasting your time. You rascals have sent more Pickrick ads to the revenue officials than we have of our own at the Pickrick . . ."

The Internal Revenue Service did, eventually, refuse him the right to deduct the commentary parts of his ads as a business expense. He said the Government was stifling his free speech. When he sold the restaurant (to some employes), he said his business had been taken away from him by the Government and he erected nearby a wooden monument with a phoenix at the top which he called a "Memorial to Free Enterprise." Shortly afterward, he opened a furniture store, also called Pickrick, which his wife has been running during his race for Governor.

His free-enterprise theme is frequently mixed with references to his own hard-earned business success ("I did not inherit a multimillion-dollar business; I know how to take $4 and build a successful business from it").

THE son of an Atlanta steelworker who had seven children, Maddox grew up when it was "difficult even to have sufficient food and clothing to attend school," he says. He left high school in the midst of the Depression, after finishing his junior year, and went to work at a drugstore for $4 a week to help support the family. Later, he worked as an apprentice dental technician, then as a steelworker for $10 a week. He quickly became a foreman.

In 1944 he and his wife, an Atlanta girl named Virginia Cox, opened a tiny combination grocery and restaurant with $400 they had saved. A few years later, having been successful, they bought property near Georgia Tech and built the Pickrick. Maddox says proudly that by 1964 it had been increased to seven times its original size and was grossing half a million dollars a year. His success had been as much a result of his pungent advertisements as of his widely known "skillet-fried chicken." ("I wished I had been in the advertising business," he later said.)

The reception which his political commentaries had received moved him to run for Mayor in 1957 against William B. Hartsfield, whose administration had a reputation for racial moderation. Maddox lost, but his vote pointed up the strength of remaining segregationist sentiment in Atlanta. In 1961, when Hartsfield retired, Maddox won a runoff position against Ivan Allen Jr. Allen won, with virtually all the Negro votes. Maddox said later that he had "beaten everybody but Martin Luther King." He had received about half the white votes.

In 1962, he ran for Lieutenant Governor and again reached a runoff. He and his opponent, Peter Zack Geer, another archconservative and segregationist, each made some attempt to appeal to moderates by pinning the extremist label on the other, with charges of Klan associations.

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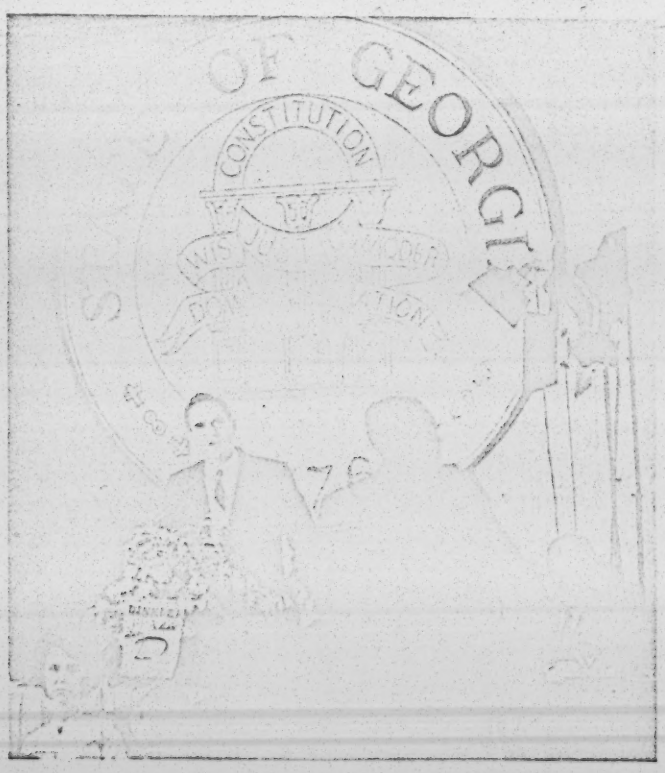

G.O.P. RIVAL—Bo Callaway addresses a $100-a-plate dinner in Atlanta. Until Maddox's primary sweep, he was a hands-down favorite.

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Geer won. But Maddox, with little money and still less political backing, had made himself known all over the state. He had laid the groundwork for his successful campaign for the Democratic nomination this year.

THE Maddox victory had something of a triumph-of-the-rednecks aspect about it. Georgia has had strident white supremacists in the Governor's chair — and not very long ago—but not one of those in this century was quite as much of the common people as Maddox is. The last noisy segregationist Governor, for instance, was Marvin Griffin, who served from 1955 through 1958. Griffin, although he trafficked in folksy parlance and had a mythical common-folk friend named Willie Highgrass whom he repeatedly quoted with approval, was a man of at least some small erudition, a college graduate who once had taught in a preparatory school, and the editor of a small newspaper. It may be significant that "Old Marvin" (the only name applied to

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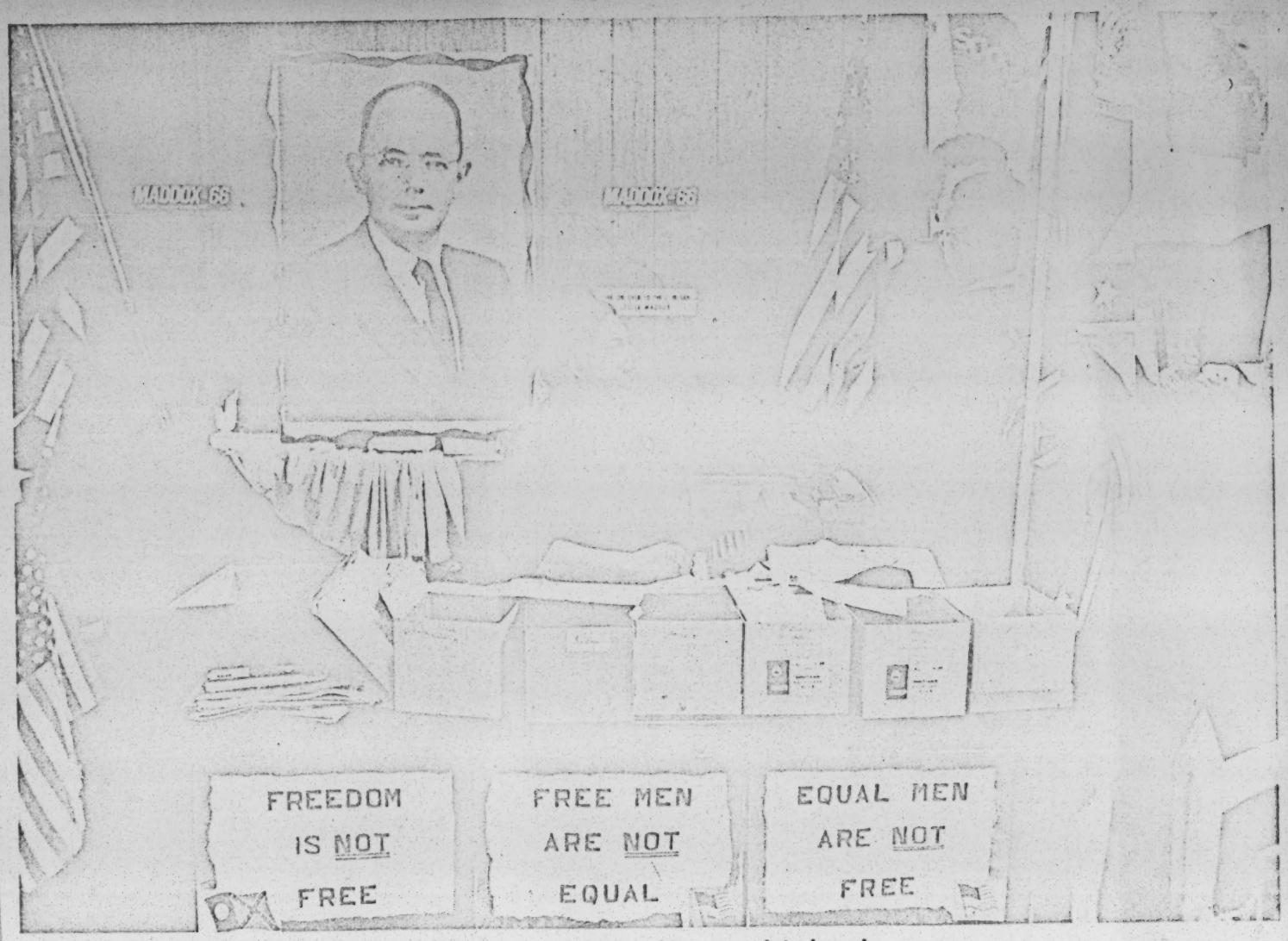

MESSAGE CENTER—At Maddox headquarters in Atlanta. His appeal is based not only on white supremacy but on resentments of the "common folk" against the Georgia Establishment.

VOTE-SEEKER—Behind the stands at a University of Georgia football game in Athens, Maddox engages in some traditional campaigning.

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him by many of his admirers) *quoted* Willie Highgrass while Maddox in some ways *is* Willie Highgrass.

He is out of that legion of poor Southerners who grew up thinking of themselves as "just folks" and feeling alienated from the growing middle-class society. Although he himself has prospered, and lives in a comfortable home on Atlanta's upper-income Northside, his followers are not to be found there. You may wander through the 50,000 people attending a Georgia Tech football game and see no sign at all that Maddox is running for Governor, though you will see many evidences of Callaway's candidacy. But at the wrestling matches it is the other way around. It has been a long time since a race for the governorship was so involved in class distinctions.

Many of Maddox's people know this. Just as he looks with immense suspicion upon Georgia's Establishment, so the people who now are elated over his prospects often sound unbelieving that one of their own may make it. One is reminded of the triumphant bellow of one of Mississippi's greatest demagogues of the past, James K. Vardaman, who had done battle with the rich planters and old aristocrats of the Delta plantation country and won with the help of the one-gallus farmers. "The bottom rung," he proclaimed, "is on top." Moderate newspapers and others in Georgia have been receiving calls from half-literate people who are almost atitter with expectation and who say, "Y'awl have been having it your way for 30 years. And now when one of *us* is winning you just can't take it."

IN this political struggle with "bottom-rung" overtones, the man on the other side is a multi-millionaire, a son of a family known as well as any in Georgia, a West Point graduate, and a social if not a political sophisticate who is familiar with the ski slopes of Aspen. At 39, Bo Callaway (the name Howard is virtually forgotten) is Georgia's chief Republican by virtue of being the only one who holds a top-level elective office. He was elected to Congress in 1964 on Goldwater's coattails, and his public posture is Barry Goldwater's with little variation. From the time he won a Congressional seat, it has been assumed that he would run for Governor this year. Until Maddox, it was assumed also that he would win a sweeping victory.

Calloway, whose family made its money through the Callaway Textile Mills, operated the posh Callaway Gardens tourist and recreation attraction near Columbus, Ga., before he went to Congress. He is tall, handsome and clean-cut, with a boyish manner that comes through "sincere." He has sparked enthusiasm not only by constant attacks and casual slurs on the Johnson Administration but also by characterizing the Democratic office-holders in Georgia's statehouse as "the same old gang" whose politicking with highways and patronage can best be ended by a two-party system.

Callaway's friends have tried to pull him both ways since Maddox's nomination: Some wanted him to compete mainly for the small-town conservative white votes, on the assumption that the moderates will have to vote for him in preference to Maddox. Others felt he could not "out-Lester Lester," that much of the small-town support obviously had slipped away from him, and that he could win only if his campaign moved the moderates in some positive way. Otherwise, they

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A Maddox victory in Georgia would have national impact

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might stay home or write in another name.

If the write-in movement should prove strong enough it is possible that neither Maddox nor Callaway would win a majority. Under Georgia law, a joint session of the Legislature then would elect as Governor one of the two front-runners. The Legislature, still rural-dominated despite some reapportionment, probably would lean to Maddox.

PERHAPS from the perspective of the aforementioned class distinction, Callaway seems baffled that anyone could say, as many moderates have repeatedly said, that there is no difference between him and Maddox. "I'll tell you what the difference is," he says with seeming indignation. "It's the difference between night and day. . . . Our whole approach to problems is different." He emphasizes "approach." He can fight Lyndon Johnson better than a Democratic Governor can, he has said. And he has predicted that if Maddox wins there will be "four years of martial law, Federal troops, closed schools and backward education."

Callaway apparently has received substantial help from Republicans nationally. He has appeared to be the party's best hope of cracking the Deep South with a governorship this year. Such party luminaries as former President Eisenhower are said to have made calls to help gather funds for him. Some of the pressure to moderate his positions, too, apparently has come from national Republicans. Callaway, whose father was a close personal friend of President Roosevelt, is known to have the highest ambitions, not stopping short of the White House. Some moderate Georgia Republicans believe that his racial posture as Governor would be essentially moderate, partly because of his desire to make a favorable impression nationally. But he has seemed to be rigid in his far-right view of Washington and of the country.

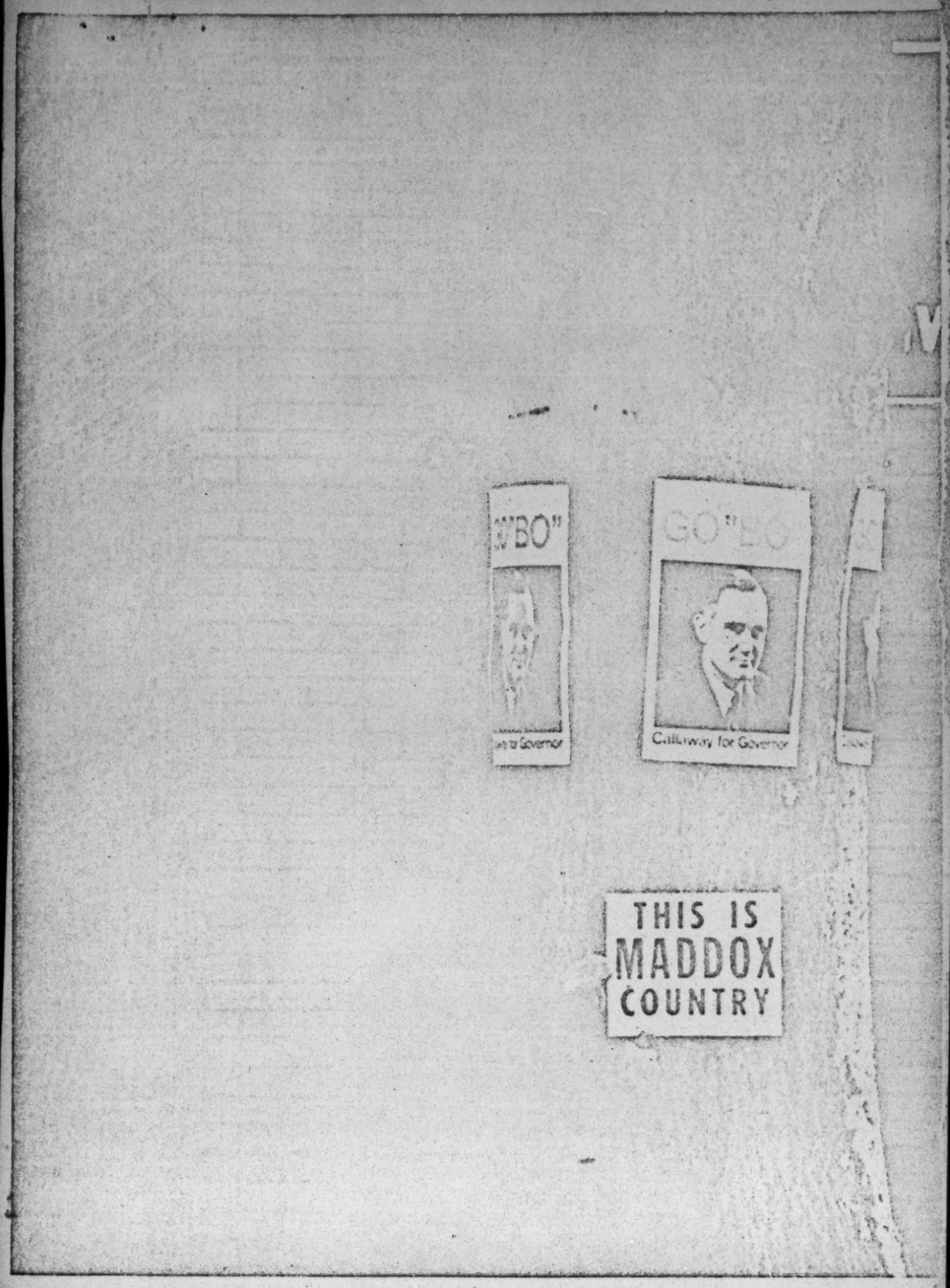
Maddox has remained equally rigid in the same general outlook. His own behavior in regard to the Democratic party seems to give license to rebellion. He was among the leaders of "Democrats for Goldwater" in Georgia in 1964. He has now chosen the chairman of that organization, newspaper publisher James Gray, as the state Democratic chairman. Maddox himself picketed President Johnson at the White House after the closing of his restaurant, protesting that property rights had been destroyed. And in similar solitary fashion, he picketed the 1964 national Democratic convention in Atlantic City with the same protest.

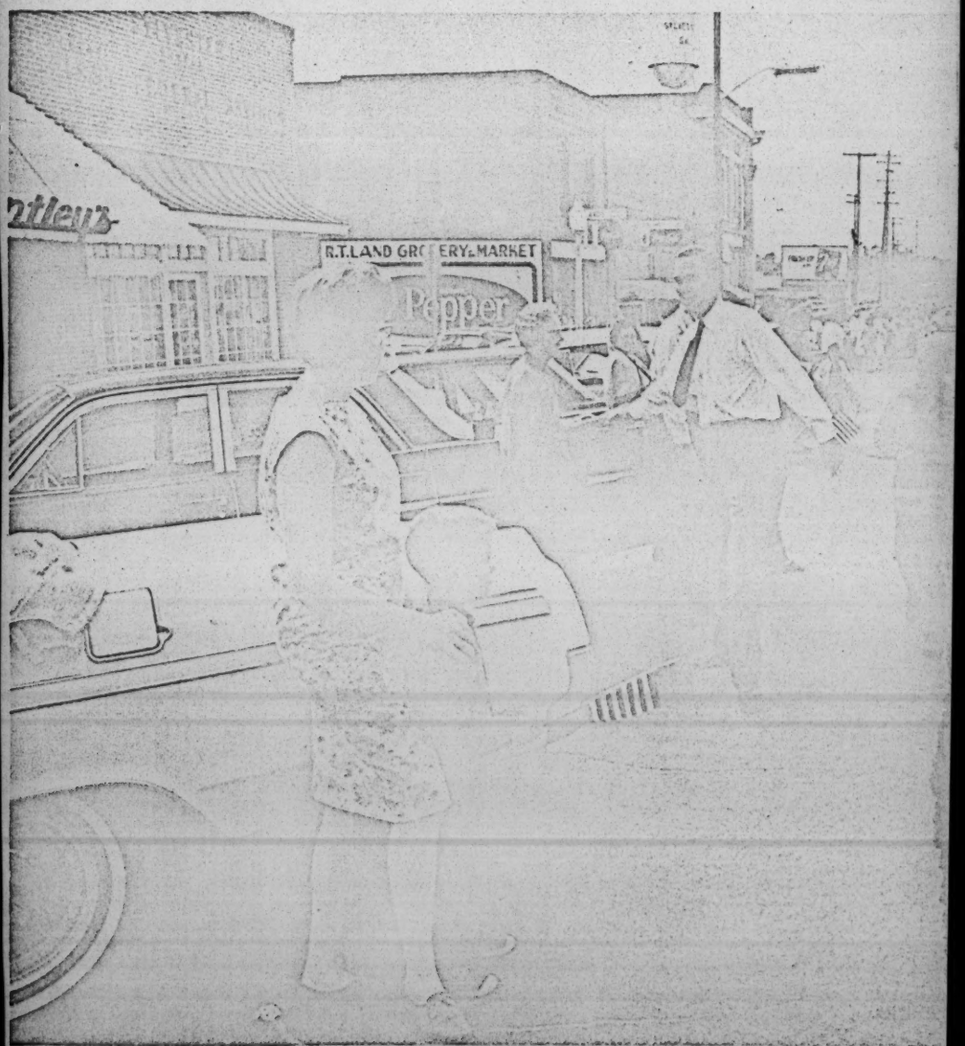
His position is unclear on whether he might join a third party movement led by Governor Wallace in 1968. Repeatedly, he has cited Wallace's leadership. (He has called Wallace a great American, "the greatest in public life.") He said in an interview after winning the nomination that he opposed the idea of a third party. "I believe if we have enough strength for a third-party movement, we have enough strength to control either of the other two parties," he said. Pressed on whether he might join such a movement if Governor Wallace went ahead without him, he said he would not, "at least I never think I ever would. I hope I never would."

Several Democratic leaders in Atlanta attest that he promised them privately he would support the national Democratic ticket in 1968. But Maddox has denied this, saying that he would support the ticket only if he found it "acceptable."

A MADDOX victory in Georgia, combined with similar trends in other Southern states, obviously would have national impact. Lurleen Wallace is believed to be running ahead of her very conservative Republican opponent, Representative James Martin, in Alabama. Jim Johnson, a former White Citizens Council official who resembles Maddox in many ways, seems to have an excellent chance to defeat Winthrop Rockefeller in Arkansas. Ross Barnett, a close ally of the Citizens Council when he was Governor of Mississippi before, now seems likely to win the Mississippi governorship again next year.

All of this could rebuild a strongly segregationist alliance, albeit one limited to the Deep South and probably not including more than half the old Confederate states. It might effectively shatter Republican hopes in the Deep South, where Barry Goldwater ran best in 1964, because most of these strong segregationists of the old pattern who are running well this year are Democrats. But none of this is certain. What is certain is that old-fashioned Democratic white supremacists have not yet gone out of style in the South.


GO "BO"
Callaway for Governor
THIS IS
MADDOX
COUNTRY


R.T.LAND GROCERY & MARKET
Pepper

June 15, 1956

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Two or three of us have conferred back and forth on the Petal Paper, about which you wrote June 9th. Mrs. Tilly was already a pleased subscriber.

We rejected:

Writing our state organizations and urging them to get it. Too few people to make much difference, either in dollars or in spread of ideas.

Getting some big (and in Mississippi hated) magazine to run a blow-up note. That would get the paper known, and get him some dough, and put a lot of people on the receiving end of his good ideas. But it is mighty apt to squash the Petal Paper.

Buying copies, or getting somebody to, and mailing them out. Incommensurate effort with good done.

We favored:

Urging such a magazine as The Christian Century to run a discreet note, praising the publication and giving its address and subscription price. The man keeps appealing to religious motives. The Christian Century would have (we think) about the right touch. And the note would do the paper good, and could hardly harm anybody. 'Twouldn't get him any huge circulation, but it would get him a respected set of readers in distant parts.

Will you write The Christian Century (or any other magazine you think better); or would you favor our writing them? Glad to write if you say so; but I am satisfied a letter from you would do as much good and maybe more.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Proposed answer, arrived at with HCF.

JC.

Yes, GSM sees The Petal Paper and agrees that a wider distribution would be desirable. It is an extremely tough job to peddle a newspaper (especially a weekly) outside the normal range of local interest, however. Only suggestion at hand is that a given issue might be bought up (or a particular item reprinted) and mailed out through appropriate Southern mailing lists and to other mailing lists outside the South, if the latter seems desirable. A note might accompany the mailing saying "This is good! You might be interested in seeing the publication regularly," or something to that effect.

Only sour note in this plan is that it would take money, which SRC does not have on hand. If project could be arranged, however, SRC would be glad to cooperate in mailing.

RECEIVED JUN 11 1956

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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J.C. - give gem a proposed reply
6/14/56

June 9, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I wonder whether your attention has been drawn to The Petal Paper, published in Petal, Miss.? A sample of the type of journalism that it encourages is to be found in the attached photostat of a full-page "editorial" which appeared in the May 17 issue.

I would be interested in having your ideas as to how you feel this publication -- a most unusual one for the South -- might be more widely distributed.

Every good wish,

Cordially,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
enc.

148-2-56

Suh,

Here's Sweet MUSIC!

Yes, YOU too, can be

SUPERIOR

Join The Glorious Citizens Clan

Next Thursday Night!

What? Worried about being socially acceptable?

Learning to play the piano by ear? Taking dancing lessons? Using the right toothpaste?

Possibly taking a course in public speaking? Want to be the life of the party? No need to worry anymore! The grand opportunity now awaits you!

Join The CITIZENS CLAN and BE SAFE From SOCIAL WORRIES

Absolutely No Coupons Are Needed

BE SUPER-SUPERIOR

Compare These 10 Freedoms with other Old Fashioned Offers

- Freedom to interprete the Constitution of the United States to your own personal advantage!
- Freedom to hunt "Blackbirds" with no bag limit, and without fear of prosecution! (To date no member of the Clan has been convicted for killing a nigger)
- Freedom to sit on a jury in behalf of your fellow members!
- Freedom from worry and fear if you happen to sit before a jury!
- Freedom to exercise a great Southern privilege: TO EXERT ECONOMIC PRESSURE!
- Freedom from fear of having economic pressure exerted against you!
- Freedom to yell "Nigger" as much as you please without your conscience bothering you!
- Freedom to wonder who is pocketing the five dollars you pay to join!
- Freedom to take a profitable part in the South's fastest growing business: Bigtory!
- FREEDOM TO BE SUPERIOR WITHOUT BRAIN, CHARACTER, OR PRINCIPLE!

(Many Other Freedoms, Too . . . Only A Few Listed Above)

- - This Wonderful Offer Open To White Folk Only - -

Other Items To Keep In Mind

Remember: No Niggers allowed! (Not even "good" Niggers can join this SUPERIOR Clan.)

Remember: You, too, can be SUPER SUPERIOR!

Remember: For only five dollars, GUARANTEED SUPERIORITY!

Remember: Not to join could mean you're a Nigger Lover!

Remember: The Time: 7:30 P. M., Thursday, March 22nd

Remember: The Clan needs YOU—But most of all, YOU may need the Clan!

This Page in Behalf of Liberalism, Fairness and Progress Donated By . . .

The Petal Paper

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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June 28, 1956

RECEIVED JUN 29 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Forgive my delay in replying to your letter of June 15, concerning The Petal Paper. We will arrange to have the existence of that paper appropriately drawn to the attention of the editor of the Christian Century. I think it definitely worthwhile that the paper be promoted; it is one of the few bright spots in a darkened area, and who was it who said: "It is far better to light a candle than to forever curse the darkness."?

As always, my warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

Eart. R. R.

12/18/56

HCF:

I had a telephone call from Lanier Hunt some days ago. He handed on the information based upon a fresh interview with the Editor of the Petal Paper that the paper had sufficient funds to continue through Christmas, but not thereafter.

cc: Mrs. Tilly

December 29, 1956

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Your check for $300.00 to be used for subscriptions to the Petal Paper has just been received, as have a check for the same and a list of subscribers from Roy's friend, Richard McClain. I am sending today our check for $600.00 to Mr. East, and I am advising him that he will shortly receive a list of one hundred persons directly from you.

A warm commendation to you for making this possible and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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December 27, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

CR 12/29/56

My check for $300 is enclosed herewith, payable to the Southern Regional Council. This is intended to purchase 100 subscriptions of the Petal Paper. In mailing your own check to P. D. East (P. O. Box 349, Hattiesburg, Miss.) -- which I hope you will do at once, since East is pretty desperate -- you might tell him that the list of people to whom the paper should be sent in the next year will be forwarded to him shortly. Please note that this transaction is being conducted personally, in my name, for reasons which I know will be obvious to you.

We think we have made some progress in rescuing the paper from oblivion. The National Council of Churches will be sending to East either today or tomorrow a check for about 220 subscriptions. The NAACP will be sending to you a check to cover 100 subscriptions. We think that one or more of the labor unions will subscribe to two or three hundred. Enclosed, find a copy of a letter that East wrote to me.

East called me yesterday, quite appreciative of what is being done. I trust you were also successful in rounding up a few hundred.

I have no illusions about what we are doing; I don't believe that the Petal Paper is the instrumentality through which hundreds of people are being converted to desegregation. But I know you share my view that it at least represents a symbol of resistance in the South; it would be unthinkable if the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan could prevail over national agencies determined to keep that symbol alive.

My warm regards.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
encs.

148-2-56

December 24, 1956

Dear Mr. Lukas:

This first, please, any mail from you to me, kindly address me at Box 349, Hattiesburg, Miss. I have received several letters of late which had been opened. Of course, I can't prove just where they were opened, but I know for a fact that they had been.

Thanks for your letter of December 21st. I have only 45 papers of the November 22nd issue. They are being sent to you today under separate cover, first class as you requested.

As to the local Klan and my lack of business, I've been told by a Hattiesburg businessman that they were definitely making an effort toget me. How he knew, I don't know, nor did I ask him. But for sometime I've suspected it, but it's one of those things which cannot be proven, that is, so it would stand up in court.

Believe me, I'm not crying, but I agree with you that such is a sad commentary on our times.

Perhaps it's my fault in that I've not been able to make myself understood. My basic principle is quite simple: Fairness. But, alas, to be fair is to treat ALL people with respect and decency; to be fair is to apply the golden rule; to be fair is, indeed, suicide, it seems.

Oh, well, I've left word that when I'm ridden out of town on a rail that they head in a westerly direction. Perhaps I'll wind up in a state which is dryer and which will afford some relief for my sinus.

Again, Mr. Lukas, my sincere thanks for your kind letter.

Regards,

/s/

P.D. East

December 29, 1956

Mr. P. D. East
Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. East:

Enclosed is our check for two hundred subscriptions to the Petal Paper, made possible by the generosity of Mr. Lukas and Mr. Richard McClain. Also enclosed is a list of names and addresses of one hundred persons for whom subscriptions should be entered. The remaining one hundred will be sent to you directly by Mr. Lukas within a short time. I hope we will be able to convey further subscription orders to you later.

Congratulations on the fine job you are doing and best wishes to you and to the Petal Paper for a successful New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

enclosures

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of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1801

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Executive Assistant

January 11, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Attached please find check for $300 to cover 100 subscriptions to the Petal.

Would you please have subscriptions sent to the following:

Henry Edward Schultz, 205 East 42nd Street, New York, New York
Benjamin R. Epstein, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, New York
Arnold Forster, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, New York
Oscar Cohen, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, New York
Alexander F. Miller, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, New York
William Korey, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Murray Friedman, 403 East Franklin Street, Richmond 19, Virginia
Theodore Freedman, 1101 Blodgett Street, Houston 4, Texas
Nathan Perlmutter, 330 Seybold Building, Miami 32, Florida
Arthur J. Levin, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia
Seymour Gorchoff, 82 North High Street, Columbus 15, Ohio
Mortimer Feigenbaum, 606 Common Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana

The remaining subscriptions can be used for forwarding this publication to opinion molders in the South.

I have chosen against sending this publication to all our ADL regional offices or to any sizeable number of our lay leadership in the North, because I felt that their receiving copies of the Petal might well give them a false sense of euphoria about the current climate in Mississippi.

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:dp
cc: Arthur J. Levin
J. Harold Saks

January 11, 1957

Mr. P. D. East
P. O. Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. East:

By all means come to see us on your way to New York in February! We'd like nothing better than to pool our disreputability with yours for a good conversation.

I'm looking forward to seeing your book, and I have floated the idea of somebody angelling a promotion leaflet for the Petal Paper as a means of recruiting more subscribers. Does this make sense to you?

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab

January 3

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I wish to acknowledge with sincere and humble thanks your letter of December 29th. I don't have to tell you that I'm grateful. I believe that with the additional money from the subscriptions through Mr. Lukas I can last another year. (I was so afraid I might have to take a job someplace typing and spelling.)

Perhaps Dr. Wiley at Emory has mentioned the booklet I'm trying to get together. If not, it's to be reprints of some twenty-five editorials fmm my paper. When finished, I'll send you a copy, if you'd care to have it.

I plan to make a trip to New York, possibly during the first week in February, and I would like to stopover in Atlanta for a short time and meet you and Mr. George Mitchell. About both of you I've heard many fine things. Perhaps being seem with me wouldn't hurt your reputation too much, unless, of course, Hermmmmman learned about it.

Had the pleasure of reading Hermmmmman's book early last year. Now, by golly, there's a man who puts statesmanship first and politics last! Reminds me of Senator james ob. eastland, leading light of Mississippi.

Again, Mr. Fleming, my thanks to you and your organization for your interest in my paper. I am deeply grateful.

Regards,

P.D.East

January 14, 1957

Mr. P. D. East
P. O. Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. East;

I will be forwarding in a day or two, $300 for an additional 100 subscriptions. This amount, plus the $300 for which we have not yet submitted subscribers, we are thinking of devoting to the editors of leading dailys throughout the South. What is your reaction? If favorable, could you without undue difficulty send me a list of any Southern editors who may already be receiving the Petal Paper?

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fe

Note for P. D. East File
Dictated 1/16/57

On December 28th, I held telephone conversation with Ed Lukas of the AJC, in which he advised me that certain agencies and individuals would be sending to SRC checks to be used to purchase subscriptions to the Petal Paper. In some cases the checks would be accompanied by lists of those to receive the paper; in other cases we would be expected to provide the subscribers. In correspondence since, we have agreed that an appropriate number of the blank subscriptions might be devoted to cover editors of leading dailies over the South. So far, we have received checks from Lukas ($300) -- (subscribers blank), from a friend of Roy Wilkins ($300 -- (subscribers furnished), and from Alex Miller of the ADL ($300) -- (12 subscribers furnished). We have also received a check for $30 from Manny Muravchik of the JLC for 15 subscriptions, but since $45 is required this cannot yet be forwarded.

Ed Lukas assured me that everbody contributing -- and some agencies are handling the thing directly with East -- understands that this is a gamble, that the paper may still fold, and that a considerable additional number of subscriptions are going to be needed to put the paper on a solid basis.

HCF HCF

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . JOHN CONSTABLE . . . .

February 1, 1957

HCF:

This is the original list of subscribers for [redacted] P. D. East. I have retained a copy for our files. I suppose you may as well keep this since you will be talking with Mr. East on Monday.

Petal Paper

February 11, 1957

Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.
National Chairman
Americans for Democratic Action
1341 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rauh:

This is to acknowledge your letter of February 7th enclosing a check for $300 to cover one hundred subscriptions to the Petal Paper, and a list of your Board members as suggested subscribers.

I have passed along your instructions and our check for $300 to P. D. East, the Editor of the Petal Paper. I am sure he will be grateful for this evidence of interest in the remarkable job he is doing in his paper. We are glad to assist in getting it to him.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

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AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • DECATUR 2-7754

February 7, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director of the Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming

Last month, when Arnold Aronson and Roy Wilkins were telling me about the importance of keeping the Petal paper alive in Mississippi, I promised that I would contribute 100 subscriptions, and my check in the amount of $300 is enclosed to cover those subscriptions.

I also enclose a list of the ADA Board members and their addresses. Will you strike off the names of those who already receive the paper and have the paper sent to the others? If there are less than 100 names, you can do what you want with the extra subscriptions. Also, if you feel that there are some other persons who you really want this paper to go to, just feel free to limit the enclosed list in some arbitrary fashion and utilize the subscriptions as you deem best.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.
National Chairman

enclosures

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

July 1956

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Oil Workers Intl. Union
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139 E. 79th Street
New York, N. Y.

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229 N. Roberts Rd.
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

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New Republic
1244 - 19th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Monroe Sweetland
Milwaukie Review
Milwaukie, Oregon

Telford Taylor
14 E. 90th St.
New York, N. Y.

Robert Tilove
156 N. Brookside Ave.
Roosevelt, Long Island
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James A. Wechsler
New York Post
75 West Street
New York, N. Y.

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826 Pine St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

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18644 Wildemere
Detroit, Michigan

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Plainview, N. Y.

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444 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

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Swarthmore College
Swarthmore, Pa.

Harold V. Saeling (SDA)
1423 Sheridan Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Joseph Goldberger (SDA)
6230 Lansdowne Ave.
Philadelphia, Pa.

David Cohen (SDA)
1208 Passman St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

February 11, 1957

Mr. Emanuel Muravchik
National Field Director
Jewish Labor Committee
Twenty-Five East Seventy-Eighth Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Manny:

Just a reminder that I am still holding your letter of January 11th which enclosed a check for $30 and a list of fifteen persons to receive the Petal Paper. You may remember that we discussed this at Atlanta University and agreed that I would defer action pending receipt of a further check for $15 to cover the $3.00 subscription fee for each of the persons listed.

An alternative would be to cut down the list of subscribers to ten.

I look forward to hearing from you further on this.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Integration, N. + S.
Public Affairs Pamphlet

February 5, 1957

(Dictated February 4)

Mr. P. D. East
P. O. Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear P. D.:

It was good having you with us yesterday, and I am hoping that you are at this very moment finding gold in them New York hills.

Just to show you that I am a man of my word, I am sending herewith a check for $300 to cover an additional one hundred subscriptions. Also enclosed is a list of involuntary subscribers to be covered by this $300 plus the $300 from Ed Lukas which I sent earlier. Feel free to deal with the editors listed in the light of our discussion yesterday.

I will shortly be sending you a further check and list for fifteen subscribers -- as soon as I have the supplementary amount necessary from the donor.

I am mailing you separately the two booklets which you were kind enough to say you wanted. } mailed 2/5/57

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

Cable Address:
JEWLABCOM

Telephone: LEhigh 5-3700

Fleming letter ?

Jewish Labor Committee

Atran Center For Jewish Culture

25 EAST 78th STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

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J. ZUKERMAN

January 11, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

A 30.00 CR
Rha
1/14/57

Dear Harold:

Enclosed please find our check for thirty dollars for fifteen subscriptions to The Petal Paper.

The attached sheet lists the addresses where they should be sent.

Sincerely,

Manny

Emanuel Muravchik
National Field Director

EM:gs
oeiu-153
enclosure

M. MERLIN, Atlanta
S. CAPLAN, Baltimore
H. TURK, Baltimore
P. BLOCK, Boston
J. GREENFIELD, Boston
P. KRAMER, Boston
M. BIALIS, Chicago
D. SCHIER, Chicago
J. SIEGEL, Chicago
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T. MAISEL, Mexico
J. ZACHARIAS, Mexico
J. DUNTOV, Miami
S. RIVIN, Missoula
M. RUBINSTEIN, Montreal
B. SHANE, Montreal
M. SILCOFF, Montreal
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J. SCHWARTZ, Philadelphia
M. SIEGEL, Philadelphia
N. MALYN, Pittsburgh
S. STARK, Pittsburgh
B. TOPOLSKY, Pittsburgh
D. DWORKIN, Toronto
A. KIRZNER, Toronto
J. CHERNIAK, Winnipeg

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SEND SUBSCRIPTIONS TO PETAL PAPER TO:

Dr. Samuel Neistadt
Jewish Labor Committee
2356 Eutaw Place
Baltimore 2, Maryland

Julius Bernstein
Labor Committee for Human Rights
27 School Street
Boston 8, Mass.

Leonard Bright
Labor Committee to Combat Intolerance
83 Fairfield Ave.
Bridgeport 3, Conn.

Aaron Aronin
Jewish Labor Committee
127 N. Dearborn Street
Chicago 2, Ill.

Don Slaiman
Labor Committee for Human Rights
163 ~~Maxi~~ Madison Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

Max Mont
Jewish Labor Committee
590 N. Vermont Ave.
Los Angeles 4, Cal.

Louis Lerman
Labor Committee for Human Rights
2639 University Ave.
St. Paul 14, Minn.

Stephen Remsen
Jewish Labor Committee
1242 Commercial Trust Bldg.
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

William Becker
Labor Committee to Combat Intolerance
2940 16th Street
San Francisco 3, Calif.

Kalmen Kaplansky
Jewish Labor Committee of Canada
4848 St. Lawrence Blvd.
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

Adolph Held
ILGWU
1710 Broadway
New York 19, N.Y.

Charles S. Zimmerman
Local 22, ILGWU
218 West 40th St.
New York 18, N.Y.

Harry Gersh
113 West 57th Street
New York, N.Y.

Emanuel Muravchik
Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th St.
New York 21, N.Y.

Jacob Sheinkman
ACWA
15 Union Square
New York, N.Y.

February 11, 1957

Mr. P. D. East
Post Office Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear P. D.:

I thought the simplest way for me to handle the enclosed would be to forward Mr. Rauh's letter and enclosures directly to you, although I recognize the appalling possibilities of this letterhead. Feel free to dispose of it once you have seen what Mr. Rauh would like done. As I count the names on his list, he has four or five fewer than 100 names. I suggest you handle any spares as you see fit.

Enclosed is our check for $300 to cover the remittance.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

February 15, 1957

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Since we last corresponded about the Petal Paper, I have received a check for $300 and a list of subscribers from Joe Rauh. These have been duly forwarded to P. D. East.

Incidentally, P. D. East informs me that he was positively overcome by all the kindness and assistance you provided him up there.

I will be in New York most of the week starting Monday, February 25th, and will hope for some conversation with you.

Meanwhile, best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

P. S. Copies of Fear and Prejudice have arrived. We appreciate them and will put them to good use.

February 20, 1957

Mr. P. D. East
Post Office Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear P. D.:

Your letter of February 13th was greatly appreciated. It is little enough that I have done, but I am delighted that you are now so well in touch with people of conscience who appreciate what you are doing.

Your idea for supplementing Mr. Rauh's list has my whole-hearted approval. I could think of no one who might better receive the spare subscriptions.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Dictated/ not read

The Petal Paper

PETAL, MISSISSIPPI

February 13, 1957

Dear Harold:

There are so many things for which I am so grateful to you until I don't know where to start. Please accept the fact that I'm in your debt for the numerous kindnesses you've shown.

I felt, and rightly so, that my extended visit to your home was an imposition, but since returning home and giving some thought to it my conclusion is that the greatest imposition was trying to talk to you over that damned telephone in the jungle of the commuters.

The trip to New York is so involved and mixed up in my mind until I couldn't give you details even if you wanted them. I spent a good bit of time with Ed Lukas and friends of his. Also, I met Roy Wilkins, whom I found a gentleman, and in anyone's society.

I've a newsletter from the man at Koinonia Farm. In Mississippi we had the same thing, only not taken so far because of the fact that Mr. Cox and Dr. Minter departed. God! How can a man call himself a member of the human race and act in such a manner against another man? It's quite beyond my understanding, I assure you.

I received the money, and, boy, do I love that stuff!

Mr. Rauh, according to my count, is five short. With your permission, I'd like to sendthem to some Negroes here who, because of the fact that they earn three bucks a day, are unable to subscribe. And, quite frankly, the only reason I don't give it to them is because of the postal laws, and the realization that if I were caught I'd get my second-class permit revoked. (Soon as they get me, would you be needing a speller and a typist?)

If you have someone else to whom they would be useful than the local Negroes, please let me know.

Kindest regards,

pd

February 13, 1957

Dear Mr. Rauh:

Yesterday I received from Mr. Harold Fleming a list of subscribers from you for my paper. I'd just like you know they are appreciated greatly.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing herewith a copy of a booklet of editorial reprints from my paper.

Again, Mr. Rauh, my thanks to you and your organization.

Sincerely,

P.D.East

Mr. Joseph Rauh, Jr., National Chairman
Americans For Democratic Action
1341 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

March 7, 1957

Mr. Max Birnbaum
Educational Consultant
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Birnbaum:

I am sorry to say that, at Ed Lukas' suggestion, we have already used up AJC's hundred subscriptions, mostly on Southern newspaper editors.

I agree entirely that it would be very helpful for Father Foley and his co-workers in the Mobile area to receive the Petal Paper, and I only wish we had known about it sooner.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
cc: Mr. Edwin Lukas

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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March 5, 1957

RECEIVED MAR 6 1957.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have just received a request from Father Albert S. Foley, Spring Hill College, Spring Hill, Alabama, for twenty to thirty subscriptions to the Petal Paper.

If any of the AJC hundred subscriptions are still lying around, would it be possible for you to transfer twenty of these to Father Foley? We are very anxious that the Mobile, Alabama area begin to receive copies of the Petal Paper.

I'd appreciate it if you would let me know as quickly as possible whether we still have "money in the bank."

Cordially yours,

Max Birnbaum
Educational Consultant

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

mb/pg
cc: Edwin Lukas

ANNIVERSARY 50th OBSERVANCE
148-2-56 APRIL 10-14, 1957 THE WALDORF-ASTORIA, N. Y. C.

file: Petal Paper

Letter sent to attached list.

February 1, 1957

Mr. Charles Gillman
AFL-CIO Regional Office
Hurt Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Charlie:

I have submitted your name as a person who might be interested in receiving copies of the Petal Paper published in Petal, Mississippi. This subscription will be made available to you without charge; my own role was just to suggest your name. I've read various copies of the paper. It is always interesting, as you will discover. The editor is a man who jumps into the Mississippi political scene with all fours and makes heavy use of satire in dealing with political matters and matters relative to desegregation.

I think that it is remarkable enough that such a paper is published in Mississippi. I hope that you will enjoy this subscription and perhaps find it useful.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

W. T. Archer, LWIU

John Bateman, U.A.W.

Jarvis Boughman, IWWA

Edmund Dumas, UPWA

Charles Gillman, AFL-CIO Regional Office

Lee White, CWA

Joe Jaccobs, UTWA

Al Kehrer, ILGWU Regional Office

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Ray Nixon, URWA

Eric Polisar

Stanton Smith, Tenn. State Labor Council

Wilbur Hobby, Editor, Durham Labor Journal

Paul R. Christopher, AFL-CIO Region 8

Carey E. Haigler, AFL-CIO Region 5

Boyd Payton, TWUA

Bernard S. Via

Margaret Via

Letter regarding Petal Paper subscriptions sent to above. 2/4/57.

2/1/57

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Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

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P. O. Box 2509
Winston-Salem, N. C.

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Gainesville, Georgia

Alfred Mynders
The Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Thomas W. Young, Publisher
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

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Daytona Beach News Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

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Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

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Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Ark.

Joe Parham, Editor
The Macon News
Macon, Georgia

John Popham
Chattanooga Times
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Jack Spalding
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Georgia

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The Associated Press
Star Building
Washington, D. C.

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Houston, Texas

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Irving Dilliard
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St. Louis, Mo.

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Louisville, Kentucky

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Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala.

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Little Rock, Arkansas

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St. Louis, Mo.

E. P. Murchison
The Christian Index
Box 269
Jackson, Tenn.

Stanley C. Harrell
The Christian Sun
1507 Oakland Ave.
Durham, N. C.

Roger Ortmayer
Church and Campus
Box 871
Nashville 2, Tenn.

Ione Gray, Editor
The Commission
Box 5148
Richmond 20, Virginia

C. Ray Dobbins
The Cumberland Presbyterian
1978 Union Avenue
P. O. Box 5535
Memphis 4, Tenn.

Leslie G. Elmes, Managing Editor
Episcopal Church News
110 North Adams Street
Richmond, Virginia

John Caylor, Editor
Home Missions
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Atlanta 3, Georgia

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National Baptist Union Review
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Nashville, Tenn.

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Richmond, Virginia

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Birmingham, Ala.

R. E. Finney, Jr.
These Times
Box 59
Nashville 2, Tenn.

George S. Reamey
Virginia Methodist Advocate
410 Methodist Building
Richmond 19, Virginia

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War Cry
675 Seminole Ave., NE
Atlanta 6, Ga.

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856 Forest Drive
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Richmond 22, Va.

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Atlanta, Georgia

Paul Stickney
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Atlanta, Georgia

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246 Westminister Drive, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Eric Polijan
1975 Willivee
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Doris Wilson
National Student Council
Young Women's Christian Association
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Paul Rilling, Project Director
The Southern Area Council
Young Men's Christian Association
706 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

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Carolina Israelite
Box 2505
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Paul R. Christopher
AFL-CIO, Region 8
216 Flatiron Bldg.
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Atlanta, Georgia

Charles Gillman
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Kent Building
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Lee White
Communication Workers of America
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1489 Gordon Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

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324 N. E. Second St.
Oklahoma City 1, Oklahoma

January 11, 1957

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter of January 3, and for the reprints of the Rorty piece. We are using them sparingly, mostly to background reporters and magazine writers dealing with the prosegregation movement.

As for Operation Petal Pusher, we can easily select 100 Southern editors who should receive the paper. Let me know what you decide.

Also, what would you think of the possibility of somebody angelling a flock of inexpensive promotion leaflets that organizations could mail out urging subscriptions?

East writes that he is to be in Atlanta the first week in February, on his way to New York. We'll talk with him then, as I imagine you will.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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January 3, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You and David Loth deserve the thanks of the multitude for the labors you poured into "Integration," resulting in a splendid compendium of "success stories" -- in the field of integration. It is an improvement on our own "People Take the Lead," and should be enormously helpful.

Thanks for your letter of December 27. The reprints of the Rorty piece have gone forward to you. I hope you can have them strategically placed.

"Operation Petal Paper" seems to be moving ahead; I had a note from East this morning expressing appreciation of your and our cooperation. How would you feel about our own 100 going forward to newspaper editors in the South, and have you such a list? Perhaps, with ADL's own 100, we could blanket the principal newspapers in the deep South.

We have established communication with Dr. Guy Johnson of the University of North Carolina, in the hope that we may be able to persuade him to do the piece we had in mind for Scientific American. I do appreciate, however, your own efforts in connection with that item.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

January 28, 1957

Mr. P. D. East
Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. East:

By the Grace of God and Herman Talmadge, I'll be right here on February 4th and will hold the lunch hour.

Remind me to explain why I sounded so knotheaded in our telephone conversation.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

The Petal Paper

PETAL, MISSISSIPPI

January 23,1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In today's mail there was a letter from Mr. Lukas confirming the dates mentioned in our conversation yesterday.

I will, therefore, by the Grace of God and the Citizens Councils, leave Jackson on February 4th. Arrival time in Atlanta is 12:08 noon.

The plane will leave Atlanta at 6:05 P.M. (The same day, that is.)

Will you be in? If not, please let me know.

Regards,

P.D.East

P.D.East

PS: Better use Box 349, Hattiesburg for any mail. Letters have come unglued in Petal.

pd

December 29, 1956

Mr. Richard McClain
19 Polk Place
Greenburgh
White Plains, New York

Dear Mr. McClain:

This is to acknowledge your money order in the amount of $300.00, to be used for one hundred subscriptions to the Petal Paper. Our check for these subscriptions and your list of persons to receive them have been sent today to Mr. East, the editor of the Petal Paper.

I am sure that Mr. East will be deeply appreciative of this evidence of interest and encouragement, as we are glad to be instrumental in getting it to him.

With kind regards and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

AIR MAIL SPECIAL

December 28, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is a money order in the amount of $300 for 100 subscriptions to the Petal Paper which I have been enjoying so much in the past year.

OR
12/29/56

Enclosed is a list of 100 persons to whom I wish the paper to be sent for the next year.

I have been told that you are handling this matter and I will appreciate your acknowledgment of this small encouragement to an editor who seems to be doing a wonderful job.

Very sincerely yours,

Richard McClain

Richard McClain
19 Polk Place
Greenburgh
White Plains, N. Y.

Encs:

List from Richard McClain

Mr. William M. Newsom, 145 Transit Street, Providence, R. I.

Mr. Leroy Williams, 15 Pond Avenue, Newport, R. I.

Mr. Marshall White, 2846 Wall Avenue, Ogden, Utah

Miss Myrtle Moore, 3874 Alameda, Menlo Park, Calif.

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Rev. L. H. Henderson, 809 Oakland Avenue, Kansas City, Kans.

Mr. John W. Lancaster, 33 Freeman Street, Bridgeport, Conn.

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March 11, 1957

Mr. P. D. East
Editor
THE PETAL PAPER
Petal, Mississippi

Dear Mr. East:

We have been trying to get at least 10,000 copies of the promotion issue of The Petal Paper ordered, and have finally succeeded. Would you please send the copies to the persons and organizations listed below and bill them accordingly. I have told them that the price would be $32.50 per thousand.

Ed Hollander, Americans For Democratic Action, 1341 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. -- 1,000 copies. (They need these copies in Washington by March 27, 1957 to distribute them at the National ADA convention March 29-31.) Send the bill to Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., National Chairman, ADA, 1631 K. St.N.W., Washington, D. C.

Alfred Kramer, National Council of Churches, Department of Race Relations, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City -- 3,000 copies. (Send 2,000 up to the New York address and 1,000 to Mr. William Campbell, 1716 West End Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee. Send the bill to Mr. Kramer in New York.

Nelson Jackson, National Urban League, 14 E. 48th Street, New York City -- 1,000 copies. Send bill to Mr. Jackson.

John Morsell, NAACP, 20 West 40th St., New York City -- 2,000 copies. Send bill to Mr. Morsell.

Alex Miller, Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York City -- 1,000 copies and bill.

The American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York City -- 3,000 copies and bill.

This brings the total up to 11,000 copies ordered and I hope we will get some results when we mail them out.

I think that The Reporter article by Al Verspan is a fine job as was the article and photos in Jet. I hope Time magazine carries as good a job this week or next week.

If for any reason you cannot get the thousand copies to the ADA convention by March 27, 1957 please let Joe Rauh know about it immediately.

Looking forward to hearing from you soon.

Cordially yours,

HF/ht

Harry Fleischman

bc: E. J. Lukas, S. Kaufer, D. Danzig, J. Slawson, H. Fleming

RECEIVED APR 15 1957

April 11, 1957

Mr. P. D. East
The Petal Paper
Petal, Mississippi

Dear Mr. East:

Enclosed please find a few subscription checks for which please enter subscriptions for the following people:

Mr. S. O. Shapiro
Look Magazine
488 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Samuel Kramer
122 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Mr. Melvin J. Neumark
285 Central Park West
New York, New York

Mr. Lester Gutterman
41 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Mr. Lawrence Peires
6010 Roosevelt Avenue
Woodside, New York

Sincerely yours,

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:dp
Enc.

bc€: Mort Feigenbaum
Harold Fleming

December 17, 1957

Mr. P. D. East
Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. East:

In the absence of Mr. Fleming we are answering your letter of the 9th. Our records show a number of persons who were helpful in promoting The Petal Paper during the year. Those who contributed substantial amounts were:

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.
Americans for Democratic Action

Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee

Richard McClain
19 Polk Place
White Plains, New York

In addition to the above, Emanuel Muravchik of the Jewish Labor Committee, 24 East 78th Street, New York 21, arranged for fifteen subscriptions.

We also note that Harry Fleischman of the National Labor Service, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, handled the distribution of 11,000 promotional copies of the paper which were sent to the following:

Ed Hollander
Americans for Democratic Action

Alfred Kramer
National Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Will D. Campbell
National Council of Churches
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Nelson C. Jackson
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York

John Morsell
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

These names and addresses we include since each of the above individuals and organizations may well consider giving additional help and promotion during 1958. Certainly, they are worth contacting.

We continue to read and appreciate the Petal Paper and will continue to be of any possible help. And, we will be happy to serve again as the forwarder of funds as the need arises.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Box 349
Hattiesburg, Miss.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Personal

The Petal Paper

PETAL, MISSISSIPPI
December 9th

Dear Harold:

This has to do with subscription renewal, or the possibility thereof.

I'm not sure who sent subscriptions through you early this year. But whomever it was, do you suppose we could induce them to renew?

In New York a couple of weeks ago I talked with Ed Lukas, Roy Wilkins, and Joseph Rauh. I think they were three of 'em, but wasn't there one other?

Each of the above three said they would renew after thefirst of the year.

I could use all I could get, I assure you.

For checking on this, I am thanking you.

Kindest regards,

Rh

December 31, 1957

Mr. P. D. East
Editor
THE PETAL PAPER
P. O. Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. East:

We have received a check for $3.00 with a request for a subscription to the Petal Paper, from:

Mr. Jerry Raymond
Mechanics Educational Society of
America
1974 National Bank Building
Detroit, Michigan

Our check for $3.00 is enclosed.

Trust the New Year will present us with more frequest opportunities for similar communication.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure: 1 check (No. 1562 - $3.00)
N. Y. Times Reprint

December 31, 1957

Mr. Jerry Raymond
Mechanics Educational Society of America
1974 National Bank Building
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Raymond:

We have forwarded your request for a subscription to the Petal Paper to Mr. P. D. East of Hattiesburg, Mississippi. You should begin receiving the paper shortly.

Yours very truly,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

News from Our Own Correspondents

London
New Statesman - 1/25/58

New York

Petal Paper

Whatever you may hear about the State of Mississippi, don't dismiss it from the Free World until you've had a chance to read the *Petal Paper*. A one-man weekly published for the towns of Petal and Hattiesburg, this unique throwback to the Mark Twain era of personal journalism has been carrying on a war of gentle wit, not so gentle ridicule, and wholly unpretentious courage against the worst follies of the deep South.

P. D. East, who with his wife makes up the staff of the *Petal Paper*, feels that 1957 was a pretty dull year – 'To the best of my knowledge no one has offered to kill me'. Hodding Carter, a distinguished, if rather more conventional Mississippi editor, long ago predicted that East would either get a Pulitzer prize or be run out of town on a rail – not that these eventualities need be mutually exclusive. So far neither has occurred, though he is clearly entitled to both honours.

The front page of a recent issue of the little tabloid features several items typical of Mr East's irreverent attitude. One of the questions frequently put to him, he writes by way of a news item, is whether he would want his daughter to marry a Negro. 'Heavens no!' is the answer. 'We've nothing against Negroes.' A more pertinent question he suggests, would be: 'Do you want your daughter to marry a Faubus?' To a critic who asks: 'When is your state going to catch up with Alabama and Arkansas?' he answers that the question involves 'the all-out race in these parts to see who can attain complete and total assdom first'. With the legislature about to convene, East puts his money on his native Mississippi: 'For, and consider this, it is not true that the Lord and the US constitution giveth and the state legislature taketh away?' Along with such titbits, most issues carry a serious column or two sometimes by a prominent Negro writer like Langston Hughes, and often a Washington report by Robert G. Spivack of the liberal *New York Post*.

Mr East's editorial column, as distinct from the 'news', reflects a warmth and a droll self-disparagement which probably have saved him from having his head cracked by infuriated local Klansmen. Correcting inaccuracies in a preceding issue, he will add, 'Seems it's just got to where you can't believe a word you read in this sheet'. Or he will start a comment off with 'Being a southerner, born and ruined. . . .' But always, somewhere in the column, will be the satiric thrust, the telling jab. He will dryly report, for example, that Mississippi Southern College had two Christmas trees and then add, 'separate but equal, I guess. Seems it would have saved money, yours and mine, to have had one tree, with white and black lights on it'.

Satire is East's dish, and the broader the better. He once solemnly called for the formation of a 'Bigger and Better Bigots Bureau' for all those who are ready 'to strike a blow for the sweet magnolia'. But perhaps his most notable feat in this field was the full-page advertisement he ran in the spring of 1956, when his county was first threatened with a unit of the rampaging White Citizens Councils. 'Suh, Here's Sweet Music!' the copy started off: 'Yes, You too can be SUPERIOR. Join the Glorious Citizens Clan Next Thursday night.' Below, in a box were listed the ten freedoms available to members, including 'freedom to interpret the constitution to your own personal advantage' and 'freedom to be superior without brain, character, or principle'. Threats poured in and advertising petered out. East let it go and dismissed all direct pressure with the pointed injunction, 'Go to hell in a bucket'. The excitement soon died down, but the Council never got far in Forrest County.

Since then, Mr East appears to have won a kind of immunity, even acceptance, along with a healthy quota of ads. The Christmas issue, in fact, was about three-quarters advertising, including paid greetings from such local dignitaries as the sheriff, the prosecuting attorney, and the whole county Board of Supervisors. Subscriptions have been coming in from all over the country: a Swedish paper ran a feature story on him, and a Hamburg radio station devoted an hour to his paper. East himself appeared on a national television programme, but with saving grace, he refused to take his growing reputation seriously.

ROBERT BENDINER

Petal Paper

February 4, 1958

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Director
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Harry:

We are glad to have the check representing Shelly Appleton's contribution of 20 subscriptions to The Petal Paper. We will send a list of suitable Southern names and our check for $60.00 to P. D. East.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

February 7, 1958

Mr. P. D. East
P. O. Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. East:

Enclosed you will find our check for $60.00, for twenty subscriptions to the Petal Paper. Attached are the names and addresses of the persons to whom the paper is to be sent.

You will recall these funds were mentioned in the letter you received from Harry Fleischman.

In regard to your phone inquiry about Mr. Richard McClain, 19 Polk Place, Greenburgh, White Plains, New York - we find no indication that Mr. McClain is associated with any organization. He is identified in our files as being a friend of Roy Wilkins and I believe the subscriptions which he transmitted were actually arranged for by Roy's organization.

I enjoyed our phone conversation yesterday and duly passed along your remarks. Mrs. Tilly was pleased at being remembered and flattered at being described as "wicked."

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Check No. 1639, $60.00
List of Subscribers for Petal Paper)

L I S T

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 South Izard Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. William K. Williams
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dr. Guy H. Wells
Chief Consultant
Georgia Council on Human Relations
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Rev. Hugh Brimm
Executive Director
Kentucky Council on Human Relations
4435 Blenheim Road
Louisville 7, Kentucky

Rev. Harry S. Jones
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

Mrs. E. H. Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1745 Sumter Street, Room 100
Columbia, South Carolina

Tennessee Council on Human Relations
416 Twenty-first Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Rev. Edwin G. Kloppe
Executive Director
Texas Council on Human Relations
407 West 27th Street
Austin, Texas

List (continued) - 2.

Dr. John R. Marion
Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
1409 Chowan Road
Richmond 26, Virginia

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas,
Virginia

Mr. James Stokely
Newport,
Tennessee

Dr. Bell I. Wiley
Emory University,
Georgia

Dr. S. E. Duncan
Department of Public Instruction
State of North Carolina
Raleigh, North Carolina

Mr. Paul Green
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
1589 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Austin Kimball
3131 S. W. 1st Avenue
Black Acres
Gainesville, Florida

Mrs. L. C. Bates
1804 Bishop Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Jerome Crossman
President
Ryan Consolidated Petroleum Corporation
3400 Republic National Bank Building
Dallas, Texas

Mr. Philip Hammer
President
Hammer and Company Associates
Economic and Business Research
70 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

2-4-58

PA -

When you get a chance will you check + see whose names we supplied last year for these Petal subs and what 20 would be suitable for the enclosed?

HCF

1. St. gps. (7 BR to write thru courtesy of well wisher)

2. Pict. several apps. Bd. mbrs.

3. Annie J McClain

Petal Paper

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

January 31, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

$60.00 CR RHA 2/3/58

Enclosed is an exchange check from the American Jewish Committee to the Southern Regional Council. The check is in exchange for one I received from Shelly Appleton, Manager, Local 99, ILGWU to be used for 20 subscriptions to The Petal Paper.

Would you please make up a list of 20 southerners to receive the subs and send on a check of your own with the subs to P. D. East.

Thanks a lot.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

HF/ht
Encl.

cc: P. D. East
Edwin J. Lukas

March 26, 1958

Mr. P. D. East
P. O. Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. East:

Your letter arrived as Harold was leaving the office. We had hoped to avoid the unpleasant matter of money, however due to the firmness of your request we have been instructed to reply immediately. We estimate that some 75 sheets of thermo-fax paper were used. At a cost of .05 each, this comes to a total of $3.75.

Such services are, of course, all considered as part of the Council's program. Yet good capitalists never turn down good money and we're good capitalists.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

The Petal Paper

PETAL, MISSISSIPPI

PA

Sunday

Please do.
H.

Dear Harold:

Just a note to say thanks for the time given me last Monday.

I'm most grateful to all of you for your help and interest.

Now, damnit, send me that statement!

Regards,

approx 75 photos
Hearne for Petal Paper @ .05 ea
5-3-75

The Petal Paper

PETAL, MISSISSIPPI

Friday

Dear Paul:

Glad you mentioned the capitalistic view; that I can understand.

Suggest you RUN, don't walk, to the bank with this.

My regards to those other comrades.

4 3 7 ✓ CR
rha
3/31/58

Regards,

Fwd post
P.D. East
Petal P
Via air mail

April 18, 1958

Mr. Louis M. Lyons
Harvard University Nieman Foundation
for Journalism
44 Holyoke House
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Lyons:

I appreciate the candor of your letter concerning P.D. East's application for a Nieman Fellowship. I shall try to be equally frank.

Having spent a fair amount of time with East, I can understand your bafflement. He can be extremely disconcerting. My own impression -- which is not more than that -- is that his eccentricity of manner is explained in the same way as the Petal Paper. That is, by East's almost fanatical individualism, his fear of being dependent on or beholden to anybody, and his inspired but somewhat zany wit. All this is made more complicated by what I take to be wide streaks of naivete in his makeup.

I would agree that, by normal standards, these traits add up to a considerable liability. Yet there are also unusual entries to be made on the credit side. While I cannot consider his candidacy in relation to other applicants, I offer the following observations as supporting consideration of East:

He has a highly original talent for satire. But his work has many rough edges. As he is the first to admit, he is handicapped by his wholly Mississippi background and education. A year at Harvard should do a lot to remedy the defects of provincialism and intellectual undernourishment.

His importance to Mississippi and the South is largely symbolic -- but symbols are a major part of the struggle today. His audience is small, but disproportionately influential. At his best, he stimulates and heartens a significant portion of the enlightened South. Aside from Harry Golden, he is the only practicing satirist in a region that needs an army of them.

Continued . . .

Mr. Louis M. Lyons April 18, 1958

Finally, I should think something could be said for East as a practitioner of that "personal journalism" so frequently elegized in the passing. Off-beat specimen though he may be, he is an impressively live and kicking representative of the breed.

As to the specific questions you pose, I can be of little help. I don't know East well enough to assess his motives or the chances of his resuming his crusade in Mississippi after a Nieman year. I would venture the opinion, however, that his own answers to these questions would honestly express his intentions.

I want to make it clear that my purpose is not to advocate East's selection over any and all other candidates. I have nothing but admiration for the fine choices the Selecting Committee has made in the past, and I know that this year's selections from the South will reflect the same good judgment.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:fcl

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

NIEMAN FOUNDATION

FOR JOURNALISM

OFFICE OF THE CURATOR
44 HOLYOKE HOUSE
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

April 10, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

P. D. East, editor of the Petal Paper in Mississippi, is reapplying for a Nieman Fellowship and asks us to write you about him.

I am sure all the Selecting Committee will welcome your judgment about him.

I should tell you that when he applied two years ago, we were all very favorably impressed by what he was doing in the Petal Paper and had supporting letters from editors whom we much respected, who knew him also through his paper.

We brought him up from Mississippi to Chicago for an interview and all the Committee members threw up their hands after the encounter. It turned out that none of the editors who had written us about him had ever met him.

His personality made us all extremely dubious about investing in a year of study for him which would have meant excluding one of the other top dozen applicants.

If you have ever talked with him, your impression would interest us very much. He baffled us.

Aside from that, we could not satisfy outselves on such questions as:

Whether he has any chance of doing anything there but being a martyr;

Whether his great urge to come to Harvard is partly to get away from an impossible situation;

Whether he would resume his crusade after such a year;

Whether he would get anything important out of such a year, for his own purposes, to compare with what some of the younger men in more normal journalistic circumstances would get that they can use.

This is not the kind of letter I would ordinarily write to a reference. But we are evidently in for another baffling experience. It costs a good deal to bring a candidate up from Mississippi and there is no other way to get a real impression of P. D. East. I should add that among the candidates, as among this year's Fellows, are several who are doing a good job against the climate of the segregation belt and who want earnestly through studies to strengthen their own understanding to cope with this vital issue in their own communities. The question really is between one of the ablest of these and East.

But these are special reasons why the Selecting Committee will look for any help you can give us.

Sincerely yours,

Louis M. Lyons

Louis M. Lyons

R.D. East
Petal Papers

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **EMORY VIA** 37

5/1/58

Dear P.D.:

Trust you are laboring faithfully in May. Or: Happy Lydia Day, May Day, and Law Day. The last dates as Griffin and I join forces to proclaim the necessity of law for preservation of peaceful and democratic society. Leave the rest to others until parading and dancing take too much energy.

The enclosed is the Resolution to which you refer — It was not a bill, so required no gubernatorial signature as I understand it. MURR is still listed as author, but you will note that this is a substitute resolution (SUB).

Trust this does all the t's needed.

Sincerely, Emory

The Petal Paper

PETAL, MISSISSIPPI

Sunday

Dear Emory:

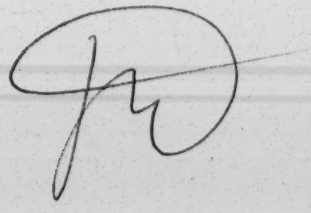
May I impose just once more? No. Well, okey, then.

No, Emory, I wondered if you had copies of the bill signed recently by griffin having to do with Koinonia? I don't think the farm is mentioned in the Bill, but it was in the Resolution.

If you have copies, I would appreciate three. If you don't have copies, do you know the number of the Bill and from whom I can get copies?

To further indentify the Bill, it's the one in which Georgia says that any person shooting himself...they'll hang 'em.

Kindest regards,



August 5, 1959

Mr. P. D. East
P. O. Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. East:

The Southern Regional Council would like to place an order for ten (10) copies of your booklet of editorial reprints.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

7-27-59

LWD ✓
JC

Do we want (or need) any of P.D. East's booklets?

John -
maybe 10 copies?
Berlin

HCF

ordered 10
JC

February 15,1960
Postoffice Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Harold:

I am indeed sorry to know that my letter brought you joy. That was not the intent. The intent was that my letter bring me money.

I am undecided as to what I would suggest, had I been asked to, about your assistant Paul Anthony. I realize, of course, that Paul is a lesser bureaucrat than you. Perhaps it would be wise to give him a raise. Meantime, I hope to God that you hope to find suckers to sign checks.

You mentioned William Campbell and that he keeps you posted in his usual vague way. Now, as I think of it, he is one hell of a vague creature, isn't he?

As I told you I spent the better part of three days with Your Leader. He is a wonderfully fine old man, but I must say I got a little provoked once or twice. Can you imagine anyone with the audacity to want to talk about themselves, instead of about me?

The picture of Your Leader has arrived and I will return it as soon as an engraving has been made.

With kindest and commercial regards,

P. D. EAST

PDE:k

February 12, 1960

Mr. P. D. East
P. O. Box 349
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear P. D.:

Your letter, as always, brought me joy. That is until I read the first paragraph and found that I am in your books as that fellow who didn't, by God, even answer.

Now, to the best of my recollection, P. D., that's a half truth -- which, I admit, is a damn sight better than we usually get down here. The thing you are overlooking is that I am a small-time Bureaucrat. And when your letter came in and I didn't know what the answer was and was about to head out to an Important Conference (up North, of course), I simply bucked your query to Paul Anthony, who is an even lesser Bureaucrat and who is supposed to know about those subscriptions.

I guess the thing to do now is for me to memorandize Anthony and ask him for a Report on the Disposition made of your letter. If he is developing properly, he will find somebody else to pass the buck to. In any case, we have been passing a few bucks to you, I know; I didn't write you any letters, but I signed the checks. If we can find any more suckers (or bucks of our own) we will channel them your way.

Will Campbell keeps me posted on your progress or lack of it, in his usual vague way.

Why don't you hitch-hike to Atlanta sometime? And what are you doing at the Holiday Inn, anyway?

Picture of Our Leader coming at you separately. Meanwhile, blessings on you and your house and your non-profit activity.

Yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Holiday Inn® OF PASCAGOULA

PHONE SOuth 2-3080 • TELETYPE PASCAGOULA, MISS. 379
U. S. HIGHWAY 90 EAST AT 14TH ST. • P. O. BOX 694 • PASCAGOULA, MISSISSIPPI

Box 349
Hattiesburg,Miss.

Dear Harold:

Last year I wrote you and asked about some subs which had come thru your office and, by God, you didn't even answer; however, that's okay,it only had to do with money.

This note has to do with Your Leader, who's been visiting the Magnolia Liberals hereabouts. I think it took the fine old man almost a half-hour to call on 'em all.

Anyway, I asked Dr. Dabbs this morning if the SRC had a pix of him or, better yet, a mat. He said he felt sure you did, for me to write you.

Okay, I've writ. I need a mat or a pix of James McBride Dabbs, land owner, Plantation Baron of South Carolina.

Reasonable regards,

p.d.east

Recd 7/20/60

Dear Harold:

I'm damned if I know what it is Harvard does to a man: here you are unable to evaluate a literary triumph, written, as it were, with water on toilet tissue, too.

Then, Harold, you continue and ask what you can do to help the book along. You say you've bought a copy. Well, my good friend, these two things tie together very well. May I suggest you buy a hundred copies? Get the message, Man?

But to be serious, Harold, I am deeply grateful for your kindness in writing to Joe Barnes and for your comments on the book. Frankly, it was couth of you: yes, to be sure, it was WHITE of you, as we say in these parts.

Thanks so very much, Harold.

Kindest regards,

Ed

July 14, 1960

Mr. Joseph Barnes
Simon and Schuster, Inc.
Rockefeller Center
630 Fifth Avenue
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Barnes:

Many thanks for the advance copy of The Magnolia Jungle. It is a fascinating, disturbing, and often moving document -- in short, a fitting product of P. D. East's special kind of inspiration.

A good many people have regarded P. D. as a pleasant curiosity, a lighthearted and zany humorist. If they read his book, as I hope they will, they're in for a profound surprise. In common with all the great satirists, P. D. is a corrosively angry man -- or, more in his vein, just as mad as hell. Anybody who can read P. D.'s story without peering more honestly into his own personal hell has lost his claim to humanity.

I wouldn't be honest if I didn't say that the book struck me as something short of a literary triumph. But P. D. wouldn't give a damn about that, or wouldn't admit to it, and I suspect he's right. It might well have been written in blood (his own, of course) on brown wrapping paper.

What we can do to help promote the book, I don't know. From past experience, I've concluded that organizations like ours can't do much. We will, of

course, plug the book in our monthly publication New South. We will also talk it up in the circles in which we move. And we've bought a copy ourselves. Further than that, I can't think of anything; but if you and P. D. get any ideas, we'll be glad to consider them.

Of course, the many human relations organizations ought to be good for at least a copy apiece (over and above any complimentary copies), and some of them might do more. But P. D., through the Petal Paper and otherwise, is thoroughly in touch with that circuit.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. P. D. East
bc: Will D. Campbell

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC.
publishers
ROCKEFELLER CENTER, *630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20* • TELEPHONE *Circle 5-6400*

June 23, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are sending you under separate cover, a copy of P.D. East's THE MAGNOLIA JUNGLE, which we are publishing on July 25th. It goes to you with our compliments but--needless to add--we would be enormously interested to learn what you think of it.

It's not an easy book to promote, as you will see when you have a chance to look at it. But it seems to us a most honest story, and a book that should help people to understand one of the toughest problems in the modern world. So I hope that if you like it, you will talk about it, and that if you agree with us on its potential usefulness you will write me any ideas you have on how we can bring it to the notice of other readers.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Barnes

Joseph Barnes

JB:jh

Books of The Times

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

FIFTY years ago the terms Rugged Individualist and Newspaper Editor were almost synonymous. Whether it was in the big cities of William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer or the small towns of Gene Howe and William Allen White, the voice of the newspaper editor was loud, partisan, determined, opinionated—and listened to. Today, as corporate journalism has extended its paralyzing hand into smaller and smaller communities, as electronic competition has radically affected the basic economics of the press, and conformity and togetherness have become symbols of the American way, the iconoclastic small town editor seems to be following the vanishing Indian into obscurity. Or at least, comfortable social security.

Tommy Weber
P. D. East

This is what makes the appearance of P. D. East and The Petal Paper in the midst of what Mr. East calls "The Magnolia Jungle"* a phenomenon as delightful and as disconcerting as, for example, an announcement that the United States Air Force was introducing cavalry squadrons into the Strategic Air Force.

Where Prejudice Runs Rife

What Mr. East calls "The Magnolia Jungle" is that vast and ill-defined area, largely south of the Mason-Dixon line, in which prejudice and superstition, particularly with regard to race relations is elevated to the status of a cult.

Mr. East is a Mississippian—Mississippi-born, Mississippi-bred, Mississippi-raised, Mississippi-educated. He lives in Mississippi and has spent almost all of his 39 years there. His Petal Paper is published in Petal, Miss., a small suburb of Hattiesburg.

Since 1954—the date of the United States Supreme Court decision on school integration—The Petal Paper has lost virtually all its circulation in Petal. But gradually it has become one of the most widely distributed weekly newspapers in America. It has subscribers in every state and some foreign countries.

Mr. East has been subjected to almost every kind of pressure and ostracism imaginable as a result of his courageous, outspoken and frequently savagely satirical stand in favor of justice, fairness and common sense.

If there is humor to be found in a situation—in the bigotry of the organizations that Mr. East dubs "The Citizens Clan" (White Citizens Councils), in steady loss of advertising and circulation, which perpetually threatened The Petal Paper with disaster, in the qualms and fears and depression that at times overwhelmed him—Mr. East is the kind of man who will find it.

The most famous example of Mr. East's satire is a full-page advertisement The Petal Paper once published. It was illustrated with a drawing of a braying jackass and started out:

Suh, Here's Sweet MUSIC! Yes, YOU too, can be SUPERIOR
Join The Glorious Citizens Clan Next Thursday Night
This Wonderful Offer Open to White Folk Only

Another famous East production was a satirical paper he turned out with some collaboration by William Faulkner called The Southern Reposure. It carried such headlines as "The South was Built in the South for Southerners" and "Eastland Elected by N. A. A. C. P. as Outstanding Man of the Year." One story told about the splendid attendance at the first meeting in "Segregation Emphasis Month." A brief Book Review section included the item: "Democracy and the Southern Way of Life—Dr. Osgood Norblotch. A stunning poignant essay on the difference between the two."

Concern for Rights of Men

Why is Mr. East different from so many of his fellow Mississippians—in belief, attitude, conviction? He tries to explain this in "The Magniolia Jungle." As he says: "I'm not concerned with integration and I'm not concerned with segregation. The rights of all men are my business."

They are, too. There is not the slightest doubt that if P. D. East had been born and raised in Kansas, he would have spotted the nests of bigotry and injustice in that environment and lashed out just as savagely against them. And had he been born in New York City, the story would be the same.

That is the kind of man P. D. East is. He is in the great American tradition of editors and satirists. It is the tradition that produced Mark Twain and Bret Harte. There is much in "The Magnolia Jungle" that is shocking. But we can thank it for one thing, at least. It has produced this wry, lean, stubborn editor who is the very image of true democracy.

*THE MAGNOLIA JUNGLE. By P. D. East. 243 pages. Simon and Schuster. $3.95.

Sanders

~~ATLANTA SYMPHONY GUILD, INC.~~

~~315 PEACHTREE ST. N.E.~~ ATLANTA, GA.

67 Blackland Rd N.W.

ATLANTA
AUG 17
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1960
GA.

25 YEARS
SOCIAL SECURIT
IN AMERICA

4¢
U.S. POSTAGE

Mr. Harold Fleming
c/o Southern Regional Coun
63 Auburn Ave N
Atlanta
Ga.

Box 349
Hattiesburg, Miss.
February 4, 1961

Dear Harold:

Last fall I ran a blast by Brother Will, something about a Man Had Two Sons, and he told me that the SRC had copies available.

If you have a copy, please send one to:

Sent 2-6-61

Mr. James H. Lane
Kirkland House M-22
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

Whatever charge there is, I'll pay, if you'll tell me. I ran out of copies, else I'd make the cash off the little preacher myself.

If you don't have a copy, would you let me know, please?

Meantime, Harold, I thank thee.

Kindest regards,

P.D.

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regi nal Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

October 8, 1963

Mr. P. D. East
The Petal Paper
Box 1486
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dear Mr. East:

We are indeed going to publish Silver, but not his Asheville address. The grand plan is that we shall later publish a longer piece which Jim already has written. He is still working on his address which will be condensed from the longer piece.

We'll send you three (3) copies if my secretary can remember to do it. If you don't get them as soon as you hear that it is out, drop me a note, and there will be no charge.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

RECEIVED
OCT 3 1963

Box 1486
Hattiesburg, Miss.
October 2, 1963

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I've been told by The Wild Man of the Campus, Dr. James Wesley Silver, that the SRC is going to publish his farewell address after he makes it on the 7th of November in Asheville.

I would like to order three (3) copies of Jim's talk and, if you'll let me know the cost, I'll send you a hot little check anytime.

Kindest regards,

EV. FBR, JC, DT, PA → EAB (file)

Sunday

Dear Mr. Fleming:

On one condition will I try to stop over for a brief visit with you, and that is that we not argue as to whose disreputability is the greater.

When I know exactly when I can get away, I'll drop you a note. I want to get the booklet behind me before I take a day or twooff.

As to the leaflet you mentioned, it makes good sense to me. Of course, you must realize that I'm money mad.

Thought you might like to see this week's paper.

Regards,

P.D.East

HF

THE FRIENDS OF P. D. EAST

Box 48, Nyack, New York

THE PETAL PAPER
Petal, Mississippi

P. D. East, Editor & Publisher

Dear Friend:

A few months ago you were asked, through this committee or by way of a television broadcast, to consider helping our friend P. D. East with the very difficult job of keeping his newspaper, The Petal Paper, afloat. We felt that you would share our conviction that this courageous little journal, speaking for racial brotherhood and democracy in the heart of segregationist Mississippi, must not be allowed to be silenced by financial pressures. At the time we hoped that if 300 people undertook to help the Petal Paper to the extent of a dollar month for a year, that would compensate adequately for P. D.'s understandable loss of advertising and subscriptions.

Your response has been heart-warming. Almost $5,000 has been raised and sent to P. D., and that has been enough to pay off most of the heavy load of bills he had, and to keep him going through the summer and fall. Some of you, we know, are still sending a dollar or more each month.

Unfortunately, the expenses continue, both to publish the paper and to feed the East family. By spring, P. D.'s book, The Magnolia Jungle, will be published, and if it is as good as advance reports indicate, its royalties may relieve the pressure on the determined Mississippian. Meanwhile, there is the winter to be got through, and the Petal Paper to be kept intact.

We do not like to ask those of you who have already given generously to give again, but on the other hand we believe you feel that this is as much your battle, and ours, as East's. Can you manage another gift? Or, if you have not yet contributed, can you send something today? Or do you know someone else who ought to get one of our leaflets, and who might contribute. All suggestions and help will be gratefully received. Send them, as you know, to Friends of P. D. East, Box 48, Nyack, New York.

Sincerely,

Alfred Hassler

Alfred Hassler, Treasurer
Friends of P. D. East

AH/lnt

THE FRIENDS OF P. D. EAST

Alfred Hassler, *Treasurer*

Mrs. Sherwood Anderson
Van Wyck Brooks
Ruth Chatterton
Maxwell and Anne Geismar
Harry Golden
John Howard Griffin
Dorothy Hassler
Frank and Sophie Karelsen
Martin Luther King Jr.
Charles and Margaret Lawrence
J. Oscar Lee
Conrad Lynn
Patrick and Caroline Malin
William Robert Miller
Eleanor Roosevelt
Glenn E. Smiley
Lillian Smith
James and Wilma Stokely
Harold Taylor

The Petal Paper

P.D. East Hattiesburg, Miss. P. O. Box 1486

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The copies of Jim's address came yesterday, and I thank you very much for sending them.

If my recommendation will be of any help to Jim when he leaves Ol' Miss, I'll be happy to give it.

Best regards,

P. D.

File ~~JC~~ - Pls Return HCF

(P.D. East Petal Paper)

January 15

Dear Mr. Fleming:

My reaction is quite favorable to your idea of getting southern daily editors on my mailing list.

It is no trouble at all to list those now on it. They are:

Hodding Carter
Greenville, Miss.

Oliver Emmerich
McComb, Miss.

Norman Bradley
Chattanooga, Tenn.

And that's all of 'em.

Regards,

Wes

The Petal Paper

PETAL, MISSISSIPPI

Wednesday

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I returned yesterday from Tuskegee and Montgomery where I'd been chasing blonds, the dollar bill, and other pleasant things and found your letter and my commercial little heart jumped with joy.

I thank you, Sir.

Too, I appreciate your information on Mr. McClain. That clears it up, except there is still a hundred subscriptions, the source of which I can't find. Oh, well, it's just money!

Please convey my regards to Harold and, I guess, that wicked Mrs. Tilly again.

Kindest regards,

JW